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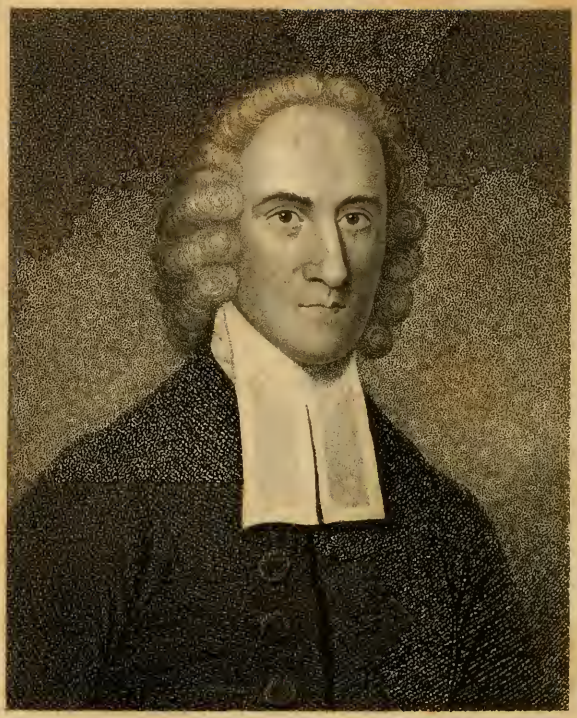

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REV. JONA. EDWARDS.

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THE

WORKS

OF

PRESIDENT EDWARDS:

WITH A

MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK,

PUBLISHED BY S. CONVERSE.

1829.

DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, SS.

L.S. BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the eleventh day of December, in the fifty-fourth year of the independence of the United States of America, SERENO E. DWIGHT, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book the right whereof, to the "Works" he claims as Proprietor, and to the "Memoir" as Author, in the words following to wit:

"The Works of President Edwards, with a Memoir of his life, in ten volumes."

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled "an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and also to the act, entitled "an act, supplementary to an act, entitled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, charts, and books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching, historical and other prints."

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,
CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

NEW-HAVEN,
PRINTED BY BALDWIN AND TREADWAY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The length of time, which has elapsed, since this edition of the Works of President Edwards was, in a sense, announced, needs a brief explanation.

His manuscripts were so illegible, and left in such a state, that it was impossible to decide on the publication of any of them, until they were copied. The materials for his Life, were to be sought for in remote places, by consulting those advanced in life, by finding out family traditions, by copying records, by collecting letters, manuscripts and pamphlets, and the original editions of his works, in libraries of long standing, and in the collections of antiquaries. Many of the manuscripts, thus discovered, were so illegible, that no one could be found to undertake the task of copying them. According to the original plan, the negligences of language in the published works were to be corrected; and this plan was not relinquished, until the slow process of correcting them with the pen, on the printed page, was far advanced towards completion. The expense of copying the manuscripts of Mr. Edwards, was also heavy, and could not have been defrayed, but for the liberality of a friend. Without any farther detail of circumstances, it need only be stated, that the whole work, including the examination and copying of the manuscripts, the preparation of the unpublished manuscripts, and of

the Life, has occupied several years of constant labour, and has been pursued unremittingly, and at the sacrifice of health, by a regular devotion to it, of all the time, that could be spared from professional duties.

In preparing the Memoir, the Life by Dr. Hopkins, which is the testimony of an *eye-witness*, has been incorporated; and the quotations are marked in the usual way, except where the paragraphs are seriously altered by the insertion of new matter. In the last chapter, free use is made of a brief sketch of the Life and Character of Mr. Edwards, (also the testimony of an *eye-witness*,) by a gentleman connected with the college at Princeton, probably Dr. Finley, inserted in the first edition of the Treatise on Original Sin; as well as of a well written review of the Worcester Edition of his works, in the Christian Spectator. To a friend I am indebted, for the very brief account of the two Treatises on Original Sin, and the Freedom of the Will.

The works, heretofore published, are taken from the English Edition, as far as it contained them, without alterations of the language. The notes of its editor, Dr. Williams, are marked with a W. at the end, and have been retained by request.

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LIFE

OF

PRESIDENT EDWARDS.

CHAPTER I.

His Descent.—Family of Edwards.—Family of Stoddard.—His Father's Family.

The number of those men, who have produced great and permanent changes in the character and condition of mankind, and stamped their own image on the minds of succeeding generations, is comparatively small; and, even of this small number, the great body have been indebted for their superior efficiency, at least in part, to extraneous circumstances, while very few can ascribe it to the simple strength of their own intellect. Yet here and there an individual can be found, who, by his mere mental energy, has changed the course of human thought and feeling, and led mankind onward in that new and better path which he had opened to their view.

Such an individual was JONATHAN EDWARDS. Born in an obscure colony in the midst of a wilderness, and educated at a seminary just commencing its existence; passing the better part of his life as the pastor of a frontier village, and the residue as an Indian missionary in a still humbler hamlet; he discovered, and unfolded, a system of the divine moral government so new, so clear, so full, that while at its first disclosure it needed no aid from its friends, and feared no opposition from its enemies, it has at length constrained a reluctant world to bow in homage to its truth.

The two families, from which the subject of the present memoir was immediately descended, are those of Edwards and Stoddard.

The family of EDWARDS is of Welch origin.

The Rev. Richard Edwards, the *great-great-grandfather*, and earliest known ancestor of President Edwards, was a cler-

gyman in London, in the time of Queen Elizabeth. He came, according to the family tradition, from Wales to the metropolis, and was of the established church; but in what shire his family lived, or of what church in London he was the minister, is not known. His wife Mrs. Anne Edwards, after the death of her husband, married Mr. James Coles; who, with her son, William Edwards, then young and unmarried, accompanied her to Hartford in Connecticut about the year 1640, where they both died.

William Edwards, Esquire, the *great-grandfather*, resided in Hartford, and is supposed to have been by profession a merchant. His wife whose christian name was Agnes, and who came when a young lady with her parents to America, had two brothers in England—one the mayor of Exeter, the other the mayor of Barnstable. Their marriage occurred probably about the year 1645. It is not known whether they had more than one child.

Richard Edwards, Esquire, the *grandfather*, so far as can now be ascertained the only child of William and Agnes Edwards, was born at Hartford in May, 1647, and resided in that town during his life. He also was a merchant and a man of wealth and respectability.* At an early age he became a communicant in the Presbyterian church in Hartford, and adorned his profession by a long life of conscientious integrity, and unusual devotedness to the prosperity of religion. He married Elizabeth Tuthill, the daughter of William and Elizabeth Tuthill, who came from Northamptonshire, in England. Mr. Tuthill was a merchant of New-Haven, and one of the proprietors of the colony attempted on Delaware Bay.† By this connection Mr. Edwards had seven children, the eldest of whom was the Rev. Timothy Edwards. After her decease, he married a Miss Talcot, of Hartford, sister of the Hon. John Talcot, by whom he had six children.‡ He died April 20, 1718, in the 71st year of his age; exhibiting, during his last sickness, a bright example of christian resignation and triumphant faith.§

The family of STODDARD is of English descent.

Anthony Stoddard, Esquire, the *maternal great grandfather* of President Edwards, and the first of the family in this country, emigrated from the west of England to Boston. He had five wives; the first of whom, Mary Downing, the sister of Sir George Downing, was the mother of the Rev. Solomon

* I learned these particulars at East Windsor, in 1823, from two parishioners of his son, the Rev. Timothy Edwards, both of them upwards of ninety years of age.

† Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut, Vol. I. pp. 178, 197, and 201.

‡ See Appendix A. § See Appendix B.

Stoddard of Northampton. His other children were Anthony, Simeon, Samson, and Israel.

The Rev. Solomon Stoddard, his eldest child, and the *maternal grandfather* of President Edwards, was born in 1643, and received the degree of A. B. at Harvard College in 1662. Soon after his licensure, the first minister of Northampton, the Rev. Eleazer Mather, then a young man, died;* and the parish applied to one of the ministers of Boston to designate a successor. He advised them at all hazards to secure Mr. Stoddard. When the parish committee applied to him, he had already taken his passage for London, and put his effects on board the ship with the expectation of sailing the next day; but, through the earnest solicitation of the gentleman who had recommended him, he was induced to relinquish the voyage and go to Northampton. He began to preach there in 1669, soon after the death of Mr. Mather, and on the 4th of March, 1670, received a unanimous call from the church and people of that village to become their minister; but was not ordained until September 11, 1672. On the 8th of March, 1670, he married Mrs. Esther Mather, originally Miss Warham, the youngest child of Rev. John Warham,† of Windsor, in Connecticut, and widow of his predecessor, who had left three children.‡ Mr. and Mrs. Stoddard had twelve children: six sons and six daughters.§ He was a man celebrated throughout the colonies for his capacity, his knowledge of men, his influence in the churches, and his zeal for vital religion; and will long be remembered for his valuable writings, which have often been published on both sides of the Atlantic.‖ He was the minister of Northampton from 1672 until his death in 1729, and left impressions of a character strongly marked for originality, for talents, for energy and for piety, on the minds of its inhabitants, which the lapse of a century has scarcely begun to diminish. We shall have frequent occasion to refer to him, in the progress of this memoir.

The Rev. Timothy Edwards, the *father* of President Edwards, was born at Hartford, May 14, 1669, and pursued his studies preparatory to his admission to College, under the Rev. Mr. Glover of Springfield,¶ a gentleman, distinguished for his classical attainments. In 1687, he entered Harvard College, at that time the only seminary in the colonies; and received the two degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts on the same day, July 4th, 1691, one in the morning and the

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* Mr. Mather was ordained June 18, 1661, and died July 24, 1669.

† See Appendix C. ‡ See Appendix D. § See Appendix E.
‖ See Appendix F. ¶ Records of East Windsor.

other in the afternoon:—"an uncommon mark of respect paid to his extraordinary proficiency in learning."* After the usual course of theological study, at that time longer and more thorough than it was during the latter half of the following century, he was ordained to the ministry of the gospel in the east parish of Windsor in Connecticut, in May, 1694.

Windsor was the earliest settlement in that colony, the first house having been erected there in Oct. 1633. The original inhabitants came from Devonshire, Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, in England. They arrived at Boston in the beginning of the year 1630; and planting themselves at Dorchester in Massachusetts, were there formed into a congregational church on the 20th of March; when the Rev. John Warham, previously a distinguished clergyman in Exeter, but ejected as a non-conformist, was installed their pastor. Finding themselves straitened for room at that place, in consequence of the great number of emigrants from England, the church with their minister left Dorchester, and planted themselves in Windsor, in the summer of 1635. This town, lying immediately north of Hartford, and delightfully situated in the valley of the Connecticut, originally comprehended a very large tract of land on both sides of the river, and is distinguished for the fertility of its soil, and the beauty of its scenery. The inhabitants constituted one parish until the year 1694; when those residing on the eastern side of the Connecticut, "finding it inconvenient to cross the river, and being grown sufficiently numerous to support public worship among themselves, proceeded to build a church, which stood near to the present burying ground, and invited Mr. Timothy Edwards, son of Richard Edwards, Esquire, of Hartford, to be their minister."†

Mr. Edwards was married, on the 6th day of November, 1694, to Esther Stoddard, the second child of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, who was born in 1672. His father, immediately after his settlement, purchased for him a farm of moderate extent, and built him a house which was regarded at the time of its erection, as a handsome residence. I saw it in 1803; it was a solid substantial house of moderate dimensions, had one chimney in the middle, and was entered like all other houses of that period, by stepping over the sill. In this house his children were born, and he and Mrs. Edwards resided during their lives. They had one son and ten daughters, whose names follow in the order of their births—Esther, Elizabeth, Anne, Mary, Jonathan, Eunice, Abigail, Jerusha, Hannah, Lucy and Martha.‡

In the spring of 1711, Mr. Edwards and the Rev. Mr. Buck-

*Records of East Windsor. †Records of East Windsor. ‡See Appendix G.

ingham of Milford, were appointed by the legislature of the colony, the chaplains of the Connecticut troops in a military expedition, designed for Canada. He left Windsor for New-Haven in July. A fleet consisting of twenty men of war and eighty transports, sailed for Canada on the 30th of that month. Three companies under the command of Lieut. Col. Livingston, marched from New-Haven for Albany on the 9th of August, with whom went Mr. Edwards and Mr. Buckingham. The country through which their march lay, was at that time chiefly uncleared; and the troops were obliged two nights to lie out in the forest. They reached Albany on the 15th, and found there, including their own regiment, about 1100 whites and 120 Indians. The following letter, addressed to Mrs. Edwards from Albany, not only details the state of the expedition, but unfolds the character of the writer, and the circumstances of his family.

"To Mrs. Esther Edwards, on the east side of Connecticut River, in Windsor.

"*Albany, August* 17, 1711.

"My dear and loving wife,

"The last Wednesday we came to this place. That we might not travel too hard for the footmen of our troops, (which consisted but of half the regiment, the rest not marching out of New-Haven when we did,) we spent seven days in the journey, which Col. Livingston judges to be about 160 miles, and I am apt to think it may not be much short of it. I lay with our troops two nights in the woods. I took cold in my journey, and have something of a cough, and am otherwise not much amiss. Notwithstanding this, I am able to travel, and hope I shall be so through the whole journey. Col. Livingston has been very careful of me, so that through the whole march, both as to diet and lodging, I fared as well in the main as himself. The rest of the officers and the troops carry themselves as well to me as I can expect or desire.

"Here are about 1100 white men (or will be, at least, when the rest of the regiment come up, whom we expect to-night,) and 120 Indians, beside what are expected of the Five Nations, which many here think will be 1600 or 1800 men, but Col. Schuyler told me that he did not expect more than 1000. About 200 or 250 more whites are expected; so that the whole army that goes to Canada is like to be about 2500 men; to carry whom over the lake, there are provided, as I am told here, 350 batteaux and 40 or 50 bark canoes. The Governor of New-York and the General are here. The general is in great haste to have the forces on their march; so that Col.

Schuyler's regiment was, as I understand, ordered to march out of town yesterday; but as I slept last night, and still am, on the east side of the river, I am uncertain whether they are yet gone. The General told Col. Livingston, and me also afterwards, that we must march for Wood Creek to-morrow, but I am apt to think we shall hardly march 'till Monday.

"Whether I shall have any time to write to you after this I know not; but however that may be, I would not have you discouraged or over anxious concerning me, for I am not so about myself. I have still strong hopes of seeing thee and our dear children once again. I cannot but hope that I have had the gracious presence of God with me since I left home, encouraging and strengthening my soul, as well as preserving my life. I have been much cheered and refreshed respecting this great undertaking, in which I verily expect to proceed, and that I shall, before many weeks are at an end, see Canada; but I trust in the Lord that he will have mercy on me, and thee, my dear, and all our dear children, and that God has more work for me to do in the place where I have dwelt for many years, and that you and I shall yet live together on earth, as well as dwell together forever in heaven with the Lord Jesus Christ, and all his saints; with whom to be is best of all.

"Remember my love to each of the children, to Esther, Elizabeth, Anne, Mary, Jonathan, Eunice and Abigail. The Lord have mercy on and eternally save them all, with our dear little Jerusha! The Lord bind up their souls with thine and mine in the bundle of life. Tell the children, that I would have them, if they desire to see their father again, to pray daily for me in secret; and above all things to seek the grace and favor of God in Christ, and that while they are young.

"I would have you very careful of my books and account of rates. I sent you from New-Haven a 40*s* bill in a letter by Lieut. Willis, and since that, ordered the Treasurer to deliver to my father six pounds more for you. You may call for it or send for it by some sure hand.

"Though for a while we must be absent from each other, yet I desire that we may often meet at the throne of grace in our earnest prayers one for another, and have great hopes that God will hear and answer our prayers. The God of grace be with you. I am thy loving husband,

TIMOTHY EDWARDS."

On Monday, August 20th, they marched for Wood Creek. At Saratoga, in consequence of the fatigues and exposure of the march, Mr. Edwards was taken severely ill. On the 4th of September, being unable to proceed with the army, he was

conveyed in a boat to Stillwater. Thence he was carried back through the woods to Albany, where he arrived in three days in a state of extreme danger. On the 10th he wrote to Mrs. Edwards as follows.

"To Mrs. Esther Edwards in Windsor, N. England.

"*Albany, Sept. 10th*, 1711.

"My Dear,

"I came last Tuesday from Saratoga towards Albany, very ill, in order to return home; having been ill more than a month, and growing at last so weak that I could go no farther than that place, which is near fifty miles above Albany. I came to Albany in a waggon, lying along in a bed prepared for me, last Thursday night. Since then I have been at the house of Madam Vandyke, a Dutch gentlewoman, where I have been so kindly taken care of, that I am much better, and daily gain strength, and my lost appetite is somewhat recovered. I hope to be able to ride homeward next week.

"Last Friday I sent Mr Hezekiah Mason to N. England, to acquaint my father and my friends at Windsor how it is with me, and to desire three or four of them to come hither and to bring an easy horse with them for me to ride upon, and to come provided to carry home my effects, and to bring a blanket or two with them in case we should be forced to sleep in the woods. I should have written by him, but was too ill to do it. This is the first day I have been able to sit up. If the neighbors have not started when you receive this, speak to Mr. Drake that they set out as soon as possible.

"I rejoice to learn, by a letter from my father, that you were all well on the 2d, and hope in the mercy of God to see you all ere long.

"Lieut. Silvy, sent over by the Queen to serve in this expedition, a stout, active young man, who came sick with me in another waggon from the camp to Albany, died this evening just by my lodgings. We came together from the camp sick, we lay together in one room by the way sick, we lodged just by one another several days in this town sick—but he is dead, and I am alive and recovering. Blessed be God for his distinguishing and undeserved grace and favor to me! Remember my love to all the children. Give my respects to Mr. Colton, who, I understand, stays with you. I wish you to provide something for my cough, which is the worst I ever had in my life. Remember my love to sister Staughton and my duty to my father and mother, if you have opportunity.

"I am your very affectionately loving husband,

Timothy Edwards."

Owing to the lateness of the season and to numerous disappointments, the expedition was soon after relinquished; and in the course of the month Mr. Edwards returned home.

Mr. and Mrs. Edwards lived together in the married state upwards of sixty-three years. Mr. Edwards was about five feet ten inches in height; of a fair complexion; of a strong, robust frame; full, but not corpulent. He was a man of polished manners, particularly attentive to his dress, and to propriety of exterior: never appearing in public but in the full dress of a clergyman.

The management not only of his domestic concerns, but of his property generally, was entrusted to the care of Mrs. Edwards, who discharged the duties of a wife and a mother with singular fidelity and success. In strength of character she resembled her father; and like him she left behind her, in the place where she resided for seventy-six years, that "good name, which is better than precious ointment." On a visit to East Windsor, in the summer of 1823, I found a considerable number of persons advanced in years, who had been well acquainted with Mrs. Edwards, and two upwards of ninety, who had been pupils of her husband. From them I learned that she received a superior education in Boston, was tall, dignified and commanding in her appearance, affable and gentle in her manners, and was regarded as surpassing her husband in native vigor of understanding. They all united in speaking of her as possessed of remarkable judgment and prudence, of an exact sense of propriety, of extensive information, of a thorough knowledge of the scriptures and of theology, and of singular conscientiousness, piety and excellence of character. By her careful attention to all his domestic concerns, her husband was left at full liberty to devote himself to the proper duties of his profession. Like many of the clergy of that early period in New-England, he was well acquainted with Hebrew literature, and was regarded as a man of more than usual learning; but was particularly distinguished for his accurate knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics. In addition to his other duties, he annually prepared a number of pupils for college; there being at that time no academies or public schools endowed for this purpose. One of my aged informants, who pursued his preparatory studies under him, told me, that on his admission to college, when the officers had learned with whom he had studied, they remarked to him, that there was no need of examining Mr. Edwards' scholars.

He was, for that period, unusually liberal and enlightened, with regard to the education of his children—preparing not only his son, but each of his daughters also, for college. In

a letter, bearing date Aug. 3, 1711, while absent on the expedition to Canada, he wishes that Jonathan and the girls may continue to prosecute the study of Latin; and in another of Aug. 7, that he may continue to recite his Latin to his elder sisters. When his daughters were of the proper age, he sent them to Boston to finish their education. Both he and Mrs. Edwards were exemplary in their care of their religious instruction; and, as the reward of their parental fidelity, were permitted to see the fruits of piety in them all during their youth.

He always preached extemporaneously, and, until he was upwards of seventy, without noting down the heads of his discourse. After that time, he commonly wrote the divisions on small slips of paper; which, as they occasionally appeared beyond the leaves of the Bible, that he held in his hand, his parishioners called, "Mr. Edwards' thumb papers." Apologizing for this one day to one of his pupils, he remarked to him, that he found his memory beginning to fail, but that he thought his judgment as sound as ever; and this was likewise the opinion of his people till near the close of his life. He is not known to have written out but a single sermon; which was preached at the General Election, in 1732, and was published. It is a solemn and faithful application of the doctrine of a general judgment to his hearers, particularly as legislators and magistrates. As he lived till within a few months of his son's decease, the latter often visited his father and preached in his desk. It was the customary remark of the people, that "although Mr. *Edwards* was perhaps the more learned man, and more animated in his manner, yet Mr. *Jonathan* was the deeper preacher."

His influence over his congregation was commanding, and was steadily exerted on the side of truth and righteousness. When he knew of any division among them, he went immediately to see that the parties were reconciled; and when he heard of any improper conduct on the part of any individuals, it was his uniform custom to go and reprove them. Under his preaching, the gospel was attended with a regular, uniform efficacy, and in frequent instances, with revivals of religion; yet no record is preserved of the actual admissions to the church. From some of the family letters, I find incidental mention of a revival of religion, as existing in 1715 and 1716; during which Mrs. Edwards, and two of her daughters, made a profession of their christian faith; and several others of the family are spoken of, as "travelling towards Zion with their faces thitherward." His son observes, in 1737, that he had known of no parish in the west of New-England, except Northampton, which had as often been favoured with revivals of religion, as that of his father.

During the whole of his ministry, he was regarded by his people with great respect and affection: no symptoms of dissatisfaction having been manifested by them for sixty-three years. In the summer of 1752, on account of his increasing infirmities he proposed to them the settlement of a colleague; and they actually settled one, the Rev. Joseph Perry, June 11th, 1755; but continued his salary until his death, which took place Jan. 27, 1758, when he was eighty-nine years of age.

Mrs. Edwards survived him twelve years: her fourth daughter, Mary, residing with her and watching over the infirmities of age. From a lady in East Windsor far advanced in life, I learned the following facts. Mrs. Edwards was always fond of books, and discovered a very extensive acquaintance with them in her conversation; particularly with the best theological writers. After the death of her husband, her family being small, a large portion of her time was devoted to reading. A table always stood in the middle of her parlor, on which lay a large quarto bible, and treatises on doctrinal and experimental religion. In the afternoon, at a stated hour, such of the ladies of the neighbourhood, as found it convenient, went customarily to her house, accompanied not unfrequently by their children. Her daughter regularly read a chapter of the Bible, and then a passage from some religious author; but was often stopped by the comments and remarks of her mother, who always closed the interview with prayer. On these occasions, it was a favorite point with the neighbouring females, even with those who were young, to be present; all of them regularly attending when they were able, and many of them, among whom was my informant, dating their first permanent attention to religion from the impressions here made. In this way she was regarded with a respect bordering on veneration, and was often spoken of by Mr. Perry, as one of his most efficient auxiliaries. She died Jan. 19, 1770, in the 99th year of her age, retaining her mental faculties until the close of her life. Her daughter Mary, "spent many years of her early life at Northampton with Mr. and Mrs. Stoddard; and returning thence to her father's house, she was the nurse and attendant, and I may almost say, support of her aged parents. She was a woman of most amiable disposition, fine understanding, and uncommon attainments, had read much and appeared to have made the best improvement of the knowledge that she obtained."* She survived her mother, six years.

* From the letter of an excellent lady in Middletown, in whose family she resided several years.

CHAPTER II.

His Birth and Education.—Earliest Productions of his Pen.

Jonathan Edwards, the subject of the present memoir, was the fifth child of Timothy and Esther Edwards. He was born in the east parish of Windsor, now East-Windsor, on the banks of the Connecticut, on the 5th day of October, 1703.

Owing to the intellectual and moral culture of his parents, his education may be regarded as having been begun in infancy, and as having been, in all respects, of the best and happiest character. The government of their family, at once strict and affectionate, formed him to early habits of obedience and sobriety, and saved him from those "evil communications," which too often lead to follies and excesses in childhood and youth. The refinement of manners and of character, which he witnessed in them and in their friends, prepared his own mind from his earliest years, to withdraw from every thing low and grovelling, and to find a high enjoyment in all the varieties of intellectual and moral beauty. Their own minds, enlightened by knowledge, taught his from the first, to open and expand by an acquaintance with all the objects of contemplation within its reach. Their faithful religious instructions rendered him, when a child, familiarly conversant with God and with Christ, with his own character and duties, with the way of salvation and with the nature of that eternal life, which, begun on earth, is perfected in heaven. In their example of consistent and devoted piety, he saw them walking daily before him, in the only path which conducts to that world of life. While their prayers, commencing with his existence, and offered up with deep humility and prevailing faith, secured for him, at an early period of life, the peculiar blessing of God.

In the progress of childhood, in consequence of the faithful instructions and prayers of his parents, he was in several instances the subject of strong religious impressions. This was particularly true, some years before he went to college, during a powerful revival of religion in his father's congregation. He, and two other lads of his own age, who had the same feelings with himself, erected a booth, in a very retired spot in a swamp, for an oratory, and resorted to it regularly for

social prayer. This continued for a long period; but the impressions ultimately disappeared, and in his own view, were followed by no permanent effects of a salutary nature.*

He commenced the study of the Latin, when six years of age, under the care of his father, and occasionally that of his elder sisters. No account is preserved of his progress in his studies, at that early period, but his high standing as a scholar, on his admission to college as well as afterwards, and his thorough knowledge of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew, prove at once, his own diligence as a student at this time, and the accuracy and fidelity of his parent's instructions.

From the manuscripts which have fallen into my hands, I conclude that his father's family were fond of the use of the pen, and that he and his sisters were very early encouraged by their parents to make attempts, not only in letter writing, but in other species of composition. This course, though rarely pursued with children, is eminently advantageous; and in the case before us, was obviously followed by the best results. While it increased the mutual affection of the brother and the sisters, it also served to strengthen their minds, and to impart exactness both of thought and expression The earliest effort of his pen, which I have met with, appears to have been written on the following occasion. Some one in the vicinity, probably an older boy than himself, had advanced the opinion, either in writing or in conversation, *that the soul was material, and remained with the body till the resurrection;* and had endeavored to convince him of its correctness. Struck with the absurdity of the notion, he sat down and wrote the following reply; which, as a specimen both of wit and reasoning in a child, may fairly claim to be preserved. It is without date, and without pointing, or any division into sentences; and has every appearance of having been written by a boy just after he had learned to write.†

"I am informed that you have advanced a notion, that the soul is material, and attends the body till the resurrection; as I am a professed lover of novelty, you must imagine I am very much entertained by this discovery; (which however old in some parts of the world, is new to us;) but suffer my curiosity a little further. I would know the manner of the kingdom, before I swear allegiance. 1st. I would know whether this material soul keeps with [the body] in the coffin; and, if so, whether it might not be convenient to build a repository

* His own account of this subject will be found on a subsequent page.

† From the hand, the spelling, and the want of separation into sentences, I cannot doubt that it was written at least one year and probably two, earlier than the letter which follows.

for it; in order to which, I would know what shape it is of, whether round, triangular or four square; or whether it is a number of long fine strings reaching from the head to the foot, and whether it does not live a very discontented life. I am afraid when the coffin gives way, the earth will fall in and crush it; but if it should choose to live above ground, and hover about the grave, how big it is;—whether it covers all the body, or is assigned to the head, or breast, or how. If it covers all the body, what it does when another body is laid upon it: whether the first gives way; and, if so, where is the place of retreat. But suppose that souls are not so big but that ten or a dozen of them may be about one body; whether they will not quarrel for the highest place; and, as I insist much upon my honor and property, I would know whether I must quit my dear head, if a superior soul comes in the way; but above all I am concerned to know what they do, where a burying place has been filled twenty, thirty, or an hundred times. If they are a top of one another, the uppermost will be so far off, that it can take no care of the body. I strongly suspect they must march off every time there comes a new set. I hope there is some other place provided for them but dust. The undergoing so much hardship, and being deprived of the body at last will make them ill tempered. I leave it with your physical genius to determine, whether some medicinal applications might not be proper in such cases, and subscribe your proselyte, when I can have solution of these matters."

The following letter to one of his sisters, written at twelve years of age is the earliest *dated* effort of his pen which I have discovered.

"To Miss Mary Edwards, at Hadley,

"*Windsor, May* 10, 1716.

"Dear Sister,

"Through the wonderful goodness and mercy of God, there has been in this place a very remarkable outpouring of the Spirit of God. It still continues, but I think I have reason to think is in some measure diminished; yet I hope not much. Three have joined the church since you last heard, five now stand propounded for admission; and I think above thirty persons come commonly a Mondays to converse with father about the condition of their souls. It is a time of general health here. Abigail, Hannah and Lucy have had the chicken pox, and are recovered. Jerusha is almost well. Except her, the whole family is well.

"Sister, I am glad to hear of your welfare so often as I do.

I should be glad to hear from you by letter, and therein how it is with you as to your crookedness.

"Your loving brother,

"JONATHAN E."

He was educated, until he entered college, at home, and under his father's personal instruction; while his older sisters were daily pursuing their respective branches of study in his immediate presence. Their father, having been distinguished as a scholar, was able to give them, and as we have seen, actually gave them, a superior education. In all their various pursuits, the mind of their brother, as it opened, would of course be more and more interested; and thus at length he would easily and insensibly acquire a mass of information far beyond his years. The course of his education may in this way have been less systematic, indeed, and less conformed to rule, than that ordinarily given in the school. At the same time it was more safe; forming him to softer manners, gentler feelings and purer affections. In his circumstances, also, it was obviously more comprehensive and universal; and, while it brought him acquainted with many things which are not usually communicated until a later period, it also served to unfold the original traits of his mind, and to give it that expansion, which is the result of information alone.

One characteristic, of which he has not generally been suspected, but which he possessed in an unusual degree, was a fondness, minutely and critically to investigate the works of nature. This propensity was not only discovered in youth and manhood, but was fully developed in childhood, and at that early period was encouraged and cherished by the fostering hand of parental care. This will be obvious from the two subsequent productions of his pen, which were written on the following occasion. His father had some correspondent of distinction, to whom in the course of his letters, he had given an account, of an interesting natural curiosity. This gentleman, who probably resided in England,* in the postscript of his reply expressed a desire, that he would favor him with any other information that he might possess of a similar kind. The son had not long before been busily engaged in observing, with deep interest and with a philosophic eye, the wonderful movements and singular skill of that species of Spider which inhabits the forest; and having written down his own

* No trace of the name or residence of the correspondent is preserved in the papers; but from the care taken by the son to inform him that the sea lay on the east of New-England, he probably did not reside in this, but in the mother country.

observations, had doubtless read them in the hearing of the family. The father, gratified with this discovery of his son's talents and power of observation, and pleased with this early effort of his pen, encouraged him to turn it into the form of a letter, and to send it to his correspondent, in his own name, with an apology of his own. The apology and the account, which are copied from his own rough draught of both, in his earliest hand, after he had corrected the language of each with very great care, are contained in the two following letters; both of which, as left in the rough draught, are without the date, and the name of the correspondent, and the latter, though in the form of a letter, has not the customary form of conclusion.

"*May it please your Honour,*

"In the postscript of your letter to my father, you manifest a willingness to receive any thing else that he has observed worthy of remark, respecting the wonders of nature. What there is an account of in the following lines, is by him thought to be such. He has laid it upon me to write the account, I having had advantage to make more full observations than himself. Forgive me that I do not conceal my name, and communicate this to you through a mediator. I do not state it as an hypothesis, but as a plain fact, which my own eyes have witnessed, and which every one's senses may make him as certain of as of any thing else. Although these things appear to me thus certain, still I submit the whole to your better judgment and deeper insight. And I humbly beg to be pardoned for running the venture, though an utter stranger, of troubling you with so prolix an account of that, which I am altogether uncertain, whether you will esteem worthy of the time and pains of reading. If you think the observations childish, and beside the rules of decorum,—with greatness and goodness overlook it in a child. Pardon me, if I thought it might at least give you occasion to make better observations, such as should be worthy of communicating to the learned world, respecting these wondrous animals, from whose glistening web so much of the wisdom of the Creator shines.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"Jonathan Edwards."

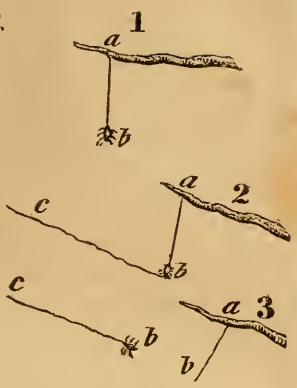
"*May it please your Honour,*

"There are some things that I have happily seen of the wondrous way of the working of the spider. Although every thing belonging to this insect is admirable, there are some phenomena relating to them more particularly wonderful.

Every body that is used to the country, knows their marching in the air from one tree to another, sometimes at the distance of five or six rods. Nor can one go out in a dewy morning, at the latter end of August and the beginning of September, but he shall see multitudes of webs, made visible by the dew that hangs on them, reaching from one tree, branch and shrub, to another: which webs are commonly thought to be made in the night, because they appear only in the morning; whereas none of them are made in the night, for these spiders never come out in the night when it is dark, as the dew is then falling. But these webs may be seen well enough in the day time by an observing eye, by their reflection in the sun-beams. Especially late in the afternoon, may these webs, that are between the eye and that part of the horizon that is under the sun, be seen very plainly, being advantageously posited to reflect the rays. And the spiders themselves may be very often seen travelling in the air, from one stage to another amongst the trees, in a very unaccountable manner. But I have often seen that, which is much more astonishing. In very calm and serene days in the forementioned time of year, standing at some distance behind the end of an house or some other opake body, so as just to hide the disk of the sun and keep off his dazzling rays, and looking along close by the side of it, I have seen a vast multitude of little shining webs, and glistening strings, brightly reflecting the sunbeams, and some of them of great length, and of such a height, that one would think they were tacked to the vault of the heavens, and would be burnt like tow in the sun, and make a very beautiful, pleasing, as well as surprising appearance. It is wonderful at what a distance, these webs may plainly be seen. Some that are at a great distance appear (it cannot be less than) several thousand times as big as they ought. I believe they appear under as great an angle, as a body of a foot diameter ought to do at such a distance; so greatly doth brightness increase the apparent bigness of bodies at a distance, as is observed of the fixed stars.

"But that which is most astonishing, is, that very often appears at the end of these webs, spiders sailing in the air with them; which I have often beheld with wonderment and pleasure, and showed to others. And since I have seen these things, I have been very conversant with spiders; resolving if possible, to find out the mysteries of these their astonishing works. And I have been so happy as very frequently to see their manner of working; that when a spider would go from one tree to another, or would fly in the air, he first lets himself down a little way from the twig he stands on by a web, as

in Fig. 1; and then, laying hold of it by his fore feet, and bearing himself by that, puts out a web, as in Fig. 2, which is drawn out of his tail with infinite ease, in the gently moving air, to what length the spider pleases; and if the farther end happens to catch by a shrub or the branch of a tree, the spider immediately feels it, and fixes the hither end of it to the web by which he let himself down, and goes over by that web which he put out of his tail as in Fig. 3. And this, my eyes have innumerable times made me sure of.



"Now, Sir, it is certain that these webs, when they first proceed from the spider, are so rare a substance, that they are lighter than the air, because they will ascend in it, as they will immediately in a calm air, and never descend except driven by a wind; wherefore 'tis certain. And 'tis as certain, that what swims and ascends in the air is lighter than the air, as that what ascends and swims in water is lighter than water. So that if we should suppose any such time, wherein the air is perfectly calm, this web is so easily drawn out of the spider's tail, that if the end of it be once out, barely the levity of it is sufficient to draw it out to any length; wherefore if it don't happen that the end of this web, *b c*, catches by a tree or some other body, 'till there is so long a web drawn out, that its levity shall be so great as more than to counterbalance the gravity of the spider, or so that the web and the spider, taken together, shall be lighter than such a quantity of air as takes up equal space, then according to the universally acknowledged laws of nature, the web and the spider together will ascend, and not descend, in the air: as when a man is at the bottom of the water, if he has hold of a piece of timber so great, that the wood's tendency upwards is greater than the man's tendency downwards, he together with the wood will ascend to the surface of the water. And therefore, when the spider perceives that the web *b c* is long enough to bear him up by its ascending force, he lets go his hold of the web *a b*, Fig 3, and ascends in the air with the web *b c*. If there be not web more than enough, just to counterbalance the gravity of the spider, the spider together with the web will hang in equilibrio, neither ascending nor descending, otherwise than as the air moves. But if there is so much web, that its greater levity shall more than equal the greater density of the spider, they will ascend till the air is so thin, that the spider and web

together are just of an equal weight with so much air. And in this way, Sir, I have multitudes of times seen spiders mount away into the air, from a stick in my hands, with a vast train of this silver web before them; for, if the spider be disturbed upon the stick by shaking of it, he will presently in this manner leave it. And their way of working may very distinctly be seen, if they are held up in the sun, or against a dark door, or any thing that is black.

"Now, Sir, the only remaining difficulty is, how they first put out the end of the web *b c*, Fig. 3, out of their tails. If once the web is out, it is easy to conceive how the levity of it, together with the motion of the air, may draw it out to a great length. But how should they first let out of their tails, the end of so fine and even a string; seeing that the web, while it is in the spider, is a certain cloudy liquor, with which that great bottle tail of theirs is filled; which immediately, upon its being exposed to the air, turns to a dry substance, and exceedingly rarifies and extends itself. Now if it be a liquor, it is hard to conceive how they should let out a fine even thread, without expelling a little drop at the end of it; but none such can be discerned. But there is no need of this; for it is only separating that part of the web *b c*, Fig. 2, from *a b*, and the end of the web is already out. Indeed, Sir, I never could distinctly see them do this: so small a piece of web being imperceptible among the spider's legs. But I cannot doubt but that it is so, because there is a necessity that they should some way or other separate the web *a b*, Fig. 3, from their tails, before they can let out the web *b c*. And then I know they do have ways of dividing their webs by biting them off, or in some other way. Otherwise they could not separate themselves from the web *a b*, Fig. 3.

"And this, Sir, is the way of spiders going from one tree to another, at a great distance; and this is the way of their flying in the air. And, although I say I am certain of it, I don't desire that the truth of it should be received upon my word; though I could bring others to testify to it, to whom I have shown it, and who have looked on, with admiration, to see their manner of working. But every one's eyes, that will take the pains to observe, will make them as sure of it. Only those, that would make experiment, must take notice that it is not every sort of spider that is a flying spider, for those spiders that keep in houses are a quite different sort, as also those that keep in the ground, and those that keep in swamps, in hollow trees, and rotten logs; but those spiders, that keep on branches of trees and shrubs, are the flying spiders. They delight most in walnut trees, and are that sort of spiders that make those curious network polygonal webs, that are so fre-

quently to be seen in the latter end of the year. There are more of this sort of spiders by far than of any other.

"But yet, Sir, I am assured that the chief end of this faculty, that is given them, is not their recreation, but their destruction; because their destruction is unavoidably the effect of it; and we shall find nothing, that is the continual effect of nature, but what is of the means by which it is brought to pass. But it is impossible, but that the greatest part of the spiders upon the land should, every year, be swept into the ocean. For these spiders never fly, except the weather is fair and the atmosphere dry; but the atmosphere is never clear, neither in this nor any other continent, only when the wind blows from the midland parts, and consequently towards the sea. As here in New-England, the fair weather is only when the wind is westerly, the land being on that side, and the ocean on the easterly. And I never have seen any of these spiders flying, but when they have been hastening directly towards the sea. And the time of their flying being so long, even from about the middle of August every sunshiny day, until about the end of October; (though their chief time, as I observed before, is the latter end of August, and beginning of September;) and they never flying from the sea, but always towards it; must needs get there at last; for its unreasonable to suppose that they have sense enough to stop themselves when they come near the sea; for then they would have hundreds of times as many spiders upon the sea-shore, as any where else.

"The same also holds true of other sorts of flying insects; for at these times, that I have viewed the spiders with their webs in the air, there has also appeared vast multitudes of flies, and all flying the same way with the spiders and webs directly to the ocean; and even such as butterflies, millers and moths, which keep in the grass at this time of year, I have seen vastly higher than the tops of the highest trees, all going the same way. These I have seen towards evening, without such a screen to defend my eyes from the sunbeams; which I used to think were seeking a warmer climate.

"The reason of their flying at that time of year, I take to be because then the ground and trees, the places of their residence in summer, begin to be chilly and uncomfortable. Therefore when the sun shines pretty warm they leave them, and mount up in the air, and expand their wings to the sun, and flying for nothing but their own ease and comfort, they suffer themselves to go that way, that they find they can go with the greatest ease, and so where the wind pleases; and it being warmth they fly for, they find it cold and laborious flying against the wind. They therefore seem to use their wings,

but just so much as to bear them up, and suffer them to go with the wind. So that without doubt almost all aerial insects, and also spiders which live upon trees and are made up of them, are at the end of the year swept away into the sea, and buried in the ocean, and leave nothing behind them but their eggs, for a new stock the next year."

These letters, I cannot assign to a later age than twelve.* The latter, as I think the reader will perceive, evinces an exactness and originality of observation, as well as an accuracy and felicity of description, not always rivalled in later years. The former, as an exhibition of delicacy, beauty and grace, will probably be classed among the happiest efforts of the juvenile pen. As a natural historian, he had the honor, I believe, to be the first to observe, and communicate, these singular phenomena respecting the spider; and had he devoted himself to that interesting science, to which he was thus early and auspiciously introduced, no one will doubt, that he might easily have gained its highest honors. That he did not wholly neglect it from this time, we shall see hereafter.

He entered Yale College in New-Haven, in Sept. 1716, before he was thirteen years of age. The college was then in its infancy, and various untoward circumstances had greatly impeded its growth. It was first planted at Saybrook, and then partially removed to Kenilworth, to the house of its first Rector, until his death in 1707. From that time the Rev. Mr. Andrews of Milford, one of the Trustees, was Rector *pro tempore* upwards of twelve years; and the location of the college was a constant theme of contention between the towns of New-Haven, Saybrook, Wethersfield and Hartford, until 1716; when the vote of the trustees, the donation of Mr. Yale, and the vote of the legislature of the colony, fixed it permanently at New-Haven. In the collegiate year, 1716-1717, thirteen of the students resided at New-Haven, fourteen at Wethersfield, and four at Saybrook. The temporary presidency of Mr. Andrews continued until 1719; and as he was the acting minister of Milford, his oversight of the college, and his influence over the students, must of course have been exceedingly imperfect. The government of the institution, virtually and necessarily, was chiefly in the hands of the tutors; who, as young men without experience and a knowledge

* He became a member of college at that age. In one of them he speaks of himself as "*a child*," an epithet rarely if ever applied by a boy, especially by a Freshman, to himself after that period of life. They appear obviously to have been written while he resided at home, and the hand writing is of the earliest and most unformed cast.

of mankind, could not usually be found qualified for so difficult a trust. Some time in the year 1717, the extreme unpopularity of one of the tutors occasioned a general insurrection of the students, who were at New-Haven, against the government of the college; and in one body they withdrew from New-Haven, and joined their companions at Wethersfield. At the commencement in that year, eight of the senior class returned to New-Haven, to receive their degrees of the regular college government; while five received theirs irregularly at Wethersfield. I have discovered no evidence of any kind that Edwards took part in these disturbances. He went, however, with his companions to Wethersfield, and continued there until 1719. While there, he gained a high character and standing in his class. His father, writing to one of his daughters, under date of Jan. 27, 1718, says, "I have not heard but that your brother Jonathan is also well. He has a very good name at Wethersfield, both as to his carriage and his learning." While at Wethersfield, he wrote to one of his sisters the following letter; which, as it is a document relating to an interesting event in the history of the college, may not improperly be preserved.

"To Miss Mary Edwards at Northampton.

Wethersfield, March 26, 1719.

"Dear Sister,

"Of all the many sisters I have, I think I never had one so long out of my hearing as yourself: inasmuch as I cannot remember, that I ever heard one tittle from you, from the time you last went up the country, until the last week by Mr. B. who then came from Northampton. When he came in, I truly rejoiced to see him, because I fully expected to receive a letter from you by him. But being disappointed, and that not a little, I was willing to make that, which I hoped would be an opportunity of receiving, the same of sending. For I thought it was a pity, that there should not be the least correspondence between us, or communication from one to another, when at no farther distance. I hope also that this may be a means of exciting the same in yourself; and so, having more charity for you than to believe, that I am quite out of your mind, or that you are not at all concerned for me, I think it fit that I should give you some account of my condition, relative to the school. I suppose you are fully acquainted with our coming away from New-Haven, and the circumstances thereof. Since then we have been in a more prosperous condition, as I think, than ever. But the council and trustees, having lately had a meeting at New-Haven concern-

ing it, have removed that which was the cause of our coming away, viz. Mr. Johnson, from the place of a tutor, and have put in Mr. Cutler, Pastor of Canterbury, President; who, as we hear, intends very speedily to be resident at Yale College, so that all the scholars belonging to our school expect to return there, as soon as our vacancy after the election is over.

"I am your loving brother in good health,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

While a member of college, he was distinguished for the uniform sobriety and correctness of his behavior, for diligent application to his studies, and for rapid and thorough attainments in learning. In the second year of his collegiate course, while at Wethersfield, he read Locke on the Human Understanding with peculiar pleasure. The uncommon strength and penetration of his mind, which admirably qualified him for profound thought and metaphysical investigation, began to be discovered and exerted even at this early age. From his own account of the subject, he was inexpressibly entertained and delighted with that profound work, when he read it at the age of fourteen; enjoying a far higher pleasure in the perusal of its pages, "than the most greedy miser finds, when gathering up handfuls of silver and gold, from some newly discovered treasure." To studies of this class he from that time devoted himself, as to those in which he felt the most intense interest. Still, however, he applied himself, with so much diligence and success, to the performance of his assigned duties, as to sustain the first standing in his class, and to secure the highest approbation of his instructors.

The Rev. Mr. Cutler repaired to New-Haven early in June 1719, at the opening of the summer term, to enter on the duties of his office as Rector; and the students, among whom was Edwards, returned to the college. The following letter from the Rector to his father, will show the character which he had acquired while at Wethersfield, and the trying circumstances of the college.

"*New-Haven, June* 30, 1719.

"REV. SIR,

"Your letter came to my hands by your son. I congratulate you upon his promising abilities and advances in learning. He is now under my care, and probably may continue so, and doubtless will so do if he should remain here, and I be settled in the business I am now in. I can assure you, Rev. Sir, that your good affection to me in this affair, and that of the ministers around you, is no small inducement to me; and if I am

prevailed on thereby, it shall be a strong motive to me to improve my poor abilities, in the service of such hopeful youths as are with us. They may suffer much from my weakness, but they shall not from my neglect. I am no party-man, but shall carry it, with an equal hand and affection, to the whole college; and I doubt not, but the difficulty and importance of the business will secure me your prayers,and those of all good men, which I do much value and desire.

"I remain, under the earnest hope and expectation of your prayers, Your humble servant,

"T. Cutler."

The following characteristical letter, written to his father in his third collegiate year, will not be uninteresting to the reader.

"To the Rev. Timothy Edwards, Pastor of the Church at East Windsor.

"*New-Haven, July* 21, 1719.

"Ever honoured Sir,

"I received, with two books, a letter from yourself, bearing the date of July 7th; and therein I received with the greatest gratitude, your most wholesome advice and counsel; and I hope I shall, God helping of me, use my utmost endeavours to put the same in practice. I am sensible of the preciousness of my time, and am resolved it shall not be through any neglect of mine, if it slips without the greatest advantage. I take very great content under my present tuition, as all the rest of the scholars seem to do under theirs. Mr. Cutler is extraordinarily courteous to us, has a very good spirit of government, keeps the school in excellent order, seems to increase in learning, is loved and respected by all who are under him, and when he is spoken of in the school or town, he generally has the title of President. The scholars all live in very good peace with the people of the town, and there is not a word said about our former carryings on, except now and then by aunt Mather. I have diligently searched into the circumstances of Stiles's examination, which was very short, and as far as I can understand was to no other disadvantage than that he was examined in Tully's Orations; in which, though he had never construed before he came to New-Haven, yet he committed no error in that or any other book, whether Latin, Greek or Hebrew, except in Virgil, wherein he could not tell the *Preteritum* of *Requiesco.* He is very well treated among the scholars, and accepted in the college as a member of it by every body, and also as a freshman; nei-

ther as I think, is he inferior as to learning, to any of his classmates. I have enquired of Mr. Cutler, what books we shall have need of the next year. He answered he would have me get against that time, Alstead's Geometry and Gassendus' Astronomy; with which I would intreat you to get a pair of dividers, or mathematician's compasses, and a scale, which are absolutely necessary in order to learning mathematics; and also, the Art of Thinking, which, I am persuaded, would be no less profitable, than the other necessary, to me, who am Your most dutiful Son,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

"P. S. What we give a week for our board, is £0.5*s*. 0*d*."

CHAPTER III.

Habits of Study.—Early Productions.—Notes on the Mind.

The Habits of study, which Edwards formed in very early youth, were not only strict and severe, and this in every branch of literature, but in one respect, peculiar. Even while a boy, he began to study, *with his pen in his hand:* not for the purpose of copying off the thoughts of others, but for the purpose of writing down, and preserving, the thoughts suggested to his own mind, from the course of study which he was pursuing. This most useful practice, he commenced in several branches of study very early; and he steadily pursued it in all his studies through life. His pen appears to have been, in a sense, always in his hand. From this practice, steadily persevered in, he derived the very great advantages of thinking continually during each period of study; of thinking accurately; of thinking connectedly; of thinking habitually at all times; of banishing from his mind every subject, which was not worthy of continued and systematic thought; of pursuing each given subject of thought as far as he was able, at the happy moment when it opened spontaneously on his mind; of pursuing every such subject afterwards, in regular sequence, starting anew from the point where he had previously left off, when again it opened upon him, in some new and interesting light; of preserving his best thoughts, his best associations, his best images, and then arranging them under their proper heads, ready for subsequent use; of regularly strengthening the faculty of thinking and reasoning, by constant and powerful exercise; and, above all, of gradually moulding himself into a thinking being—a being, who, instead of regarding thinking and reasoning as labour, could find no high enjoyment but in intense, systematic and certain thought. In this view of the subject, when we remember how few students comparatively, from the want of this mental discipline, think at all; how few of those, who think at all, think habitually; how few of those, who think habitually, think to purpose; and how few of those, who think to purpose, attain to the fulness of the measure of the stature, to which, as thinking beings, they might have attained; it will not, I think, be doubted, that the practice in question was the principal means, of the ultimate developement of his mental superiority.

I find four distinct Series of these manuscript Notes or Remarks, which, from the hand writing,* as well as from other evidence, were obviously commenced by him during his collegiate life; and, as nearly as I can judge, in the following order. The first, entitled, "THE MIND," is a brief collection of discussions and remarks in Mental Philosophy. The second is without a title, and consists of NOTES ON NATURAL SCIENCE. The third is entitled, "NOTES ON THE SCRIPTURES." The fourth is entitled, "MISCELLANIES," and consists chiefly of observations on the Doctrines of the Scriptures. The two last, he continued through life.

The Series of remarks, entitled, "THE MIND," judging both from the handwriting and the subjects, I suppose was commenced either during, or soon after, his perusal of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding. It contains nine leaves of foolscap, folded separately, and a few more, obviously written at a later period. The arrangement of subjects, in these papers, is less perfect, than that which he subsequently adopted in other writings. It is as follows. The word, proper to express a given subject, is written at the commencement of the paragraph, which introduces it, in very large letters. Where several subjects are found on one page, they are numbered, 1, 2, 3, &c. These numbers, with that of the page, furnish the reference in the index. A few passages will enable the reader, to judge of the character and habits of his mind, at that period of life.

"PLACE of minds. Our common way of conceiving of what is spiritual, is very gross, and shadowy, and corporeal, with dimensions, and figure, &c.; though it be supposed to be very clear, so that we can see through it. If we would get a right notion of what is spiritual, we must think of thought, or inclination, or delight. How large is that thing in the mind, which they call *thought*? Is *love* square, or round? Is the surface of *hatred* rough, or smooth. Is *joy* an inch, or a foot, in diameter? These are spiritual things; and why should we then form such a ridiculous idea of Spirits, as to think them so long, so thick, or so wide, or to think there is a necessity of their being either square or round, or some other certain figure?

* When a boy, his writing was round or circular, to an unusual degree, and very legible. At the age of twenty, it was more angular and less distinct, though much improved in appearance. From the time when he began to preach, in all his papers intended for his own inspection, his hand became more and more careless, and less and less legible; though, even to the close of life, his *Letters* were always neatly and legibly written. He appears to have had one hand for himself, and another for his friends.

"Therefore, Spirits cannot be *in place*, in such a sense, that all within the given limits shall be where the spirit is, and all without such a circumscription, where he is not: but in this sense only, that all created spirits have clearer and more strongly impressed ideas of things, in one place, than in another, or can produce effects here, and not there; and as this place alters, so spirits move. In spirits, united to bodies, the Spirit more strongly perceives things where the body is, and can there immediately produce effects; and in this sense, the soul can be said to be in the same place, where the body is. And this law is that we call *the union between soul and body.* So the soul may be said to be in the brain, because ideas that come by the body immediately ensue, only on alterations that are made there; and the soul most immediately produces effects no where else.

"No doubt that all finite spirits, united to bodies or not, are thus *in place;* that is, that they perceive, or passively receive, ideas, only or chiefly, of created things, that are in some particular place at a given time. At least, a finite spirit cannot thus be in all places at a time, equally. And doubtless the change of the place, where they perceive most strongly, and produce effects immediately, is regular and successive; which is the motion of spirits."

"PERCEPTION of separate minds. Our perceptions, or ideas that we passively receive by our bodies, are communicated to us immediately by God, while our minds are united with our bodies; but only we in some measure know *the rule.* We know that, upon such alterations in our minds, there follow such ideas in the mind. It need, therefore, be no difficulty with us, how we shall perceive things when we are separate. They will be communicated, then also, and according to some rule, no doubt; only we know not what."

"UNION of mind with body. The mind is so united with the body, that an alteration is caused in the body, it is probable, by every action of the mind. By those that are very vigourous, a great alteration is very sensible; and at some times, when the vigour of the body is impaired by disease, especially in the head, almost every action causes a sensible alteration in the body."

"CERTAINTY. Determined that there are many degrees of Certainty; though not indeed of absolute certainty, which is infinitely strong. We are certain of many things upon demonstration, which yet we may be made more certain of, by more demonstration; because, although according to the strength of the mind, we see the connection of the ideas, yet a stronger mind would see the connection more perfectly and strongly, because it would have the ideas more perfect. We

have not such a strength of mind, that we can perfectly conceive of but very few things; and some little of the strength of an idea is lost, in a moment of time, as we in the mind look, successively, on the train of ideas in a demonstration."

"TRUTH. Truth is the perception of the relations there are between ideas. Falsehood is the supposition of relations between ideas, that are inconsistent with those ideas themselves, not in the disagreement with things without. All truth is in the mind, and only there. 'Tis ideas, or what is in the mind alone, that can be the object of the mind; and what we call Truth, is a consistent supposition of relations between what is the object of the mind. Falsehood is an inconsistent supposition of relations. The truth, that is in a mind, must be, as to its object, and every thing pertaining to it, in that mind; for what is perfectly without the mind, the mind has nothing to do with.

"The only foundation of error, is inadequateness and imperfection of ideas; for if the idea were perfect, it would be impossible, but that all its relations should be perfectly perceived."

"GENUS. The various distributing and ranking of things, and tying of them together, under one common abstract idea, is, although arbitrary, yet exceeding useful, and, indeed, absolutely necessary; for how miserable should we be, if we could think of things only individually, as beasts do; how slow, narrow, painful and endless, would be the exercise of thought.

"What is this putting and tying things together, which is done in abstraction? 'Tis not merely a tying of them under the same name; for I do believe that deaf and dumb persons abstract and distribute things into kinds. But its so putting them together, that the mind resolves hereafter to think of them together, under a common notion, as if they were a collective substance:—the mind being as sure, in this proceeding, of reasoning well, as if it were of a particular substance; for it has abstracted that, which belongs alike to all, and has a perfect idea, whose relations and properties it can behold, as well as those of the idea of one individual. Although this ranking of things be arbitrary, yet there is much more foundation for some distributions, than others. Some are much more useful, and much better serve the purposes of abstraction."

"RULES of reasoning. 'Tis no matter how abstracted our notions are—the farther we penetrate, and come to the prime reality of the thing, the better; provided we can go to such a degree of abstraction, and carry it out clear. We may go so far in abstraction, that, although we may thereby in fact

see truth and reality, and farther than ever was seen before, yet we may not be able more than just to touch it, and to have a few obscure glances. We may not have strength of mind, sufficient to conceive clearly of the manner of it. We see farther, indeed, but 'tis but very obscurely and indistinctly. We had better stop a degree or two short of this, and abstract no farther, than we can conceive of the thing distinctly, and explain it clearly; otherwise, we shall be apt to run into error, and confound our minds."

"PERSON. Well might Mr. Locke say, that identity of person consisted in identity of consciousness;* for he might have said, that identity of spirit too, consisted in the same consciousness. A mind, or spirit, is nothing else but consciousness, and what is included in it. The same consciousness is to all intents and purposes, the very same spirit or substance, as much as the same particle of matter can be the same as itself, at different times."

"BEING. It seems strange sometimes to me, that there should be *Being* from all eternity, and I am ready to say, What need was there, that any thing should *be*? I should then ask myself, Whether it seems strange, that there should be either Something, or Nothing? If so, 'tis not strange that there should BE; for that necessity of there being something, or nothing, implies it."

"SPACE. The real and necessary existence of Space, and its infinity even beyond the Universe, depends upon a like reasoning, as the existence of Spirits; and so the supposition of the necessity of the existence of a successive Duration, before the creation of the Universe—even the impossibility of removing the idea out of the mind. If it be asked, Whether or no, if there be limits of the creation, it be not possible, that an intelligent being should be removed beyond the limits; and then, Whether or no there would not be distance, between that intelligent being and the limits of the Universe, in the same manner and as properly, as there is between intelligent beings and the parts of the Universe within its limits?—I answer, I cannot tell, what the law of nature, or the constitution of God, would be in this case.

"*Coroll.* There is, therefore, no difficulty in answering such questions as these, What cause was there, why the Universe was placed in such a part of space; and why created at such a time. For, if there be no space beyond the Universe, it was impossible, that the Universe should be created in another place; and, if there was no time before the Creation, it was impossible, that it should be created at another time."

TRUTH. After all that has been said and done, the only

* He soon discovered this mistake.

adequate definition of truth is, *The agreement of our ideas with existence.* To explain what this existence is, is another thing. In abstract ideas, it is nothing but the ideas themselves: so their truth is their consistency with themselves. In things that are supposed to be without us, 'tis the determination, and fixed mode, of God's exciting ideas in us. So that truth, in these things, is an agreement of our ideas with that series in God. 'Tis Existence; and that is all that we can say. 'Tis impossible, that we should explain and resolve a perfectly abstract, and mere, idea of existence; only we always find this, by running of it up, that God and Real Existence are the same.

"*Coroll.* Hence we learn how properly it may be said that *God is*, and that *There is none else*, and how proper are these names of the Deity, JEHOVAH, and I AM THAT I AM."

"CONSCIOUSNESS, is the mind's perceiving what is in itself, its ideas, actions, passions, and every thing that is there perceivable. It is a sort of feeling within itself. The mind feels when it thinks, so it feels when it desires, feels when it loves, feels itself hate, &c."

"LOGICK. One reason, why at first, before I knew other logick,* I used to be mightily pleased with the study of the old logick, was, because it was very pleasant to see my thoughts, that before lay in my mind jumbled without any distinction, ranged into order, and distributed into classes and subdivisions, that I could tell where they all belonged, and run them up to their general heads. For this logick consisted much in distributions, and definitions; and their maxims gave occasion, to observe new and strange dependencies of ideas, and a seeming agreement of multitudes of them in the same thing, that I never observed before."

"WORDS. We are used to apply the same words a hundred different ways; and ideas being so much tied and associated with the words, they lead us into a thousand real mistakes; for where we find that the words may be connected, the ideas being by custom tied with them, we think that the ideas may be connected likewise, and applied every where, and in every way, as the words."

"SENSATION. SELF-EVIDENCE. Things that we know by immediate sensation, we know intuitively, and they are properly self-evident truths: As, grass is green; the sun shines; honey is sweet. When we say, that grass is green, all that we can be supposed to mean by it, is—that in a constant course,

* Logic, until a comparatively late period, was a study of the second year in Yale College. What system of logic was studied at that time, I do not know; but Mr. Edwards appears previously to have looked into some treatise of the schoolmen.

when we see grass, the idea of green is excited with it; and this we know self-evidently."

"INSPIRATION. The evidence of immediate inspiration, that the prophets had, when they were immediately inspired by the Spirit of God with any truth, is an absolute sort of certainty; and the knowledge is in a sense intuitive, much in the same manner, as faith and spiritual knowledge of the truth of religion. Such bright ideas are raised, and such a clear view of a perfect agreement with the excellencies of the Divine Nature, that its known to be a communication from Him. All the Deity appears in the thing, and in every thing pertaining to it. The Prophet has so divine a sense, such a divine disposition, such a divine pleasure, and sees so divine an excellency, and so divine a power, in what is revealed, that he sees as immediately that *God is there*, as we perceive one another's presence, when we are talking together face to face. And our features, our voice and our shapes, are not so clear manifestations of us, as those spiritual resemblances of God, that are in the inspiration, are manifestations of him. But yet there are doubtless various degrees in inspiration."*

These selections not only evince uncommon clearness of perception, and strength of discrimination, in the mind of Edwards, at that early age; but also prove that, even then, it had begun to be, in no mean degree, what it was afterwards, in a singular degree, CREATIVE. He seems, almost from the first, never to have studied the works of others as is usually done, in order to receive their thoughts as of course true, and to treasure them in the memory; but to have examined them for himself, with great care, and, where he found them correct, to have used them immediately, in the discovery and demonstration of other truths.

These extracts, selected rather for their briefness than for their superiority, will probably lead the reader to peruse the whole work, as contained in the Appendix. It is there arranged somewhat according to the order of the subjects; yet the number prefixed to each separate article, will show its place in the manuscript of the author. In the series of articles, under the heads EXISTENCE, SPACE, and SUBSTANCE, the reader will find a perfectly original and very ingenious examination of the question, *Whether material existence is actual, or merely ideal.* It appears to have been written, at various

* The reader will find the whole of this collection of Notes or Comments in Appendix H. As an exhibition of the character, and conduct, of the mind of a student at college, it may be of essential and permanent advantage to every student, who will follow his example.

times between 1717 and 1720, in as many distinct articles, yet each has a bearing on what precedes. This is the identical question, investigated, with so much ingenuity, by Berkley, in his Principles of Human Knowledge. Both writers take the same side of the question, and insist *that matter is merely ideal;* and each wrote independently of the other. Mr. Edwards appears to have been led to this investigation, at this time, by reading the Essay of Locke. In comparing the two, it should be remembered, that the Treatise of Berkley was written at mature age, and is a regularly digested and finished work, duly prepared by the author for publication; while that of Edwards was written in very early youth, and consists of detached fragments of thought, set down only to be remembered, and perhaps never looked at afterwards. Making these allowances, it will probably be thought, that the latter evinces a depth of thought, and strength of demonstration, in no respect inferior to those exhibited in the former.

It is also a singular fact that, at this very early period, he should have fixed upon the definition of a CAUSE, which is substantially the same, with that given by Brown, near a century afterwards. The definition of Edwards is as follows: "A CAUSE *is that, after or upon the existence of which or the existence of it after such a manner, the existence of another thing follows.*" That of Brown is thus expressed: "A CAUSE *is that, which immediately precedes any change; and which, existing at any time, in similar circumstances has been always, and will be always immediately followed by a similar change.*" Both definitions are founded on the supposition, that "priority in the sequence observed, and invariableness of antecedence in the past and future sequences supposed, are the elements, and the only elements, combined in the notion of a cause."

No one, probably, will rise from a perusal of this early effort, without feeling a deep regret, that the author did not devote an adequate portion of time to the completion of a plan, so well conceived, of what must have proved an able and profound Treatise on Mental Philosophy. In his Treatise on the WILL, we have indeed one great division of this very work. From the unrivalled success of his researches in the investigation of that faculty, it appears deeply to be lamented, that he should not have found leisure, for a similar Essay on the HUMAN UNDERSTANDING.

CHAPTER IV.

Early Productions continued.—Notes on Natural Science.

The little collection of papers, which I have denominated Notes on Natural Science, consists of eight sheets of foolscap, several of them detached, and containing, each, a series of notes and observations, entirely independent of the others. His class pursued their mathematical and philosophical studies, during their two last years; and many of the articles in this collection, as is plain from the hand-writing, were obviously written at this time; others during his tutorship, and a few at a still later period. A few specimens will be exhibited here, to show the general plan and character of the work, as far as it was developed in his own mind.

On the second page of the cover are the following rules to direct him in writing the work.

"1. Try not only to silence, but to gain.

"2. To give but few prefatorial admonitions about the style and method. It doth an author much hurt to show his concern in these things.

"3. What is prefatorial, not to write in a distinct preface or introduction, but in the body of the work: then I shall be sure to have it read by every one.

"4. Let much modesty be seen in the style.

"5. Not to insert any disputable thing, or that will be likely to be disputed by learned men; for I may depend upon it they will receive nothing but what is undeniable from me; that is, in things exceedingly beside the ordinary way of thinking.

"6." (In short hand.)

"7. When I would prove any thing, to take special care that the matter be so stated, that it shall be seen most clearly and distinctly, by every one, just how much I would prove; and to extricate all questions from the least confusion or ambiguity of words, so that the ideas shall be left naked.

"8. In the course of reasoning, not to pretend any thing to be more certain, than every one will plainly see it is, by such expressions as,—"It is certain,"—"It is undeniable," &c.

"9. To be very moderate in the use of terms of art. Let

it not look as if I was much read, or was conversant with books, or with the learned world.

"10. In the method of placing things, the first respect is to be had to the easiness and intelligibleness, the clearness and certainty, the generality, and according to the dependence of other things upon them.

"11. Never to dispute for things, after that I cannot handsomely retreat, upon conviction of the contrary.

"12. Let there be much compliance with the reader's weakness, and according to the rules in the Ladies' Library, vol. I. p. 340, and seq.

"13. Let there be always laid down as many lemmata, or preparatory propositions, as are necessary to make the consequent preparation clear and perspicuous.

"14. When the proposition allows it, let there be confirming Corollaries and Inferences, for the confirmation of what had been before said and proved.

"15. Often it suits the subject and reasoning best, to explain by way of objection and answer, after the manner of dialogue.

"16. Always, when I have occasion, to make use of mathematical proofs, (the rest in short hand.)

"17." (In short hand.)

"18. If I publish these propositions," (the rest in short hand.)

"19 and 20." (In short hand.)

The preceding rules are, generally, as applicable to any other work, as to a work on Natural Science, and discover such good sense, and so good a spirit, and, if rigidly followed by authors, would save the press from so much confusion of thought, so much error, and so much folly, that it were wrong merely to throw them into an Appendix, lest they should not be read. Though written in early youth, to guide their author in a work which he never completed, yet the reader of his works will be satisfied, that they were strictly followed by him, in all his subsequent writings.

The Notes or Remarks in these manuscripts, consist partly of General principles in Philosophy, demonstrated by the writer, with the intention of ultimately introducing them into their proper place, in his work; and partly of Phenomena in various branches of Natural History—Aerology, Geology, Physiology, Zoology, Entomology, and Botany—which he himself had observed, with his own explanations of those phenomena. These, with the exception of a few of his great principles, are placed, not scientifically, but numerically, as they presented themselves to his mind for investigation: the business of arrangement and classification, having been pur-

posely reserved, until the materials of the work were fully collected. The first page contains the following Preamble or Preface, to the whole work.

"OF THE PREJUDICES OF THE IMAGINATION.

(Lemma to the whole.)

"Of all prejudices, no one so fights with Natural Philosophy, and prevails more against it than those of Imagination. It is these, which make the vulgar so roar out, upon the mention of some very rational philosophical truths. And, indeed, I have known of some very learned men, that have pretended to a more than ordinary freedom from such prejudices, so overcome by them, that, merely because of them, they have believed things most absurd. And truly, I hardly know of any other prejudices, that are more powerful against truth, of any kind, than these; and I believe they will not give the hand to any, in any case, except to those, arising from our ruling self-interest, or the impetuosity of human passions. And there is very good reason for it: for opinions, arising from imagination, take us as soon as we are born, are beat into us by every act of sensation, and so grow up with us, from our very births, and by that means, grow into us so fast, that it is almost impossible to root them out: being, as it were, so incorporated with our very minds, that whatsoever is objected, contrary thereunto, is as if it were dissonant to the very constitution of them. Hence, men come to make what they can actually perceive, by their senses, or by immediate or outside reflection into their own souls, the standard of possibility, or impossibility; so that there must be no body, forsooth, bigger than they can conceive of, or less than they can see with their eyes: no motion, either much swifter, or slower, than they can imagine. As to the greatness, and distance of bodies, the learned world have pretty well conquered their imagination, with respect to them; neither will any body flatly deny, that it is possible, for bodies to be of any degree of bigness, that can be mentioned; yet, imaginations of this kind, among the learned themselves, even of this learned age, have a very powerful, secret influence, to cause them either to reject things, really true, as erroneous, or to embrace those that are really so. Thus, some men will yet say, that they cannot conceive, how the Fixed Stars can be so distant, as that the Earth's annual revolution should cause no parallax among them, and so, are about to fall back into antiquated Ptolemy, his system; merely to ease their imagination. Thus also, on the other hand, a very learned man, and sagacious astronomer, upon consideration of the vast magnitude of the visible part of the Universe, has, in the ecstacy of his imagination, been hurried on,

to pronounce the Universe infinite; which I may say, out of veneration, was beneath such a man as he. As if it were any more an argument, because what he could see of the Universe were so big, as he was assured it was. And suppose, he had discovered the visible Universe, so vast as it is, to be as a globule of water to another Universe; the case is the same; as if it would have been any more of an argument, that that larger Universe was infinite, than if the visible part thereof, were no bigger, than a particle of the water of this. I think one is no nearer to infinite, than another.

"To remedy this prejudice, I will, as the best method I can think of, demonstrate two or three physical Theorems; which I believe, if they are clearly understood, will put every man clean out of conceit with his imagination: in order whereunto, these two are prerequisite.

"PRELIMINARY PROPOSITIONS.

"Prop. I. There is no degree of Swiftness of Motion whatever, but what is possible.

"Prop. II. There may be bodies of any indefinite degree of Smallness."

Each of these propositions is demonstrated; and a third is subjoined, but left without demonstration, together with several Postulates. The next half sheet contains the following discussion, in which he establishes the reality of BEING, as the foundation of a System of philosophy.

"OF BEING.

"That there should absolutely be Nothing at all, is utterly impossible. The mind, let it stretch its conceptions ever so far, can never so much as bring itself to conceive of a state of perfect Nothing. It puts the mind into mere convulsion and confusion, to think of such a state; and it contradicts the very nature of the soul, to think that such a state should be. It is the greatest of contradictions, and the aggregate of all contradictions, to say that THING should not be. It is true, we cannot so distinctly show the contradiction in words; because we cannot talk about it, without speaking stark nonsense, and contradicting ourselves at every word: and because Nothing is that, whereby we distinctly show other particular contradictions. But here we are run up to our first principle, and have no other to explain the nothingness, or not being, of Nothing by. Indeed, we can mean nothing else by Nothing, but a state of absolute contradiction; and if any man thinks, that he can conceive well enough how there should be Nothing, I'll engage, that what he means by Nothing, is as much Something, as any thing that he ever thought of in his life; and I believe, that if he knew what Nothing was, it would be intuitively evident to him that it could not be.—Thus we see

it is necessary that some being should eternally be. And it is a more palpable contradiction still to say, that there must be Being somewhere, and not otherwhere, for the words *Absolute Nothing*, and *Where*, contradict each other. And, besides, it gives as great a shock to the mind, to think of pure Nothing being in any one place, as it does to think of it in all places: and it is self-evident, that there can be Nothing in one place, as well as in another; and if there can be in one, there can be in all. So that we see that this Necessary, Eternal Being must be Infinite and Omnipotent.

"This Infinite and Omnipotent being cannot be solid. Let us see how contradictory it is, to say that an Infinite being is solid; for solidity surely is nothing, but resistance to other solidities.—Space is this necessary, eternal, infinite, and omnipresent being. We find that we can, with ease, conceive how all other beings should not be. We can remove them out of our minds, and place some other in the room of them: but Space is the very thing, that we can never remove, and conceive of its not being. If a man would imagine Space any where to be divided, so as there should be Nothing between the divided parts, there remains Space between, notwithstanding, and so the man contradicts himself. And it is self-evident I believe to every man, that Space is necessary, eternal, infinite and omnipresent. But I had as good speak plain: I have already said as much as that Space is God.* And it is indeed clear to me, that all the Space there is, not proper to body, all the Space there is without the bounds of Creation, all the Space there was before the Creation, is God himself; and nobody would in the least pick at it, if it were not because of the gross conceptions that we have of Space.

"A state of absolute nothing is a state of absolute contradiction. Absolute nothing is the aggregate of all the contradictions in the world: a state wherein there is neither body nor spirit, nor space, neither empty space nor full space, neither little nor great, narrow nor broad, neither infinite space nor finite space, not even a mathematical point, neither up nor down, neither north nor south, (I do not mean as it is with respect to the body of the earth, or some other great body) but no contrary points, positions or directions, no such thing as either here or there, this way or that way, or any way. When we go about to form an idea of perfect Nothing, we must shut out all these things; we must shut out of our minds, both space that has something in it, and space that has nothing in it. We must not allow ourselves to think of the least part of space, be it ever so small. Nor must we suffer our thoughts to take sanctuary in a mathematical point.

* This was written at 15 or 16 years of age.

When we go to expel Being out of our thoughts, we must be careful not to leave empty Space in the room of it; and when we go to expel emptiness from our thoughts, we must not think to squeeze it out, by any thing close, hard, and solid; but we must think of the same, that the sleeping rocks do dream of; and not till then, shall we get a complete idea of Nothing.

"When we go to enquire, Whether or no, there can be absolutely Nothing? we utter nonsense in so enquiring. The stating of the question is nonsense; because we make a disjunction where there is none. Either Being, or absolute Nothing, is no disjunction; no more than whether a triangle is a triangle, or not a triangle. There is no other way, but only for there to be existence: there is no such thing, as absolute Nothing. There is such a thing, as Nothing, with respect to this ink and paper: there is such a thing, as Nothing, with respect to you and me: there is such a thing, as Nothing, with respect to this globe of earth, and with respect to this Universe. There is another way, beside these things having existence; but there is no such thing, as Nothing, with respect to Entity, or Being, absolutely considered. We do not know what we say, if we say, that we think it possible in itself, that there should not be Entity.

"And how doth it grate upon the mind to think that Something should be from all eternity, and yet Nothing all the while be conscious of it. To illustrate this: Let us suppose that the World had a being from all eternity, and had many great changes and wonderful revolutions, and all the while Nothing knew it, there was no knowledge in the Universe of any such thing. How is it possible to bring the mind to imagine this. Yea, it is really impossible it should be, that any thing should exist, and Nothing know it. Then you will say, If it be so, it is, because Nothing has any existence but in consciousness: No, certainly, no where else, but either in created or uncreated consciousness.

"Suppose there were another Universe, merely of bodies, created at a great distance from this; created in excellent order, harmonious motions, and a beautiful variety; and there was no created intelligence in it, nothing but senseless bodies, and nothing but God knew any thing of it. I demand where else that Universe would have a being, but only in the Divine consciousness? Certainly in no other respect. There would be figures, and magnitudes, and motions, and proportions; but where, where else, except in the Almighty's knowledge? How is it possible there should.—But then you will say, For the same reason in a room closely shut up, which nobody sees, there is nothing except in God's knowledge.—I answer, Cre-

ated beings are conscious of the effects of what is in the room; for perhaps there is not one leaf of a tree, nor a spire of grass, but what produces effects all over the Universe, and will produce them to the end of eternity. But any otherwise, there is nothing in a room so shut up, but only in God's consciousness. How can any thing be there any other way. This will appear to be truly so, to any one who thinks of it, with the whole united strength of his mind. Let us suppose, for illustration, this impossibility, that all the spirits in the Universe were for a time deprived of their consciousness, and that God's consciousness at the same time were to be intermitted. I say the Universe for that time would cease to be of itself; and this not merely, as we speak, because the Almighty could not attend to uphold it; but because God could know nothing of it. It is our foolish imagination, that will not suffer us to see it. We fancy there may be figures and magnitudes, relations and properties, without any one knowing of it. But it is our imagination hurts us. We do not know what figures and properties are.

"Our imagination makes us fancy, that we see shapes, and colours, and magnitudes, though nobody is there to behold it. But to help our imagination, let us thus state the case: Let us suppose the creation deprived of every ray of light, so that there should not be the least glimmering of light in the Universe. Now all will own, that, in such case, the Universe would really be immediately deprived of all its colours. No one part of the Universe is any more red, or blue, or green, or yellow, or black, or white, or light, or dark, or transparent, or opake. There would be no visible distinction, between the Universe and the rest of the incomprehensible void: yea, there would be no difference in these respects, between the Universe and the infinite void; so that any part of that void would really be as light and as dark, as white and as black, as red and as green, as blue and as brown, as transparent and as opake, as any part of the Universe: so that, in such case, there would be no difference, in these respects, between the Universe and Nothing. So also there would be no difference, between one part of the Universe and another: all, in these respects, is alike confounded with, and undistinguished from, infinite emptiness.

"At the same time, also, let us suppose the Universe to be altogether deprived of motion, and all parts of it to be at perfect rest. Then, the Universe would not differ from the void, in this respect: there would be no more motion in the one, than in the other. Then, also, solidity would cease. All that we mean, or can be meant, by solidity, is resistance; resistance to touch, the resistance of some parts of space. This is all the knowledge we get of solidity, by our senses, and, I

am sure, all that we can get any other way. But solidity shall be shewn to be nothing else, more fully, hereafter. But there can be no resistance, if there is no motion. One body cannot resist another, when there is perfect rest among them. But, you will say, Though there is no actual resistance, yet there is potential resistance: that is, such and such parts of space would resist upon occasion. But this is all that I would have, that there is no solidity now; not but that God could cause there to be, on occasion. And if there is no solidity, there is no extension, for extension is the extendedness of solidity. Then, all figure, and magnitude, and proportion, immediately cease. Put, then, both these suppositions together: that is, deprive the Universe of light and motion, and the case would stand thus with the Universe: There would be neither white nor black, neither blue nor brown, neither bright nor shaded, pellucid nor opake, no noise nor sound, neither heat nor cold, neither fluid nor solid, neither wet nor dry, neither hard nor soft, nor solidity, nor extension, nor figure, nor magnitude, nor proportion, nor body, nor spirit. What then is to become of the Universe? Certainly it exists no where, but in the Divine mind. This will be abundantly clearer to one, after having read what I have further to say of solidity, &c.: so that we see that a Universe, without motion, can exist no where else, but in the mind—either infinite or finite.

"*Corollary.* It follows from hence, that those beings, which have knowledge and consciousness, are the only proper, and real, and substantial beings; inasmuch as the being of other things is only by these. From hence, we may see the gross mistake of those, who think material things the most substantial beings, and spirits more like a shadow; whereas, spirits only are properly substance."

The next sheet, contains his views of Atoms, or of perfectly Solid Bodies, exhibited under the two following propositions:

"Prop. I. All bodies whatsoever, except Atoms themselves, must of absolute necessity, be composed of Atoms, or of bodies indiscerptible, that cannot be made less, or whose parts cannot, by any finite force, be separated one from another.

"Prop. II. Two or more Atoms, or Perfect Solids, touching each other by surfaces, (I mean so that every point, in any surface of the one, shall touch every point in some surface of the other; that is, not simply in some particular parts, or lines, of their surfaces, however many; for whatsoever does touch in more than points and lines, toucheth in every point of some surface,) thereby become one and the same Atom, or Perfect Solid."

These, he demonstrates, and from each, derives numerous Corollaries.

The remainder of the work, constituting far the greater part of it, he entitles, "THINGS TO BE CONSIDERED, OR WRITTEN FULLY ABOUT." These are arranged numerically; and in two series, probably from the paper, on which he began the first series, having been for a time mislaid: the first reaching to No. 29, the latter to 88. In these, he suggests many curious and important points, to be investigated; and many others, which he either explains, or demonstrates. Several of the articles, in the second series, are in a hand more formed, and were probably written, while he was a Tutor in the college. A few articles may serve as specimens of the whole.

From the first Series.

"1. To observe, that Incurvation, Refraction, and Reflection from concave surfaces of drops of water, &c. is from Gravity.

"2. To observe, that 'tis likely, that the Attraction of particles of heat contributes as much, towards the burning of bodies, as the Impulse.

"3. To observe, that water may quench fire, by insinuating itself into the pores, and hindering the free play of the particles, and by reason of its softness, and pliableness, deadening their motion, like throwing a stone upon a feather bed.

"4. To observe, that, if we do suppose an infinite number of Surfaces in the Universe, yet, according to the number, so must be the smallness.

"5. To observe, that the cause, that an object appears not double, being seen with two eyes, is, that all the parts upon the Retina, that exactly correspond, end upon the same spot of the surface in the brain, which receives images.

"6. To observe, that one end of Respiration is, that the motion, in the chest, may be communicated to the other parts of the body.

"9. To show that the different refrangibility of rays must, of necessity, be owing either to their different velocity, or different magnitude; because there can be no other reason of their different attractability, which indeed is refrangibility.

"11. To show from Sir Isaac Newton's principles of Light and Colours, why the sky is blue; why the sun is not perfectly white, as it would be if there was no atmosphere, but somewhat inclining to a yellow even at noon-day; why the sun is yellow when rising and setting, and sometimes in smoky weather of a blood red; why the clouds and the atmosphere, near the horizon, appear red and yellow, before sunrising and after sunsetting; why distant mountains are blue, &c.

"13. To enquire, how all the rays of one sort can be obstructed, by any medium, as by the air in smoky weather, &c., and the other rays still proceed: and to observe, that its so doing makes it probable, that there are some other properties in light and mediums, yet wholly unknown; and to observe, that the unaccountable phenomena of reflexions prove the same thing; and to enquire what it is; and also, to seek out other strange phenomena, and compare them all together, and see what qualities can be made out of them. And if we can discover them, it's probable we may be let into a New World of Philosophy.

"17. To observe, that the cause why Thunder, that is a great way off, will sound very grum, which near, is very sharp, (as well as other noises, instances of which are to be given,) is, because the farther waves of air go, the wider they grow, and farther asunder, as it is in water: several of the little undulations, by travelling near together, incorporate with the great one.

"19. To observe, that the weight of the descending blood in the veins, completely answers to the weight of the ascending blood in the arteries, in parts above the heart; so that the weight of one exactly balances the weight of the other; and the descending blood in the veins, pulls up the blood in the arteries, and the weight of blood in the arteries, restrains the impetuosity of the descending blood in the veins; so that the blood in both, ascending and descending, runs as easily, and uniformly, as if it ran all the while parallel to the horizon. So in the parts below the heart, where the arterial blood descends, and the venal ascends, barely the weight of the blood in the arteries, is sufficient to raise the blood in the veins even with it, as high as the beginning of the arteries, according to the law of Hydrostatics; and the weight of the blood in the veins, restrains the motion of that which descends in the arteries, so that the blood in these also moves, just as if it moved in a plain, neither up nor down: and the heart has no more labour, to impel the blood up the ascending trunk of the Aorta, nor ease, in impelling it down the descending trunk, than if it ran in a trunk parallel to the horizon. Neither doth the blood ascend with more difficulty, than it descends, but with equal facility, both in arteries and veins, above and below the heart: and to show the philosophy of this.

"22. Relating to the 13th. To observe, that it is certain, that the stopping of one sort of rays, and the proceeding of others, is not, because that sort of rays alone, are stopped by striking against the particles of the medium, from this experiment: viz. As I was under the trees, I observed, that the light of the sun upon the leaves of the book I was reading, which crept through the crevices of the leaves of the tree, was of a reddish, purpled colour; which I supposed to be, because many of the green rays were taken up by the leaves of the tree, and left all the rest tainted with the most

opposite colour, which could be no otherwise, than by stopping those green rays, which passed near to the edges of the leaves. N. B. That the light of the Sun in this case, would not appear coloured, except the crevices through which the rays came, were very small.

" *Corol.* 1. Hence it is certain, that bodies do attract the same sort of rays most strongly, which they reflect most strongly.

" *Corol.* 2. Hence bodies do attract one sort of rays, more than another.

" *Corol.* 3. Hence it is probable, that bodies do reflect, and attract, by the same force, because that they both attract and reflect, the same sort of ways.

" 27. It appears, that the single particles of a morning fog, are not single bubbles of water. I have seen a frozen fog—a fog of which these particles were all frozen, as they floated in the air;—which were all little stars, of six points, like the particles of snow, very small, and were not joined together, many of them into one flake as in snow, but floated single, and at a little distance looked every whit like other fog, only not so thick as other fog often is, and not so thick, as to hinder the sun from shining bright. It was evident, that it was not a fine snow; for it was otherwise a very clear morning, and there was not a cloud any where to be seen, above the horizon. It is therefore evident that, before they were frozen, they were not single bubbles, inasmuch as a single bubble will not make one of these stars."

From the second Series.

" 1. To prove the Universe, or Starry world, one Vast Spheroid.

" 2. To demonstrate, that all the matter, which is without the Spheroid, is so disposed, as that there should be an equal attraction on all sides, and so, probably, an equal quantity of matter.

" 4. To show the shape of the Spheroid of the Universe, by observation of the Milky Way, and to know, whereabout our System is in it, first, with respect to the planes of the greatest circles, from observations of the ratio of the brightness of the opposite sides, compounded with several other ratios—second, with respect to the latitude, or the axis, of this Spheroid, by observing how much the Milky Way differs from a Great circle.

" 5. To show that the Starry World cannot be infinite, because it is a spheroid.

" 6. To write concerning the Lens about the Sun.

" 7. To write concerning the Distance of the Sun, by observation of the enlightened part of the moon, when exactly in quadrature.

" 8. To write concerning the use of Comets, to repair the wastes of the heavenly bodies.

" 9. To show how Infinite Wisdom must be exercised, in order that *Gravity* and *Motion* may be perfectly harmonious; and that,

although the jumble of the Epicureans be allowed; although it be, in fact, impossible.

"10. To find out a thousand things, by due observation of the Spheroid of the Universe.

"14. To show how the Motion, Rest and Direction, of the least Atom has an influence on the motion, rest and direction of every body in the Universe; and to show how, by that means, every thing which happens with respect to motes or straws, and such little things, may be for some great uses in the whole course of things, throughout Eternity; and to show how the least wrong step in a mote, may, in Eternity, subvert the order of the Universe; and to take notice, of the great wisdom that is necessary, in order to dispose every Atom at first, so as that they should go for the best throughout all Eternity, and in the adjusting by an exact computation, and a nice allowance to be made for the miracles which should be needful, and other ways, whereby the course of bodies should be diverted. And then, to show how God, who does this, must necessarily be *Omniscient*, and know every the least thing, that must happen through Eternity.

"36. To show, if I think fit, how Sir Isaac Newton was very sensible, that all spontaneous enkindling, was from a certain attraction.

"37. To show that it is not only highly probable, but absolutely certain, that the Fixed Stars are so many Suns. For it is certain, in the first place that they do shine by their own light, and not by the Sun's; for, although we don't exactly know how far distant they are, yet we know that they are so far distant at least, that the annual revolution of the Earth makes no sensible alteration in their position. And we know certainly that the light of the Sun, at such a distance, will be no more than about as much, as the light of a Fixed Star is here. (Let any body calculate and see.) And now I ask, Whether or no it be not certain, that no body will reflect the light of another body, which does not shine upon it brighter, than a single Fixed Star does upon the Earth, so much as to cause it to shine, with its reflected light, so brightly as the Fixed Stars do, at such a distance.—And then, in the second place, it is certain that they must be pretty near about so big. And thirdly, it is certain that they must shine with as bright a light; or else they would never appear so bright, at such a distance. This we may also be certain of by calculation. Which three things are all, that are needed to make a Sun.

"*Corol.* 1. From the foregoing: That our Sun is a Fixed Star, is as certain, as that any one particular Star in the heavens is one.

"*Corol.* 2. It is as probable that the other Fixed Stars, or Suns, have Systems of planets about them, as it would be that ours had, to one who had seen a Fixed Star or Sun, every way like it, have them.

"38. To bring in, if there happens a good place for it, that it is equally probable in itself, that all or the greatest part of the Universe was created, at the time of the Mosaic Creation, as that all, or the greatest part of the Universe was created at once, at any other time."

From the whole collection* it is obvious, that at this early age he had conceived the design of writing a large work, which was to be a complete Treatise on Natural Philosophy and Natural History, including Chemistry and Geology, as far as they were then known, on a plan entirely his own. The Philosophical part of the work, instead of taking for granted what had hitherto been received, was to rest on certain fundamental principles, which he proceeded to establish. The Historical, was to be the result, as far as possible, of his own observations.

The Philosophical reader, on perusing the 13th article of the first series of "THINGS TO BE CONSIDERED," will regard it as a singular fact, that a Youth at college, more than a century ago, from observing several unaccountable phenomena, attending the refraction and reflexion of light, should have foretold, that the discovery of these would let us into a New World of Philosophy; that he should have been led to suggest,(as in 57 of 2d series,) that there is in the atmosphere some other ethereal matter, considerably rarer than atmospheric air; that he should (as in No. 71) have discovered water to be a compressible fluid,—a fact not communicated to the world until the year 1763; that he should have observed the fact, and attempted to account for it, (No. 77,) that water in freezing loses its specific gravity; and that he should have expressed doubts of the existence of frigorific particles. In his attempt to explain the phenomena of Thunder and Lightning, the reader will also perceive that, without any knowledge of the electric fluid, and long before the invention of the Leyden jar,† he rejected the then prevalent theory on the subject, and was led to conclude that Lightning was *an almost infinitely fine, combustible, fluid matter, that floats in the air, and that takes fire by a sudden and mighty fermentation, that is some way promoted by the cool, and moisture, and perhaps attraction, of the clouds:* a nearer approximation to the theory of Franklin, than the human mind had ever reached. His Theory of Atoms will be read with deep interest, as will his demonstration that the Fixed Stars are Suns, (No. 77,) his explanation of the Channels of rivers and their branches, (No. 45,) of the different Refrangibility of the rays of light, (No. 46,) of the growth of Trees, (No. 48,) of the Process of Evaporation, (No. 57,) of the Lever, (No. 65,) his observations on Sound, (No. 66,)

* See Appendix, I.

† The Leyden jar was invented in 1745.

on Elasticity, (No. 70,) on the tendency of winds from the coast to bring rain, (No. 75,) and on the cause of Colours, (No. 81.)

Every part of the work will be found to evince a mind, wholly original and inventive in its observations, and discoveries, in all the kingdoms of Nature; and will lead to the conviction that, had his life been devoted to these pursuits, in a country where he could at once have availed himself of the discoveries of others, and, the necessary instruments, he would have met with no ordinary success, in extending the bounds of human knowledge, in the most important and interesting fields of Physical Science. But higher objects of contemplation, and investigations of a more elevated nature, now demanded his attention; and, in devoting to these his whole intellectual and moral strength, he found a pleasure, which he would not have derived from the proudest triumphs of Philosophical discovery.

CHAPTER V.

Early Religious Productions.—"Miscellanies."—"Notes on the Scriptures."—Early Religious Impressions.—His Personal Narrative.

We have already had occasion to intimate, that, although while a member of College, Edwards paid a most assiduous and successful attention to his assigned duties; and particularly, as we have just seen, to the study of Mental, and of Physical, Philosophy; yet he still found time for pursuits of a more elevated and spiritual character. His whole education from early infancy, and the counsels of his parents, as well as his own feelings, prompted him to these pursuits. To read the Bible daily, and to read it, in connexion with other religious books, diligently and attentively on the Sabbath, was made, in the earlier days of New England, the regular and habitual duty of every child; and his father's family, though not inattentive to the due cultivation of mind and manners, had lost none of the strictness or conscientiousness, which characterized the Pilgrims. The books, which he found in his father's library, the conversation of clergymen often resorting to the house, the custom of the times, as well as the more immediate influence of parental instruction and example, naturally prompted a mind, like his, to the early contemplation, and investigation, of many of the principles and truths of Theology. He had also witnessed in his father's congregation, before his admission to College, several extensive Revivals of Religion; and in two of them, the impressions made on his own mind had been unusually deep and solemn. The Name, familiarly given by the plain people of this country to these events,—"A Religious *Attention*," and "A *General Attention* to Religion,"—indicates their nature; and those personally acquainted with them need not to be informed, that during their progress, the great truths of Religion, as taught in the Scriptures, and as explained in the writings of Theologians, become the objects of general and intense interest, and of close practical study; or that the knowledge, acquired by a whole people at such a time, in a comparatively little period, often exceeds the acquisitions of many previous years. With all these things in view, it is not surprizing therefore, that, to these two kinds of reading, he devoted himself early, with great diligence and with great success.

Two of his early "*Resolutions*" relate to this subject:

"*Resolved*, When I think of any Theorem in Divinity to be solved, immediately to do what I can towards solving it, if circumstances do not hinder."

"*Resolved*, To study the Scriptures so steadily, constantly and frequently, as that I may find and plainly perceive myself to grow in the knowledge of the same."

On the 8th of June, 1723, he also proposes, whenever he finds himself in a dull listless frame, to read over his own Remarks and Reflections of a Religious nature, in order to quicken him in his duty.

These Resolutions plainly evince what must have been, for a considerable period, the habit of his mind, with regard to both subjects; and the manner, in which he speaks of his "Remarks and Reflexions" on the subject of Religion, indicates that, at that time, they were considerably numerous.

They were so in fact. The first manuscript of his "Miscellanies" is in folio, and consists of forty-four sheets of foolscap, written separately, and stitched together like the leaves of a folio book that is bound. When he began the work, he had obviously no suspicion of the size to which it was to grow, nor had he formed his ultimate plan of arrangement. He headed his first article, "Of holiness;" and having finished it, and drawn a line of separation across the page, he commenced the second, "Of Christ's mediation and satisfaction." The same is done with the third and fourth. The fifth he writes, without a line of separation, in larger letters, "*Spiritual Happiness.*" After that, the subject of each new article is printed, or written, in larger letters. His first article was written on the second page of a loose sheet of paper; and having written over the second, third, and fourth pages, he went back to the first. He began to number his articles by the letters of the Alphabet, a, b, c; and having gone through, he commenced with a double Alphabet, aa, bb, cc; when this was finished, finding his work enlarge, he took the regular numbers, 1, 2, 3, &c. and this plan, both as to subjects and numbers, is afterwards continued.

The beginning of the work is written in a remarkably small* round hand, nearly the same with that in which his earliest productions are written. This extends through about the first 150 articles, and is soon after perceptibly changed, into a hand somewhat more formed and flowing. These appear, obviously, to have been written during the last years of his College life, and the two years of his residence at College, as Bachelor of Arts. Large Extracts from this work will be found in the ensuing volumes, and a num-

* The first five sheets contain from 105 to 115 lines on a page; each line averaging 30 words. As his hand changed, he gradually diminished the number of lines on a page to about 60.

ber of them from the earlier articles. Such are the Miscellaneous Observations, and the Miscellaneous Remarks, in the Seventh volume, and the Miscellanies in the Ninth. In these, will be found many of his most original and most profound thoughts, and discussions, on theological subjects.

His regular and diligent study of the Sacred Scriptures, led him early to discover, that they opened before him an almost boundless field of investigation and enquiry. Some passages, he found to be incorrectly rendered; many were very obscure, and difficult of explanation; in many, there were apparent inconsistencies and contradictions; many had been long employed, as proofs of doctrines and principles, to which they had no possible reference; the words and phrases, as well as the sentiments and narratives, of one part, he saw illustrated, and interpreted those of another. The Old Testament in its language, history, doctrines and worship, in its allusions to manners and customs, in its prophecies, types and images, he perceived to be introductory and explanatory of the New; while the New, by presenting the full completion of the whole plan and design of their common Author, unfolded the real drift and bearing of every part of the Old. Regarding the sacred volume with the highest veneration, he appears to have resolved, while a member of college, that he would, as far as possible, possess himself, in every part of it which he read, of the true meaning of its Author. With this view he commenced his NOTES ON THE SCRIPTURES; obviously making it his standing rule, To study every passage which he read, which presented the least difficulty to his own mind, or which he had known to be regarded as difficult by others, until such difficulty was satisfactorily removed. The result of his investigations, he regularly, and at the time, committed to writing: at first, in separate half sheets, folded in 4to; but having found the inconvenience of this, in his other juvenile writings, he soon formed small pamphlets of sheets, which were ultimately made into volumes. A few of the articles, to the number of about 50, appear to have been written while he was in college; the rest, while preparing for the ministry, and during his subsequent life. That he had no suspicion when he began, of the size to which the work would grow, is obvious; and whether he afterwards formed the design of publishing it, as an Illustration of the more difficult and obscure passages of the Bible, perhaps cannot be determined with certainty. A few of the articles of an historical or mythological nature, are marked as quotations from the writings of others,* and are omitted in the present edition of his works. The reader, after perusing the work, will be satisfied that they are

* With the exceptions of the articles here referred to, the reader will find, in the Ninth volume, the whole series of the "Notes on the Scriptures," arranged in scriptural order, with the original numbers of each article retained.

the fruit of his own investigations; and that his mode of removing difficulties was,—not as it too often is, by disguising or mis-stating them, but—by giving them their full force, and meeting them with fair argument. Perhaps no collection of Notes on the Scriptures, so entirely original, can be found. From the number prefixed to each Article, it will be found easy to select those which were the result of his early labours. Such a plan of investigating and explaining the difficulties of the Sacred volume, at so early a period of life, was probably never formed, in any other instance, and evinces a maturity of intellectual and moral attainments, not often paralleled. Among the most interesting and able of these investigations, will be found the discussion, on the *Sacrifice of the daughter Jephtha*, Judges xi, 29—40; and that on the principle advanced by Paul, in Romans viii, 28, *That all things work together for good to them that love God;* which, as being contained in his letter to Mr. Gillespie, of Sept. 4, 1747, is omitted in the Notes on the Scriptures.

The class, of which Edwards was a member, finished their regular collegiate course, in Sept. 1720, before he was seventeen years of age. At that period, and for a long time afterwards, the only exercise, except the Latin Theses, given, at the public commencement, to the class of Bachelors, was the Salutatory, which was also a Valedictory, Oration in Latin. This exercise was awarded to Edwards, as sustaining the highest rank as a scholar, among the members of the class.

I have heretofore had occasion to mention the early religious impressions made upon his mind; particularly during two seasons of uncommon attention to religion in his father's congregation—the first, several years before, the second only one year before, he went to college. The precise period, when he regarded himself as entering on a religious life, he no where mentions; nor have I found any record of the time, when he made a public profession of religion. Even the church, with which he became connected, would not certainly be known, were it not that, on one occasion, he alludes to himself, as a member of the church in East Windsor. From various circumstances, I am also led to believe, that the time of his uniting himself to it, was not far from the time of his leaving college. Of the views and feelings of his mind, on this most important subject, both before and after this event, we have a brief but most satisfactory and instructive account, which was found among his papers in his own hand-writing, and which was written near twenty years afterwards, for his own private benefit. It is as follows:

"I HAD a variety of concerns and exercises about my soul, from my childhood; but I had two more remarkable seasons of awakening, before I met with that change, by which I was brought to those

new dispositions, and that new sense of things, that I have since had. The first time was when I was a boy, some years before I went to college,* at a time of remarkable awakening in my father's congregation. I was then very much affected for many months, and concerned about the things of religion, and my soul's salvation; and was abundant in religious duties. I used to pray five times a day in secret, and to spend much time in religious conversation with other boys; and used to meet with them to pray together. I experienced I know not what kind of delight in religion. My mind was much engaged in it, and had much self-righteous pleasure; and it was my delight to abound in religious duties. I, with some of my school-mates, joined together, and built a booth in a swamp, in a very retired spot, for a place of prayer.†—And besides, I had particular secret places of my own in the woods, where I used to retire by myself; and was from time to time much affected. My affections seemed to be lively and easily moved, and I seemed to be in my element, when engaged in religious duties. And I am ready to think, many are deceived with such affections, and such a kind of delight as I then had in religion, and mistake it for grace.

"But, in process of time, my convictions and affections wore off; and I entirely lost all those affections and delights, and left off secret prayer, at least as to any constant preference of it; and returned like a dog to his vomit, and went on in the ways of sin. Indeed, I was at times very uneasy, especially towards the latter part of my time at college; when it pleased God, to seize me with a pleurisy; in which he brought me nigh to the grave, and shook me over the pit of hell. And yet, it was not long after my recovery, before I fell again into my old ways of sin. But God would not suffer me to go on with any quietness; I had great and violent inward struggles, till, after many conflicts with wicked inclinations, repeated resolutions, and bonds that I laid myself under by a kind of vows to God, I was brought wholly to break off all former wicked ways, and all ways of known outward sin; and to apply myself to seek salvation, and practise many religious duties; but without that kind of affection and delight which I had formerly experienced. My concern now wrought more, by inward struggles, and conflicts, and self-reflections. I made seeking my salvation, the main business of my life. But yet, it seems to me, I sought it after a miserable manner; which has made me sometimes since to question, whether ever it issued in that which was saving; being ready to doubt, whether such miserable seeking ever succeeded. I was indeed brought to seek salvation, in a manner that I never was before; I felt a spirit to part with all things in the world, for an inte-

*As he entered college at twelve years of age, this was probably when he was seven or eight.

† The place where the booth was built, is known at East Windsor.

rest in Christ. My concern continued and prevailed, with many exercising thoughts and inward struggles; but yet it never seemed to be proper, to express that concern by the name of terror.

"From my childhood up, my mind had been full of objections against the doctrine of God's sovereignty, in choosing whom he would to eternal life, and rejecting whom he pleased; leaving them eternally to perish, and be everlastingly tormented in hell. It used to appear like a horrible doctrine to me. But I remember the time very well, when I seemed to be convinced, and fully satisfied, as to this sovereignty of God, and his justice in thus eternally disposing of men, according to his sovereign pleasure. But never could give an account, how, or by what means, I was thus convinced, not in the least imagining at the time, nor a long time after, that there was any extraordinary influence of God's Spirit in it; but only that now I saw further, and my reason apprehended the justice and reasonableness of it. However, my mind rested in it; and it put an end to all those cavils and objections. And there has been a wonderful alteration in my mind, with respect to the doctrine of God's sovereignty, from that day to this; so that I scarce ever have found so much as the rising of an objection against it, in the most absolute sense, in God shewing mercy to whom he will shew mercy, and hardening whom he will. God's absolute sovereignty and justice, with respect to salvation and damnation, is what my mind seems to rest assured of, as much as of any thing that I see with my eyes; at least it is so at times. But I have often, since that first conviction, had quite another kind of sense of God's sovereignty than I had then. I have often since had not only a conviction, but a *delightful* conviction. The doctrine has very often appeared exceedingly pleasant, bright, and sweet. Absolute sovereignty is what I love to ascribe to God. But my first conviction was not so.

"The first instance, that I remember, of that sort of inward, sweet delight in God and divine things, that I have lived much in since, was on reading those words, 1 Tim. i. 17. *Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever, Amen.* As I read the words, there came into my soul, and was as it were diffused through it, a sense of the glory of the Divine Being; a new sense, quite different from any thing I ever experienced before. Never any words of Scripture seemed to me as these words did. I thought with myself, how excellent a Being that was, and how happy I should be, if I might enjoy that God, and be rapt up to him in heaven, and be as it were swallowed up in him for ever! I kept saying, and as it were singing, over these words of scripture to myself; and went to pray to God that I might enjoy him, and prayed in a manner quite different from what I used to do; with a new sort of affection. But it never came into my thought, that there was any thing spiritual, or of a saving nature in this.

"From about that time, I began to have a new kind of apprehensions and ideas of Christ, and the work of redemption, and the glorious way of salvation by him. An inward, sweet sense of these things, at times, came into my heart; and my soul was led away in pleasant views and contemplations of them. And my mind was greatly engaged to spend my time in reading and meditating on Christ, on the beauty and excellency of his person, and the lovely way of salvation by free grace in him. I found no books so delightful to me, as those that treated of these subjects. Those words Cant. ii. 1. used to be abundantly with me, *I am the Rose of Sharon, and the Lily of the valleys.* The words seemed to me, sweetly to represent the loveliness and beauty of Jesus Christ. The whole book of Canticles used to be pleasant to me, and I used to be much in reading it, about that time; and found, from time to time, an inward sweetness, that would carry me away, in my contemplations. This I know not how to express otherwise, than by a calm, sweet abstraction of soul from all the concerns of this world; and sometimes a kind of vision, or fixed ideas and imaginations, of being alone in the mountains, or some solitory wilderness, far from all mankind, sweetly conversing with Christ, and wrapt and swallowed up in God. The sense I had of divine things, would often of a sudden kindle up, as it were, a sweet burning in my heart; an ardour of soul, that I know not how to express.

"Not long after I first began to experience these things, I gave an account to my father of some things that had passed in my mind. I was pretty much affected by the discourse we had together; and when the discourse was ended, I walked abroad alone, in a solitary place in my father's pasture, for contemplation. And as I was walking there, and looking upon the sky and clouds, there came into my mind so sweet a sense of the glorious *majesty* and *grace* of God, as I know not how to express.—I seemed to see them both in a sweet conjunction; majesty and meekness joined together: it was a sweet, and gentle, and holy majesty; and also a majestic meekness; an awful sweetness; a high, and great, and holy gentleness.

"After this my sense of divine things gradually increased, and became more and more lively, and had more of that inward sweetness. The appearance of every thing was altered; there seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet, cast, or appearance of divine glory, in almost every thing. God's excellency, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in every thing; in the sun, moon and stars; in the clouds and blue sky; in the grass, flowers, trees; in the water and all nature; which used greatly to fix my mind. I often used to sit and view the moon for a long time; and in the day, spent much time in viewing the clouds and sky, to behold the sweet glory of God in these things: in the meantime, singing forth, with a low voice, my contemplations of the Creator

and Redeemer. And scarce any thing, among all the works of nature, was so sweet to me as thunder and lightning; formerly nothing had been so terrible to me. Before, I used to be uncommonly terrified with thunder, and to be struck with terror when I saw a thunder-storm rising; but now, on the contrary, it rejoiced me. I felt God, if I may so speak, at the first appearance of a thunder storm; and used to take the opportunity, at such times, to fix my myself in order to view the clouds, and see the lightnings play, and hear the majestic and awful voice of God's thunder, which oftentimes was exceedingly entertaining, leading me to sweet contemplations of my great and glorious God. While thus engaged, it always seemed natural for me to sing, or chant forth my meditations; or, to speak my thoughts in soliloquies with a singing voice.

"I felt then great satisfaction, as to my good estate; but that did not content me. I had vehement longings of soul after God and Christ, and after more holiness, wherewith my heart seemed to be full, and ready to break; which often brought to my mind the words of the Psalmist, Psal. cxix. 28. *My soul breaketh for the longing it hath.* I often felt a mourning and lamenting in my heart, that I had not turned to God sooner, that I might have had more time to grow in grace. My mind was greatly fixed on divine things; almost perpetually in the contemplation of them. I spent most of my time in thinking of divine things, year after year; often walking alone in the woods, and solitary places, for meditation, soliloquy, and prayer, and converse with God; and it was always my manner, at such times, to sing forth my contemplations. I was almost constantly in ejaculatory prayer, wherever I was. Prayer seemed to be natural to me, as the breath by which the inward burnings of my heart had vent. The delights which I now felt in the things of religion, were of an exceedingly different kind from those before-mentioned, that I had when a boy; and what then I had no more notion of, than one born blind has of pleasant and beautiful colours. They were of a more inward, pure, soul-animating and refreshing nature. Those former delights never reached the heart; and did not arise from any sight of the divine excellency of the things of God; or any taste of the soul-satisfying and life-giving good there is in them.*

*The remainder of this account will be found on a subsequent page.

CHAPTER VI.

Licensure.—Residence in New-York.—Personal Narrative continued.—His Seventy Resolutions.

He resided at College nearly two years, after he took his first degree, preparing himself for the work of the ministry; after which, having passed the customary trials, he received a license to preach.* In consequence of an application from a number of ministers in New England, who were entrusted to act in behalf of the Presbyterians in New-York, he went to that city in the beginning of August, 1722, and preached there with great acceptance, about eight months. While there he found a most happy residence in the house of a Mrs Smith; whom, as well as her son Mr. John Smith, he regarded as persons of uncommon piety and purity of life, and with whom, he formed a very near and intimate christian friendship. There also, he found a considerable number of persons, among the members of that church, exhibiting the same character; with whom he enjoyed, in a high degree, all the pleasures and advantages, of christian intercourse. His personal attachment to them became strong; and their interest in him, as a man and a preacher, was such, that they warmly solicited him to remain with them for life. To decline their candid invitation, was most distressing to his feelings; but, on account of the smallness of that congregation, and some peculiar difficulties which attended it, (the nature of which, I have not discovered,) he did not think there was a rational prospect of answering, fully, the great end, which he had proposed to himself, in his profession, by his settling there as their minister. After a most painful parting, with the kind friends, under whose hospitable roof, he had so long and so happily resided, he left the city, on Friday, the 26th of April, by water, and reached his father's house, on Wednesday, the 1st of May.† Here, he spent the summer, in close study; during which, he was again earnestly requested, by the congregation in New-York, to re-

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* This must have been in June, or July, 1722 several months before he was nineteen years of age.

† It is amusing to observe the time taken up in this voyage. They sailed from New-York on Friday morning, and put in at Westchester for the night. Saturday night and the Sabbath, were passed at Saybrook; and they arrived at Wethersfield, on Tuesday evening. Yet the voyage is mentioned as a pleasant one.

turn to that city, and settle among them; but his former views were not altered; and, therefore, though strongly inclined from his own feelings to gratify them, he could not comply with their wishes.

Probably, in no part of his life, had he higher advantage for spiritual contemplation and enjoyment, than in the period just mentioned. He went to New-York, in the best and happiest frame of mind. He found there a little flock of Christ, constrained from a sense of their own weakness, to "dwell together in unity," and to feel a practical sense of their dependence on God. He was in the midst of a family, whose daily influence served only to refresh and to sanctify. He had, also, much leisure for religious reading, meditation and prayer. In these circumstances, the presence of the Comforter, appears to have been a daily reality; the evidence of which, he found in that purity of heart, which enables its possessor to see God, in the peace which passeth all understanding, and the joy with which the stranger intermeddleth not. His account of this subject, is contained in the continuation of the brief narrative of his own religious history, the first part of which, is found in the last chapter, and is as follows:

"My sense of divine things seemed gradually to increase, till I went to preach at New-York; which was about a year and a half after they began; and while I was there, I felt them very sensibly, in a much higher degree, than I had done before. My longings after God, and holiness, were much increased. Pure and humble, holy and heavenly, christianity appeared exceedingly amiable to me. I felt a burning desire to be, in every thing, a complete christian; and, conformed to the blessed image of Christ; and that I might live, in all things, according to the pure, sweet and blessed rules of the gospel. I had an eager thirsting after progress in these things; which put me upon pursuing and pressing after them. It was my continual strife day and night, and constant inquiry, how I should *be* more holy, and *live* more holily, and more becoming a child of God, and a disciple of Christ. I now sought an increase of grace and holiness, and a holy life, with much more earnestness, than ever I sought grace before I had it. I used to be continually examining myself, and studying and contriving for likely ways and means, how I should live holily, with far greater diligence and earnestness, than ever I pursued any thing in my life; but yet with too great a dependence on my own strength; which afterwards proved a great damage to me. My experience had not then taught me, as it has done since, my extreme feebleness and impotence, every manner of way; and the bottomless depths of secret corruption and deceit, there was in my heart. However, I went on with my eager pursuit after more holiness, and conformity to Christ.

"The heaven I desired was a heaven of holiness; to be with God, and to spend my eternity in divine love, and holy communion with Christ. My mind was very much taken up with contemplations on heaven, and the enjoyments there; and living there in perfect holiness, humility and love: and it used at that time to appear a great part of the happiness of heaven, that there the saints could express their love to Christ. It appeared to me a great clog and burden, that what I felt within, I could not express as I desired. The inward ardour of my soul, seemed to be hindered and pent up, and could not freely flame out as it would. I used often to think, how in heaven this principle should freely and fully vent and express itself. Heaven appeared exceedingly delightful, as a world of love; and that all happiness consisted in living in pure, humble, heavenly, divine love.

"I remember the thoughts I used then to have of holiness; and said sometimes to myself, "I do certainly know that I love holiness, such as the gospel prescribes." It appeared to me, that there was nothing in it but what was ravishingly lovely; the highest beauty and amiableness—a *divine* beauty; far purer than any thing here upon earth; and that every thing else was like mire and defilement, in comparison of it.

"Holiness, as I then wrote down some of my contemplations on it, appeared to me to be of a sweet, pleasant, charming, serene, calm nature; which brought an inexpressible purity, brightness, peacefulness and ravishment to the soul. In other words, that it made the soul like a field or garden of God, with all manner of pleasant flowers; enjoying a sweet calm, and the gently vivifying beams of the sun. The soul of a true christian, as I then wrote my meditations, appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year; low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom, to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory; rejoicing, as it were, in a calm rapture; diffusing around a sweet fragrancy; standing peacefully and lovingly, in the amidst of other flowers round about; all in like manner opening their bosoms, to drink in the light of the sun. There was no part of creature-holiness, that I had so a great a sense of its loveliness, as humility, brokenness of heart and poverty of spirit; and there was nothing that I so earnestly longed for. My heart panted after this—to lie low before God, as in the dust; that I might be nothing, and that God, might be ALL, that I might become as a little child.

"While at New York, I sometimes was much affected with reflections on my past life, considering how late it was before I began to be truly religious; and how wickedly I had lived till then: and once so as to weep abundantly, and for a considerable time together.

"On *January* 12, 1723, I made a solemn dedication of myself to God, and wrote it down; giving up myself, and all that I had to

God; to be for the future, in no respect, my own; to act as one that had no right to himself, in any respect. And solemnly vowed, to take God for my whole portion and felicity; looking on nothing else, as any part of my happiness, nor acting as if it were; and his law for the constant rule of my obedience: engaging to fight, with all my might, against the world, the flesh, and the devil, to the end of my life. But I have reason to be infinitely humbled, when I consider, how much I have failed, of answering my obligation.

"I had, then, abundance of sweet, religious conversation, in the family where I lived, with Mr. John Smith, and his pious mother. My heart was knit in affection, to those, in whom were appearances of true piety; and I could bear the thoughts of no other companions, but such as were holy, and the disciples of the blessed Jesus. I had great longings, for the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world; and my secret prayer used to be, in great part, taken up in praying for it. If I heard the least hint, of any thing that happened, in any part of the world, that appeared, in some respect or other, to have a favourable aspect, on the interests of Christ's kingdom, my soul eagerly catched at it; and it would much animate and refresh me. I used to be eager to read public news-letters, mainly for that end; to see if I could not find some news, favourable to the interest of religion in the world.

"I very frequently used to retire into a solitary place, on the banks of Hudson's River, at some distance from the city, for contemplation on divine things and secret converse with God: and had many sweet hours there. Sometimes Mr. Smith and I walked there together, to converse on the things of God; and our conversation used to turn much on the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world, and the glorious things that God would accomplish for his church in the latter days. I had then, and at other times, the greatest delight in the holy scriptures, of any book whatsoever. Oftentimes in reading it, every word seemed to touch my heart. I felt a harmony between something in my heart, and those sweet and powerful words. I seemed often to see so much light exhibited by every sentence, and such a refreshing food communicated, that I could not get along in reading; often dwelling long on one sentence, to see the wonders contained in it; and yet almost every sentence seemed to be full of wonders.

"I came away from New York in the month of *April*, 1723, and had a most bitter parting with Madam Smith and her son. My heart seemed to sink within me, at leaving the family and city, where I had enjoyed so many sweet and pleasant days. I went from New York to Wethersfield, by water; and as I sailed away, I kept sight of the city as long as I could. However, that night after this sorrowful parting, I was greatly comforted in God at Westchester, where we went ashore to lodge: and had a pleasant

time of it all the voyage to Saybrook. It was sweet to me to think of meeting dear christians in heaven, where we should never part more. At Saybrook we went ashore to lodge on Saturday, and there kept the Sabbath; where I had a sweet and refreshing season, walking alone in the fields.

"After I came home to Windsor, I remained much in a like frame of mind, as when at New York; only sometimes I felt my heart ready to sink, with the thoughts of my friends at New York. My support was in contemplations on the heavenly state; as I find in my Diary of May 1, 1723. It was a comfort to think of that state, where there is fulness of joy; where reigns heavenly, calm, and delightful love, without alloy; where there are continually the dearest expressions of this love; where is the enjoyment of the persons loved, without ever parting; where those persons who appear so lovely in this world, will really be inexpressibly more lovely, and full of love to us. And how sweetly will the mutual lovers join together, to sing the praises of God and the Lamb! How will it fill us with joy to think, that this enjoyment, these sweet exercises, will never cease, but will last to all eternity."

During his preparation for the ministry, his residence in New York, and his subsequent residence at his father's house, he formed a series of RESOLUTIONS, to the number of Seventy, intended obviously for himself alone, to regulate his own heart and life; but fitted also from their christian simplicity, and spiritual-mindedness, to be eminently useful to others. Of these, the first thirty-four* were written before Dec. 18, 1722, the time in which his Diary, as it now exists, commences. The particular time and occasion of making many of the rest, will be found in that most interesting narrative; in which also are many other rules and resolutions intended for the regulation of his own affections, of perhaps equal excellence. It should be remembered that they were all written before he was twenty years of age.† As he was wholly averse to all profession and ostentation; and as these Resolutions themselves were plainly intended for no other eye than his own, except the eye that is omniscient; they may be justly considered as the basis of his conduct and character; the plan by which he governed the secret, as well as the public, actions of his life. As such they will deeply interest the reader, not only as they unfold the inmost mind of their author, but as they also show, in a manner most striking and convincing to the conscience, what is the true foundation of great and distinguished excellence.

* The first twenty-one were written at once, with the same pen; as were the next ten, at a subsequent sitting. The rest were written occasionally. They are all on two detached pieces of paper.

† The last was written in August, 1723. The whole series is published now for the first time.

He was too well acquainted with human weakness and frailty, even where the intentions are most sincere, to enter on any Resolutions rashly, or from a reliance on his own strength. He, therefore, in the outset, looked to God for aid, who alone can afford success in the use of the best means, and in the intended accomplishment of the best purposes. This he places at the head of all his other important rules, that his whole dependence was on the grace of God, while he still proposes to recur to a frequent and serious perusal of them, in order that they might become the habitual directory of his life.

RESOLUTIONS.

"Being sensible that I am unable to do any thing without God's help, I do humbly entreat him by his grace, to enable me to keep these Resolutions, so far as they are agreeable to his will, for Christ's sake.

REMEMBER TO READ OVER THESE RESOLUTIONS ONCE A WEEK.

1. *Resolved*, That *I will do whatsoever* I think to be most to the glory of God and my own good, profit and pleasure, in the whole of my duration; without any consideration of the time, whether now, or never so many myriads of ages hence. Resolved to do whatever I think to be my *duty*, and most for the good and advantage of mankind in general. Resolved, so to do, whatever *difficulties* I meet with, how many soever, and how great soever.

2. *Resolved*, To be continually endeavouring to find out some *new contrivance*, and invention, to promote the forementioned things.

3. *Resolved*, If ever I shall fall and grow dull, so as to neglect to keep any part of these Resolutions, to repent of all I can remember, when I come to myself again.

4. *Resolved*, Never *to do* any manner of thing, whether in soul or body, less or more, but what tends to the glory of God, nor *be*, nor *suffer* it, if I can possibly avoid it.

5. *Resolved*, Never to lose one moment of time, but to improve it in the most profitable way I possibly can.

6. *Resolved*, To live with all my might, while I do live.

7. *Resolved*, Never to do any thing, which I should be afraid to do, if it were the last hour of my life.

8. *Resolved*, To act, in all respects, both speaking and doing, as if nobody had been so vile as I, and as if I had committed the same sins, or had the same infirmities or failings as others; and that I will let the knowledge of their failings promote nothing but shame in myself, and prove only an occasion of my confessing my own sins and misery to God. *Vid. July* 30.

9. *Resolved*, To think much, on all occasions, of my own dying, and of the common circumstances which attend death.

10. *Resolved*, When I feel pain, to think of the pains of Martyrdom, and of Hell.

11. *Resolved*, When I think of any Theorem in divinity to be solved, immediately to do what I can towards solving it, if circumstances do not hinder.

12. *Resolved*, If I take delight in it as a gratification of pride, or vanity, or on any such account, immediately to throw it by.

13. *Resolved*, To be endeavouring to find out fit objects of charity and liberality.

14. *Resolved*, Never to do any thing out of Revenge.

15. *Resolved*, Never to suffer the least motions of anger towards irrational beings.

16. *Resolved*, Never to speak evil of any one, so that it shall tend to his dishonour, more or less, upon no account except for some real good.

17. *Resolved*, That I will live so, as I shall wish I had done when I come to die.

18. *Resolved*, To live so, at all times, as I think is best in my most devout frames, and when I have the clearest notions of the things of the Gospel, and another world.

19. *Resolved*, Never to do any thing, which I should be afraid to do, if I expected it would not be above an hour, before I should hear the last trump.

20. *Resolved*, To maintain the strictest temperance, in eating and drinking.

21. *Resolved*, Never to do any thing, which, if I should see in another, I should count a just occasion to despise him for, or to think any way the more meanly of him.

22. *Resolved*, To endeavour to obtain for myself as much happiness, in the other world, as I possibly can, with all the power, might, vigour, and vehemence, yea violence, I am capable of, or can bring myself to exert, in any way that can be thought of.

23. *Resolved*, Frequently to take some deliberate action, which seems most unlikely to be done, for the glory of God, and trace it back to the original intention, designs and ends of it; and if I find it not to be for God's glory, to repute it as a breach of the fourth Resolution.

24. *Resolved*, Whenever I do any conspicuously evil action, to trace it back, till I come to the original cause; and then, both carefully endeavour to do so no more, and to fight and pray with all my might against the original of it.

25. *Resolved*, To examine carefully, and constantly, what that one thing in me is, which causes me in the least to doubt of the love of God; and to direct all my forces against it.

26. *Resolved*, To cast away such things, as I find do abate my assurance.

27. *Resolved*, Never wilfully to omit any thing, except the

omission be for the glory of God; and frequently to examine my omissions.

28. *Resolved*, To study the Scriptures so steadily, constantly and frequently, as that I may find, and plainly perceive myself to grow in the knowledge of the same.

29. *Resolved*, Never to count that a prayer, nor to let that pass as a prayer, nor that as a petition of a prayer, which is so made, that I cannot hope that God will answer it; nor that as a confession, which I cannot hope God will accept.

30. *Resolved*, To strive, every week, to be brought higher in Religion, and to a higher exercise of grace, than I was the week before.

31. *Resolved*, Never to say any thing at all against any body, but when it is perfectly agreeable to the highest degree of christian honour, and of love to mankind, agreeable to the lowest humility, and sense of my own faults and failings, and agreeable to the Golden Rule; often, when I have said any thing against any one, to bring it to, and try it strictly by the test of this Resolution.

32. *Resolved*, To be strictly and firmly faithful to my trust, that that, in Prov. xx, 6, *A faithful man, who can find?* may not be partly fulfilled in me.

33. *Resolved*, To do, always, what I can towards making, maintaining and preserving peace, when it can be done without an overbalancing detriment in other respects. *Dec.* 26, 1722.

34. *Resolved*, In narrations, never to speak any thing but the pure and simple verity.

35. *Resolved*, Whenever I so much question whether I have done my duty, as that my quiet and calm is thereby disturbed, to set it down, and also how the question was resolved. *Dec.* 18, 1722.

36. *Resolved*, Never to speak evil of any, except I have some particular good call to it. *Dec.* 19, 1722.

37. *Resolved*, To enquire every night, as I am going to bed, Wherein I have been negligent,—What sin I have committed,—and wherein I have denied myself;—also, at the end of every week, month and year. *Dec.* 22 *and* 26, 1722.

38. *Resolved*, Never to utter any thing that is sportive, or matter of laughter, on a Lord's day. *Sabbath evening*, *Dec.* 23, 1722.

39. *Resolved*, Never to do any thing, of which I so much question the lawfulness, as that I intend, at the same time, to consider and examine afterwards, whether it be lawful or not; unless I as much question the lawfulness of the omission.

40. *Resolved*, To enquire every night, before I go to bed, whether I have acted in the best way I possibly could, with respect to eating and drinking. *Jan.* 7, 1723.

41. *Resolved*, To ask myself, at the end of every day, week, month and year, wherein I could possibly, in any respect, have done better. *Jan.* 11, 1723.

42. *Resolved*, Frequently to renew the dedication of myself to God, which was made at my baptism, which I solemnly renewed, when I was received into the communion of the church, and which I have solemnly re-made this 12th day of January, 1723.

43. *Resolved*, Never, henceforward, till I die, to act as if I were any way my own, but entirely and altogether God's; agreeably to what is to be found in Saturday, Jan. 12th. *Jan.* 12th, 1723.

44. *Resolved*, That no other end but religion, shall have any influence at all on any of my actions; and that no action shall be, in the least circumstance, any otherwise than the religious end will carry it. *Jan.* 12, 1723.

45. *Resolved*, Never to allow any pleasure or grief, joy or sorrow, nor any affection at all, nor any degree of affection, nor any circumstance relating to it, but what helps Religion. *Jan.* 12 *and* 13, 1723.

46. *Resolved*, Never to allow the least measure of any fretting or uneasiness at my father or mother. *Resolved*, To suffer no effects of it, so much as in the least alteration of speech, or motion of my eye; and to be especially careful of it with respect to any of our family.

47. *Resolved*, To endeavour, to my utmost, to deny whatever is not most agreeable to a good and universally sweet and benevolent, quiet, peaceable, contented and easy, compassionate and generous, humble and meek, submissive and obliging, diligent and industrious, charitable and even, patient, moderate, forgiving and sincere, temper; and to do, at all times, what such a temper would lead me to; and to examine strictly, at the end of every week, whether I have so done. *Sabbath Morning*, *May* 5, 1723.

48. *Resolved*, Constantly, with the utmost niceness and diligence, and the strictest scrutiny, to be looking into the state of my soul, that I may know whether I have truly an interest in Christ or not; that when I come to die, I may not have any negligence respecting this, to repent of. *May* 26, 1723.

49. *Resolved*, That this never shall be, if I can help it.

50. *Resolved*, That I will act so, as I think I shall judge would have been best, and most prudent, when I come into the future world. *July* 5, 1723.

51. *Resolved*, That I will act so, in every respect, as I think I shall wish I had done, if I should at last be damned. *July* 8, 1723.

52. I frequently hear persons in old age, say how they would live, if they were to live their lives over again: *Resolved*, That I will live just so as I can think I shall wish I had done, supposing I live to old age. *July* 8, 1723.

53. *Resolved*, To improve every opportunity, when I am in the best and happiest frame of mind, to cast and venture my soul on the Lord Jesus Christ, to trust and confide in him, and consecrate

myself wholly to him; that from this I may have assurance of my safety, knowing that I confide in my Redeemer. *July* 8, 1723.

54. *Resolved*, Whenever I hear any thing spoken in commendation of any person, if I think it would be praiseworthy in me, that I will endeavour to imitate it. *July* 8, 1723.

55. *Resolved*, To endeavour, to my utmost, so to act, as I can think I should do, if I had already seen the happiness of Heaven, and Hell torments. *July* 8, 1723.

56. *Resolved*, Never to give over, nor in the least to slacken, my fight with my corruptions, however unsuccessful I may be.

57. *Resolved*, When I fear misfortunes and adversity, to examine whether I have done my duty, and resolve to do it, and let the event be just as Providence orders it. I will, as far as I can, be concerned about nothing but my duty, and my sin. *June* 9, *and July* 13, 1723.

58. *Resolved*, Not only to refrain from an air of dislike, fretfulness, and anger in conversation, but to exhibit an air of love, cheerfulness and benignity. *May* 27, *and July* 13, 1723.

59. *Resolved*, When I am most conscious of provocations to ill-nature and anger, that I will strive most to feel and act good-naturedly; yea, at such times, to manifest good-nature, though I think that in other respects it would be disadvantageous, and so as would be imprudent at other times. *May* 12, *July* 11, *and July* 13.

60. *Resolved*, Whenever my feelings begin to appear in the least out of order, when I am conscious of the least uneasiness within, or the least irregularity without, I will then subject myself to the strictest examination. *July* 4, *and* 13, 1723.

61. *Resolved*, That I will not give way to that listlessness which I find unbends and relaxes my mind from being fully and fixedly set on religion, whatever excuse I may have for it—that what my listlessness inclines me to do, is best to be done, &c. *May* 21, *and July* 13, 1723.

62. *Resolved*, Never to do any thing but my duty, and then according to Eph. vi, 6—8, to do it willingly and cheerfully, as unto the Lord, and not to man: knowing that whatever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord. *June* 25, *and July* 13, 1723.

63. On the supposition, that there never was to be but one individual in the world, at any one time, who was properly a complete christian, in all respects of a right stamp, having christianity always shining in its true lustre, and appearing excellent and lovely, from whatever part and under whatever character viewed: *Resolved*, To act just as I would do, if I strove with all my might to be that one, who should live in my time. *Jan.* 14, *and July* 13, 1723.

64. *Resolved*, When I find those "*groanings which cannot be uttered*," of which the Apostle speaks, and those "*breakings of soul* for the longing it hath," of which the Psalmist speaks, Psalm

cxix, 20, That I will promote them to the utmost of my power, and that I will not be weary of earnestly endeavouring to vent my desires, nor of the repetitions of such earnestness. *July* 23, *and August* 10, 1723.

65. *Resolved*, Very much to exercise myself in this, all my life long, viz. With the greatest openness, of which I am capable, to declare my ways to God, and lay open my soul to him, all my sins, temptations, difficulties, sorrows, fears, hopes, desires, and every thing, and every circumstance, according to Dr. Manton's Sermon on the 119th Psalm. *July* 26, *and Aug.* 10, 1723.

66. *Resolved*, That I will endeavour always to keep a benign aspect, and air of acting and speaking in all places, and in all companies, except it should so happen that duty requires otherwise.

67. *Resolved*, After afflictions, to enquire, What I am the better for them; What good I have got by them; and, What I might have got by them.

68. *Resolved*, To confess frankly to myself all that which I find in myself, either infirmity or sin; and, if it be what concerns religion, also to confess the whole case to God, and implore needed help. *July* 23, *and August* 10, 1723.

69. *Resolved*, Always to do that, which I shall wish I had done when I see others do it. *Aug.* 11, 1723.

70. Let there be something of benevolence, in all that I speak. *Aug.* 17, 1723.

Those, who have read the preceding Resolutions, will not need to be apprised, that they discover in the writer a knowledge of his own heart, of the human character, and of the secret springs of human action, as well as a purity, conscientiousness and evangelical integrity, very rarely found in any individual. His obvious intention and rule was, to refer every voluntary action, and every course of conduct, habitually and immediately to the eye of Omniscience; to live as always surrounded by his presence; and to value nothing in comparison with his approbation, and, what of course accompanied it, that of his own conscience. At this early period, he had begun to remember, that he was immortal, that he was soon to enter on a stage of existence and action, incomparably more expanded and dignified than the present, and that nothing here had any ultimate importance, except as it had a bearing on his own welfare, and that of others, in that nobler state of being. These Resolutions are, perhaps, to persons of every age, but especially to the young, the best uninspired summary of christian duty, the best directory to high attainments in evangelical virtue, which the mind of man has hitherto been able to form. They are, also, in the highest degree interesting, as disclosing the writer's own character; and no one will wonder that the youth, who, in his nine-

teenth year, could, in the presence of God, deliberately and solemnly form the first Resolution:—"*Resolved*, That *I will do whatsoever* I think to be most to God's glory, and my own good, profit and pleasure, ON THE WHOLE; without any consideration of the *time*, whether now, or never so many myriads of ages hence;—to do whatever I think to be my *duty*, and most for the good and advantage of mankind in general,—whatever *difficulties* I meet with, how many and how great soever:"—should have attained to an elevation and energy of virtue rarely witnessed in this fallen world.

CHAPTER VII.

His Diary.

The Diary of Mr. Edwards begins Dec. 18, 1722, when he was nineteen years of age. As far as to Jan. 15th, at night, it is written on two detached slips of paper; and the remainder in a book.* As it commences abruptly, and as near as possible to the top of that paper; the beginning of it is undoubtedly lost; and it is not improbable, that, as he originally wrote it, it may have reached back, at least to the period of his preparation for the ministry. It was intended, as will at once be perceived, for his own private use exclusively; and had it been with him at the close of life, it is not unlikely it might have been destroyed. Still, whatever is calculated to do good, and is perfectly consistent with an author's real reputation, may be published with honour, whatever his design might be while writing. The best of men, indeed, have thoughts, and opinions and feelings, which are perfectly proper and right in themselves, which yet it would be wholly improper for them to disclose to others. But a man of sound discretion, will take care that nothing of this nature is placed within the reach of accident. What Mr. Edwards wished to have concealed from every eye but his own, he wrote in *short hand*. And on one occasion, after having written to a considerable extent in that character, he adds this remark in his customary hand, "Remember to act according to Prov. xii, 23, *A prudent man concealeth knowledge*."

The reader, while perusing the Diary in its various parts, will, I think, be struck with it, as possessing the following characteristics. It consists of facts; and of solid thought, dictated by deep religious feeling: and not of the mere expressions of feeling, or of common-place moral reflexions, or exhortations. It was intended for his own eyes exclusively; and not chiefly for those of his friends and of the public. It is an exhibition of the simple thinking, feeling and acting, of a man, who is unconscious how he appears, except to himself, and to God: and not the remarks of one, who is desirous of being thought humble, respecting his own humility. If we suppose a man of christian simplicity, and godly sincerity, to bring all the secret movements of his own soul under the clear, strong light of

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*He mentions, Jan, 14th, his making the book, and annexing the loose papers to it.

heaven, and there to survey them with a piercing and an honest eye, and a contrite heart, in order to humble himself, and make himself better; it is just the account which such a man would write.—In these respects, it is, with only here and there a solitary exception, wholly unlike any Diary of modern times; and, as such, is, with here and there a solitary exception, the only Diary of modern times, that ought ever to have been published.

DIARY.—DECEMBER, 1722.

Dec. 18. This day made the 35th Resolution. The reason why I, in the least, question my interest in God's love and favour, is,—1. Because I cannot speak so fully to my experience of that preparatory work, of which divines speak:—2. I do not remember that I experienced regeneration, exactly in those steps, in which divines say it is generally wrought:—3. I do not feel the christian graces sensibly enough, particularly faith. I fear they are only such hypocritical outside affections, which wicked men may feel, as well as others. They do not seem to be sufficiently inward, full, sincere, entire and hearty. They do not seem so substantial, and so wrought into my very nature, as I could wish.—4. Because I am sometimes guilty of sins of omission and commission. Lately I have doubted, whether I do not transgress in evil speaking. This day, resolved, No.

Dec. 19. This day made the 36th Resolution. Lately, I have been very much perplexed, by seeing the doctrine of different degrees in glory questioned; but now have almost got over the difficulty.

Dec. 20. This day somewhat questioned, whether I had not been guilty of negligence yesterday, and this morning; but resolved, No.

Dec. 21, *Friday.* This day, and yesterday, I was exceedingly dull, dry and dead.

Dec. 22, *Saturday.* This day, revived by God's Holy Spirit; affected with the sense of the excellency of holiness; felt more exercise of love to Christ, than usual. Have, also, felt sensible repentance for sin, because it was committed against so merciful and good a God. This night made the 37th Resolution.

Sabbath-night, *Dec.* 23. Made the 38th Resolution.

Monday, *Dec.* 24. Higher thoughts than usual of the excellency of Christ and his kingdom.—Concluded to observe, at the end of every month, the number of breaches of Resolutions, to see whether they increase or diminish, to begin from this day, and to compute from that the weekly account, my monthly increase, and, out of the whole, my yearly increase, beginning from new year days.

Wednesday, *Dec.* 26. Early in the morning yesterday, was

hindered by the head-ache all day; though I hope I did not lose much. Made an addition to the 37th Resolution, concerning weeks, months and years. *At night;* made the 33d Resolution.

Saturday, Dec. 29. About sunset this day, dull and lifeless.

1722–23. *Tuesday, Jan.* 1. Have been dull for several days. Examined whether I have not been guilty of negligence to-day; and resolved, No.

Wednesday, Jan. 2. Dull. I find, by experience, that, let me make Resolutions, and do what I will, with never so many inventions, it is all nothing, and to no purpose at all, without the motions of the Spirit of God; for if the Spirit of God should be as much withdrawn from me always, as for the week past, notwithstanding all I do, I should not grow, but should languish, and miserably fade away. I perceive, if God should withdraw his Spirit a little more, I should not hesitate to break my Resolutions, and should soon arrive at my old state. There is no dependence on myself. Our resolutions may be at the highest one day, and yet, the next day, we may be in a miserable dead condition, not at all like the same person who resolved. So that it is to no purpose to resolve, except we depend on the grace of God. For, if it were not for his mere grace, one might be a very good man one day, and a very wicked one the next. I find also by experience, that there is no guessing out the ends of Providence, in particular dispensations towards me—any otherwise than as afflictions come as corrections for sin, and God intends when we meet with them, to desire us to look back on our ways, and see wherein we have done amiss, and lament that particular sin, and all our sins, before him:—knowing this, also, that all things shall work together for our good; not knowing in what way, indeed, but trusting in God.

Saturday evening, Jan. 5. A little redeemed from a long dreadful dulness, about reading the Scriptures. This week, have been unhappily low in the weekly account:—and what are the reasons of it?—abundance of listlessness and sloth; and, if this should continue much longer, I perceive that other sins will begin to discover themselves. It used to appear to me, that I had not much sin remaining; but now, I perceive that there are great remainders of sin. Where may it not bring me to, if God should leave me? Sin is not enough mortified. Without the influences of the Spirit of God, the old serpent would begin to rouse up himself from his frozen state, and would come to life again. *Resolved*, That I have been negligent in two things:—in not striving enough in duty; and in not forcing myself upon religious thoughts.

Sabbath, Jan. 6. *At night;* Much concerned about the improvement of precious time. Intend to live in continual mortification, without ceasing, and even to weary myself thereby, as long as I am in this world, and never to expect or desire any worldly ease or pleasure.

Monday, Jan. 7. At night, made the 40th Resolution.

Tuesday. Jan. 8. In the morning, had higher thoughts than usual of the excellency of Christ, and felt an unusual repentance of sin therefrom.

Wednesday, Jan. 9. *At night:* Decayed. I am sometimes apt to think, that I have a great deal more of holiness than I really have. I find now and then that abominable corruption, which is directly contrary to what I read of eminent christians. I do not seem to be half so careful to improve time, to do every thing quick, and in as short a time as I possibly can, nor to be perpetually engaged to think about religion, as I was yesterday and the day before, nor indeed as I have been at certain times, perhaps a twelve month ago. If my resolutions of that nature, from that time, had always been kept alive and awake, how much better might I have been, than I now am. How deceitful is my heart! I take up a strong resolution, but how soon doth it weaken.

Thursday, Jan. 10, about noon. Recovering. It is a great dishonour to Christ, in whom I hope I have an interest, to be uneasy at my worldly state and condition; or, when I see the prosperity of others, and that all things go easy with them, the world is smooth to them, and they are very happy in many respects, and very prosperous, or are advanced to much honour; to grudge them their prosperity, or envy them on account of it, or to be in the least uneasy at it, to wish and long for the same prosperity, and to desire that it should ever be so with me. Wherefore, concluded always to rejoice in every one's prosperity, and not to pretend to expect or desire it for myself, and to expect no happiness of that nature, as long as I live; but to depend on afflictions, and to betake myself entirely to another happiness.—I think I find myself much more sprightly and healthy, both in body and mind, for my self-denial in eating, drinking and sleeping. I think it would be advantageous, every morning to consider my business and temptations, and the sins to which I shall be exposed on that day, and to make a resolution how to improve the day, and avoid those sins, and so at the beginning of every week, month and year. I never knew before what was meant, by not setting our hearts on those things. It is, not to care about them, nor to depend upon them, nor to afflict ourselves with the fear of losing them, nor to please ourselves with the expectation of obtaining them, or with the hopes of their continuance.—*At night;* made the 41st Resolution.

Saturday, Jan. 12. In the morning. I have this day, solemnly renewed my baptismal covenant and self-dedication, which I renewed, when I was taken into the communion of the church. I have been before God, and have given myself, all that I am, and have, to God; so that I am not, in any respect, my own. I can challenge no right in this understanding, this will, these affections, which are in me. Neither have I any right to this body, or any

of its members—no right to this tongue, these hands, these feet; no right to these senses, these eyes, these ears, this smell, or this taste. I have given myself clear away, and have not retained any thing, as my own. I gave myself to God, in my baptism, and I have been this morning to him, and told him, that I gave myself *wholly* to him. I have given every power to him; so that for the future, I'll challenge no right in myself, in no respect whatever. I have expressly promised him, and I do now promise Almighty God, that by his grace, I will not. I have this morning told him, that I did take Him for my whole portion and felicity, looking on nothing else, as any part of my happiness, nor acting as if it were; and his Law, for the constant rule of my obedience; and would fight, with all my might, against the world, the flesh and the devil, to the end of my life; and that I did believe in Jesus Christ, and did receive him as a Prince and Saviour; and that I would adhere to the faith and obedience of the Gospel, however hazardous and difficult, the confession and practice of it may be; and that I did receive the blessed Spirit, as my Teacher, Sanctifier, and only Comforter, and cherish all his motions to enlighten, purify, confirm, comfort and assist me. This, I have done; and I pray God, for the sake of Christ, to look upon it as a self-dedication, and to receive me now, as entirely his own, and to deal with me, in all respects, as such, whether he afflicts me, or prospers me, or whatever he pleases to do with me, who am his. Now, henceforth, I am not to act, in any respect, as my own.—I shall act as my own, if I ever make use of any of my powers, to any thing, that is not to the glory of God, and do not make the glorifying of him, my whole and entire business:—if I murmur in the least at affliction; if I grieve at the prosperity of others; if I am in any way uncharitable; if I am angry, because of injuries; if I revenge them; if I do any thing, purely to please myself, or if I avoid any thing, for the sake of my own ease; if I omit any thing, because it is great self-denial; if I trust to myself; if I take any of the praise of any good that I do, or that God doth by me; or if I am in any way proud. This day, made the 42d and 43d Resolutions:—Whether or no, any other end ought to have any influence at all, on any of my actions; or, whether any action ought to be any otherwise, in any respect, than it would be, if nothing else but religion had the least influence on my mind. Wherefore, I make the 44th Resolution.

Query: Whether any delight, or satisfaction, ought to be allowed, because any other end is obtained, beside a religious one. In the afternoon, I answer, Yes; because, if we should never suffer ourselves to rejoice, but because we have obtained a religious end, we should never rejoice at the sight of friends, we should not allow ourselves any pleasure in our food, whereby the animal spirits would be withdrawn, and good digestion hindered. But the que-

ry is to be answered thus:—We never ought to allow any joy or sorrow, but what helps religion. Wherefore, I make the 45th Resolution.

The reason why I so soon grow lifeless, and unfit for the business I am about, I have found out, is only because I have been used to suffer myself to leave off, for the sake of ease, and so, I have acquired a habit of expecting ease; and therefore, when I think I have exercised myself a great while, I cannot keep myself to it any longer, because I expect to be released, as my due and right. And then, I am deceived, as if I were really tired and weary. Whereas, if I did not expect ease, and was resolved to occupy myself by business, as much as I could; I should continue with the same vigour at my business, without vacation time to rest. Thus, I have found it in reading the scriptures; and thus, I have found it in prayer; and thus, I believe it to be in getting sermons by heart, and in other things.

At night. This week, the weekly account rose higher than ordinary. It is suggested to me, that too constant a mortification, and too vigorous application to religion, may be prejudicial to health; but nevertheless, I will plainly feel it and experience it, before I cease, on this account. It is no matter how much tired and weary I am, if my health is not impaired.

Sabbath day, Jan. 13. I plainly feel, that if I should continue to go on, as from the beginning of the last week hitherto, I should continually grow and increase in grace. After the afternoon meeting, made an addition to the 45th Resolution. *At noon;* I remember I thought that I loved to be a member of Christ, and not any thing distinct, but only a part, so as to have no separate interest, or pleasure of my own. *At night*, resolved to endeavour fully to understand 1 Cor. vii. 29—32, and to act according to it.

Monday, Jan. 14. About 10 o'clock in the morning, made this book, and put these papers in it.* The dedication, which I made of myself to God, on Saturday last, has been exceedingly useful to me. I thought I had a more spiritual insight into the scriptures, when reading the 8th of Romans, than ever before. *At night.* Great instances of mortification, are deep wounds, given to the body of sin; hard blows, which make him stagger and reel. We thereby get strong ground and footing against him, he is the weaker ever after, and we have easier work with him the next time. He grows cowardly; and we can easily cause him to give way, until at length, we find it easy work with him, and can kill him at pleasure. While we live without great instances of mortification and self-denial, the old man keeps about where he was; for he is sturdy and obstinate, and will not stir for small blows. This, without doubt, is one great reason why many chris-

* He refers to slips of paper on which the first part of the Diary is written; as far as Jan. 15, *at night.*

tians do not sensibly increase in grace. After the greatest mortifications, I always find the greatest comfort. Wrote the 63d Resolution. Such little things as Christians commonly do, will not evince much increase of grace. We must do great things for God. —It will be best, when I find that I have lost any former ancient good motions or actions, to take notice of it, if I can remember them.

Tuesday, Jan. 15.—*About two or three o'clock.* I have been all this time decaying. It seemed yesterday, the day before, and Saturday, that I should always retain the same resolutions to the same height. But alas! how soon do I decay! O how weak, how infirm, how unable to do any thing of myself! What a poor inconsistent being! What a miserable wretch, without the assistance of the Spirit of God! While I stand, I am ready to think that I stand by my own strength, and upon my own legs; and I am ready to triumph over my spiritual enemies, as if it were I myself, that caused them to flee:—when alas! I am but a poor infant, upheld by Jesus Christ; who holds me up, and gives me liberty to smile, to see my enemies flee, when he drives them before me. And so I laugh, as though I myself did it, when it is only Jesus Christ leads me along, and fights himself against my enemies. And now the Lord has a little left me, how weak do I find myself. O let it teach me to depend less on myself, to be more humble, and to give more of the praise of my ability to Jesus Christ! The heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked: who can know it!—The occasion of my decaying, is a little melancholy. My spirits are depressed, because I fear that I lost some friendship the last night; and, my spirits being depressed, my resolutions have lost their strength. I differ to-day from yesterday, in these things. I do not resolve any thing to-day, half so strongly. I am not so perpetually thinking of renewing my resolutions, as I was then. I am not half so vigorous as I was then; nor am I half so careful to do every thing with vigour. Then, I kept continually acting; but now, I do things slowly, and satisfy myself by thinking of religion in the mean time. I am not so careful to go from one business to another.—I felt humiliation, about sunset. What shall I do, in order that I may, with a good grace, fall into christian discourse and conversation. *At night.*—The next time I am in such a lifeless frame, I will force myself to go rapidly from one thing to another, and to do those things with vigour, in which vigour would ever be useful. The things, which take off my mind, when bent on religion, are commonly some remarkable change or alteration—journies, change of place, change of business, change of studies, and change of other circumstances; or something that makes me melancholy; or some sin.

Thursday, Jan. 17. About three o'clock, overwhelmed with melancholy.

Friday, Jan. 18.—*At night.* Beginning to endeavour to recover out of the death, I have been in for these several days.

Sabbath day, Jan. 20.—*At night.* The last week I was sunk so low, that I fear it will be a long time, before I am recovered. I fell exceedingly low in the weekly account. I find my heart so deceitful, that I am almost discouraged from making any more resolutions.—Wherein have I been negligent in the week past; and how could I have done better, to help the dreadful low estate in which I am sunk?

Monday, Jan. 21. Before sunrise, answered the preceding questions thus: I ought to have spent the time in bewailing my sins, and in singing Psalms—especially psalms or hymns of penitence; these duties being most suited to the frame I was in. I do not spend time enough in endeavouring to affect myself with the glories of christianity.—Fell short in the monthly account. It seems to me, that I am fallen from my former sense of the pleasantness of religion.

Tuesday, Feb. 5.—*At night.* I have thought, that this being so exceedingly careful, and so particularly anxious, to force myself to think of religion, at all times, has exceedingly distracted my mind, and made me altogether unfit for that, and every thing else. I have thought, that this caused the dreadful low condition I was in on the 15th of January. I think that I stretched myself farther than I could bear, and so broke.—But now, it seems to me, though I know not why, that I do not do enough to prepare for another world. I do not seem to press forward, to fight and wrestle, as the Apostles used to speak. I do not seem so greatly and constantly to mortify and deny myself, as the mortification of which they speak represents. Therefore, wherein ought I to do more in this way?—I answer: I am again grown too careless about eating, drinking and sleeping—not careful enough about evil speaking.

Saturday, Feb. 16. I do certainly know that I love holiness, such as the Gospel prescribes. *At night.* For the time past of my life, I have been negligent, in that I have not sufficiently kept up that part of divine worship, singing the praise of God in secret, and with company.—I have been negligent the month past, in these three things. I have not been watchful enough over my appetites, in eating and drinking; in rising too late in the morning; and in not applying myself with sufficient application to the duty of secret prayer.

Sabbath day, Feb. 17.—*Near sunset.* Renewedly promised, that I will accept of God for my whole portion, and that I will be contented, whatever else I am denied. I will not murmur nor be grieved, whatever prosperity upon any account I see others enjoy, and I am denied. To this I have lately acted contrary.

Thursday, Feb. 21. I perceive that I never yet have adequately known, what was meant by being weaned from the world, by not

laying up treasure on earth, but in heaven, by not having our portion in this life, by making the concerns of another life our whole business, by taking God for our whole portion. I find my heart, in great part, yet adheres to the earth. O that it might be quite separated from thence. I find when I have power and reputation as others, I am uneasy, and it does not satisfy me to tell me, that I have chosen God for my whole portion, and that I have promised to rest entirely contented with him.

Saturday, Feb. 23. I find myself miserably negligent, and that I might do twice the business that I do, if I were set upon it. See how soon my thoughts of this matter, will be differing from what they are now. I have been indulging a horrid laziness a good while, and did not know it. I can do seven times as much in the same time now, as I can at other times, not because my faculties are in better tune; but because of the fire of diligence that I feel burning within me. If I could but always continue so, I should not meet with one quarter of the trouble. I should run the christian race much better, and should go out of the world a much better man.

Saturday, March 2. O how much more base and vile am I, when I feel pride working in me, than when I am in a more humble disposition of mind! How much, how exceedingly much, more lovely is an humble, than a proud, disposition! I now plainly perceive it, and am really sensible of it. How immensely more pleasant is an humble delight, than a high thought of myself! How much better do I feel, when I am truly humbling myself, than when I am pleasing myself with my own perfections. O how much pleasanter is humility, than pride. O that God would fill me with exceeding great humility, and that he would ever more keep me from all pride. The pleasures of humility are really the most refined, inward and exquisite, delights in the world. How hateful is a proud man. How hateful is a worm, that lifts up itself with pride! What a foolish, silly, miserable, blind, deceived, poor worm am I, when pride works! *At night.*—I have lately been negligent as to reading the Scriptures. Notwithstanding my resolutions on Saturday was se'night, I have not been sedulous and diligent enough.

Wednesday, March 6.—*Near sunset.* Regarded the doctrines of Election, Free Grace, our Inability to do any thing without the grace of God, and that Holiness is entirely, throughout, the work of the Spirit of God, with greater pleasure than ever before.

Thursday, March 7. I think I now suffer from not forcing myself enough on religious thoughts.

Saturday night, March 24. I intend, if I am ever settled, to concert measures, and study methods, of doing good in the world, and to draw up rules of acting in this matter, in writing, of all the methods I can possibly devise, by which I can in any respect do good.

Saturday night, March 31. This week I have been too careless about eating.

Monday morning, April 1. I think it best not to allow myself to laugh at the faults, follies and infirmities, of others.

Saturday night, April 7. This week I found myself so far gone, that it seemed to me I should never recover more. Let God of his mercy return unto me, and no more leave me thus to sink and decay! I know, O Lord, that without thy help I shall fall, innumerable times, notwithstanding all my resolutions, how often soever repeated.

Saturday night, April 13. I could pray more heartily this night for the forgiveness of my enemies, than ever before.—I am somewhat apt, after having asked one petition over many times, to be weary of it; but I am now resolved not to give way to such a disposition.

Wednesday forenoon, May 1. Last night I came home, after my melancholy parting from New York.

I have always, in every different state of life I have hitherto been in, thought that the troubles and difficulties of that state were greater, than those of any other state that I proposed to be in; and when I have altered, with assurance of mending myself, I have still thought the same, yea that the difficulties of that state are greater than those of that I left last. Lord, grant that from hence I may learn to withdraw my thoughts, affections, desires and expectations entirely from the world, and may fix them upon the heavenly state, where there is fulness of joy; where reigns heavenly, sweet, calm and delightful love without alloy; where there are continually the dearest expressions of this love; where there is the enjoyment of this love without ever parting; and where those persons, who appear so lovely in this world, will be inexpressibly more lovely, and full of love to us. How sweetly will those, who thus mutually love, join together in singing the praises of God and the Lamb. How full will it fill us with joy, to think that this enjoyment, these sweet exercises, will never cease or come to an end, but will last to all eternity. Remember after journeys, removals, overturnings and alterations in the state of my life, to reflect and consider, whether therein I have managed the best way possible respecting my soul; and before such alterations, if foreseen, to resolve how to act.

Thursday, May 2.—*Afternoon.* I observe this, that when I was at New York, when I meditated on things of a religious nature, I used to conceive of myself as walking in the fields at home; but now I am at home, I conceive of myself as walking in the fields, which I used to frequent at New York. I think it a very good way, to examine dreams every morning when I awake; what are the nature, circumstances, principles and ends of my imaginary actions and passions in them; in order to discern what are my prevailing inclinations, &c.

Saturday night, May 4. Although I have, in some measure, subdued a disposition to chide and fret, yet I find a certain inclina-

tion, which is not agreeable to christian sweetness of temper and conversation: either too much dogmaticalness or too much egotism, a disposition to manifest my own dislike and scorn, and my own freedom from those which are innocent, sinless, yea common infirmities of men, and many other such like things. O that God would help me to discover all the flaws and defects of my temper and conversation, and help me in the difficult work of amending them; and that he would grant me so full a measure of vital christianity, that the foundation of all these disagreeable irregularities may be destroyed, and the contrary sweetnesses and beauties may of themselves naturally follow.

Sabbath morning, May 5. Made the 47th Resolution.

Monday morning, May 6. I think it best commonly to come before God three times in a day, except I find a great inaptitude to that duty.

Saturday night, May 11. I have been to blame, the month past, in not laying violence enough to my inclination, to force myself to a better improvement of time. Have been tardy with respect to the 47th Resolution. Have also been negligent about keeping my thoughts, when joining with others in prayer.

Sabbath-day morning, May 12. I have lost that relish of the Scriptures and other good books, which I had five or six months ago. *Resolved*, When I find in myself the least disposition to exercise good nature, that I will then strive most to feel good naturedly. *At noon.*—Observe to remember the meditations which I had at Westchester, as I was coming from New York; and those which I had in the orchard; and those under the oak-tree. This day, and the last night, I read over and reviewed those reflexions and remarks, which I find to be a very beneficial thing to me.—*After the afternoon meeting.*—I think I find in my heart to be glad from the hopes I have, that my eternity is to be spent in spiritual and holy joys, arising from the manifestation of God's love, and the exercise of holiness, and a burning love to him.

Saturday night, May 18. This week past, spent in journeying to Norwich, and the towns thereabouts. This day returned, and received a letter, from my dear friend, Mr. John Smith.—The last Wednesday, took up a resolution, to refrain from all manner of evil speaking, for one week, to try it, and see the effect of it: hoping, if that evil speaking, which I used to allow myself in, and to account lawful, agreeably to the resolutions I have formed concerning it, were not lawful, or best, I should hereby discover it, and get the advantage of temptations to it, and so deceive myself, into a strict adherence to my duty, respecting that matter;—that that corruption, which I cannot conquer by main strength, I may get the victory of by stratagem. I find the effect of it already to be, to make me apt to take it for granted, that what I have resolved on this week, is a duty to be observed for ever.

I now plainly perceive, what great obligations I am under, to love and honour my parents. I have great reason to believe, that their counsel and education, have been my making; though, in the time of it, it seemed to do me so little good. I have good reason to hope, that their prayers for me have been, in many things, very powerful and prevalent, that God has, in many things, taken me under his care and guidance, provision and direction, in answer to their prayers for me. I was never made so sensible of it, as now.

I think it the best way, in general, not to seek for honour, in any other way, than by seeking to be good, and to do good. I may pursue knowledge, religion, the glory of God, and the good of mankind, with the utmost vigour; but, am to leave the honour of it, entirely at God's disposal, as a thing with which I have no immediate concern; no, not although, by possessing that honour, I have the greater opportunity to do good.

Mem. To be particularly careful, lest I should be tardy in any point, wherein I have been negligent, or have erred, in days, weeks, months, or years past.

Sabbath-day morning, *May* 19. With respect to my journey last week, I was not careful enough, to watch opportunities of solemnly approaching to God, three times a day. The last week, when I was about to take up the Wednesday resolution, it was proposed to me, in my thoughts, to omit it until I got home again, because there would be a more convenient opportunity. Thus am I ready to look at any thing as an excuse, to grow slack in my Christian course.—*At night*. Concluded to add to my enquiries, as to the spending of time—at the beginning of the day, or the period, What can I do for the good of men?—and, at the end, What have I done for their good?

Tuesday morning, *May* 21. My conscience is, undoubtedly, more calm, since my last Wednesday resolution, than it was before.

Wednesday morning, *May* 22. *Memorandum.* To take special care of the following things: evil speaking, fretting, eating, drinking and sleeping, speaking simple verity, joining in prayer, slightiness in secret prayer, listlessness and negligence, and thoughts that cherish sin.

Saturday morning, *May* 25. As I was this morning reading the 17th Resolution, it was suggested to me, that if I were now to die, I should wish that I had prayed more, that God would make me know my state, whether it be good or bad, and that I had taken more pains and care, to see and narrowly search into that matter. Wherefore, *Mem.* for the future, most nicely and diligently to look into the opinions of our old divines, concerning conversion. This morning made the 48th Resolution.

Monday afternoon, *May* 27. *Memorandum.* Not only to keep from an air of dislike, anger and fretfulness, in discourse or conver-

sation; but, let me also have as much of an appearance of love, cheerfulness, and benignity, as may be, with a good grace.—These following things, especially, to beware of, in order to the better observation of the 47th Resolution: distrust, discontent, uneasiness, and a complaining temper, self-opinion, self-confidence, melancholy, moroseness, slight antipathy, privacy, indolence, and want of resolution—to beware of any thing, in discourse or conversation, that savours of these.

Saturday night, June 8, *at Boston.* When I find myself listless and dull, and not easily affected by reading religious books, then to read my resolutions, remarks, reflexions, &c.—One thing, that would be of great advantage to me, in reading to my profit, would be, the endeavouring, with all my might, *to keep the image and picture of the thing in my mind*, and be careful that I do not lose it, in the chain of the discourse.

Sabbath-day, June 9, *after the afternoon meeting. Mem.* When I fear misfortunes, to examine whether I have done my duty; and at the same time, to resolve to do it, and let it go, and be concerned about nothing, but my duty and my sin.

Saturday morning, June 15, *at Windsor.* Have been to blame, this journey, with respect to strict temperance, in eating, drinking and sleeping, and in suffering too small matters to give interruption to my wonted chain of religious exercises.—Concluded to protract the Wednesday Resolution, to the end of my life.

Tuesday morning, June 18. *Mem.* To do that part, which I conveniently can, of my stated exercise, while about other business, such as self-examination, resolutions, &c., that I may do the remainder in less time.

Friday afternoon, June 21. I have abundant cause, O my merciful Father, to love thee ardently, and greatly, to bless and praise thee, that thou hast heard me, in my earnest request, and so hast answered my prayer, for mercy, to keep me from decay and sinking. O, graciously, of thy mere goodness, still continue to pity my misery, by reason of my sinfulness. O, my dear Redeemer, I commit myself, together with my prayer and thanksgiving, into thine hand!

Saturday morning, June 22. Altered the 36th Resolution, to make it the same with the Wednesday Resolution. If I should take special care, every day, to rise above, or not to fall below, or to fall as little as I possibly could, below what I was the day before, it would be of great advantage to me.—I take notice, that most of these determinations, when I first resolve them, seem as if they would be much more beneficial, than I find them.

Tuesday morning, June 25. Last Sabbath, at Boston, reading the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of the 6th to the Ephesians, concluded that it would be much to my advantage, to take the greatest care, never to do any thing but my duty, and then to do it willingly, cheerfully, and gladly, whatever danger or unpleasant circumstances it

may be attended with; with good-will doing it, as to the Lord, not as pleasing man, or myself, knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord.

Saturday morning, June 25. It is best to be careful in prayer, not to put up those petitions, of which I do not feel a sincere desire: thereby, my prayer is rendered less sincere, less acceptable to God, and less useful to myself.

Monday noon, July 1. I find I am not careful enough, to keep out all thoughts, but religious ones, on the Sabbath. When I find the least uneasiness, in doing my duty, to fly to the 43d Resolution.

Wednesday night, July 3. I am too negligent, with respect to improving petty opportunities of doing good; thinking, that the good will be very small, and unextended, and not worth the pains. *Resolved*, to regulate this, as that which is wrong, and what ought not to be.—Again confirmed, by experience, of the happy effects of a strict temperance, with respect both to body and mind.

Thursday morning, July 4. The last night, in bed, when thinking of death, I thought, if I was then to die, that, which would make me die, in the least degree fearfully, would be, the want of a trusting and relying on Jesus Christ, so distinctly and plainly, as has been described by divines; my not having experienced so particular a venturing, and entirely trusting my soul on Christ, after the fears of hell, and terrors of the Lord, encouraged by the mercy, faithfulness and promises, of God, and the gracious invitations of Christ. Then, I thought I could go out of the world, as much assured of my salvation, as I was of Christ's faithfulness, knowing that, if Christ did not fail me, he would save me, who had trusted in him, on his word. *At night.*—Whenever things begin to seem in the least out of order, when things begin to feel uneasy within, or irregular without, then to examine myself, by the strictest examination.—*Resolved*, for the future, to observe rather more of meekness, moderation and temper, in disputes.

Friday morning, July 5. Last night, when thinking what I should wish I had done, that I had not done, if I was then to die; I thought I should wish, that I had been more importunate with God, to fit me for death, and lead me into all truth, and that I might not be deceived, about the state of my soul.—In the forenoon, made the 50th Resolution.

Thursday night, July 11. This day, too impatient, at the Church meeting. Snares and briars have been in my way, this afternoon. It is good, at such times, for one to manifest good nature, even to one's disadvantage, and so as would be imprudent, at other times.

Saturday morning, July 13. Transferred the conclusion of June 9, to the Resolution, No. 57; and the conclusion of May 27, to No. 58; and May 12, and July 11, to No. 59; and of July 1, *at night*, to No. 60; and of May 24, to No. 61; and of June

25, to No. 62 ; and, about noon, the Resolution of January 14, to No. 63.—In times past, I have been too free, in judging of the hearts of men, from their actions.

Thursday, *July* 18, *near sunset*. *Resolved*, to make sure of that sign, which the Apostle James gives, of a perfect man : James iii. 2. "If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man, and able, also, to bridle the whole body.

Friday afternoon, *July* 19. 1 Peter, ii. 18. Servants, be subject to your masters, with all fear ; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward : How then, ought children to honour their parents.—This verse, together with the two following, viz. "For this is thank-worthy, if a man, for conscience toward God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully ; for what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently ; but if, when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God."

Saturday noon, *July* 20. Dr. Manton's Sermon, on the 119th Psalm, pp. 140, 141, Of Evil-speaking, Use 2d. To them that either devise or receive reproaches. Both are very sinful. Hypocrites, and men that put themselves into a garb of religion, are all for censuring, take a mighty freedom that way : these men bewray the rottenness of their hearts.—Alas, in our own sight, we should be the worst of men. The children of God do ever thus speak of themselves, as the least of saints, the greatest of sinners—"more brutish than any man"—"of sinners, whereof I am the chief." You rob them of the most precious treasure. He that robs thee of thy name, is the worst kind of thief. Prov. xxii. 1. "A good name is rather to be chosen, than great riches."—Object. But, must we, in no case, speak evil of another ; or may we not speak of another's sin, in any case ?—Solution 1. It is a very hard matter, to speak evil of another, without sin.—In one way, or another, we shall dash upon the command : better let it alone.—If you speak of the failings of another, it should be, with tenderness, and grief ; as, when they are incorrigible, and likely to infect others ; or, when it is for the manifest glory of God.—To them, that receive the slander ; he is a slanderer, who wrongs his neighbour's credit, by upholding an ill-report against him.

Monday afternoon, *July* 22. I find, it would be desirable, on many accounts, always to endeavor, to wear a benign aspect, and air of acting and speaking, in all companies, except it should so happen, that duty requires it otherwise.—I am afraid, I am now defective, in not doing whatever my hand finds to do, with my might, with respect to my particular affairs. Remember to watch, see and know how it is. Vid. Aug. 31.—I see there is danger, of my being drawn into transgression, by the power of such temptations, as the fear of seeming uncivil, and of offending friends. Watch against it.—I might still help myself, and yet not hurt myself, by

going, with greater expedition, from one thing to another, without being quite so nice.

Tuesday afternoon, July 23. When I find those *groanings which cannot be uttered*, of which the Apostle speaks, and those *soul-breakings for the longing it hath*, of which the Psalmist speaks, (Ps. cxix. 20,) *Resolved*, to favour and promote them, to the utmost of my power, and not to be weary of earnestly endeavouring to vent my desires, and not to be weary of the repetitions of such earnestness.

To count it all joy, when I have occasions of great self-denial; because, then, I have a glorious opportunity of giving deadly wounds to the body of sin, and of greatly confirming, and establishing the new creature. I seek to mortify sin, and increase in holiness. These are the best opportunities, according to Jan. 14.

To improve afflictions, of all kinds, as blessed opportunities of forcibly bearing on, in my Christian course, notwithstanding that which is so very apt to discourage me, and to damp the vigour of my mind, and to make me lifeless; also, as opportunities of trusting and confiding in God, and getting a habit of so doing, according to the 57th Resolution; and as an opportunity of rending my heart off from the world, and setting it on heaven alone, according to Jan. 10, and the 43d and 45th Resolutions; and according to Jan. 12, Feb. 17, and 21, and May 1.—To improve them, also, as opportunities to repent of, and bewail my sin, and abhor myself, and as a blessed opportunity to exercise patience, to trust in God, and divert my mind from the affliction, by fixing myself in religious exercises. Also, let me comfort myself, that it is the very nature of afflictions, to make the heart better; and, if I am made better by them, what need I be concerned, however grievous they seem, for the present.

Wednesday night, July 24. I begin to find the success of my striving, in joining with others, in the worship of God; insomuch, that there is a prospect, of making it easy and delightful, and very profitable, in time. Wherefore, *Resolved*, not to cease striving, but to continue it, and re-double it.

Thursday morning, July 25. Altered, and anew established, the 8th Resolution. Also, established my determination of April 1.—*Memorandum.* At a convenient time, to make an alphabet of these Resolutions and Remarks, that I may be able to educe them, on proper occasions, suitable to the condition I am in, and the duty I am engaged in.

Friday afternoon, July 26. To be particularly careful, to keep up, inviolably, a trust and reliance, ease and entire rest, in God, in all conditions, according to the 57th Resolution; for this, I have found to be wonderfully advantageous to me.—*At night. Resolved*, very much to exercise myself in this, all my life long: viz. with the greatest openness, of which I am capable, to declare my ways

to God, and lay open my soul to him:—all my sins, temptations, difficulties, sorrows, fears, hopes, desires, and every thing, and every circumstance, according to Dr. Manton's 27th Sermon, on the 119th Psalm.

Saturday forenoon, July 27. When I am violently beset with temptation, or cannot rid myself of evil thoughts, to do some sum in Arithmetic, or Geometry, or some other study, which necessarily engages all my thoughts, and unavoidably keeps them from wandering.

Monday afternoon, July 29. When I am concerned how I shall prepare any thing to public acceptance, to be very careful that I have it very clear to me, to do what is duty and prudence in the matter.—I sometimes find myself able to trust God, and to be pretty easy when the event is uncertain; but I find it difficult, when I am convinced beforehand, that the event will be adverse. I find that this arises, 1. From my want of faith, to believe that that particular advantage will be more to my advantage, than disadvantage: 2. From the want of a due sense of the real preferableness of that good, which will be obtained, to that which is lost: 3. From the want of a spirit of adoption.

Tuesday night, July 30. Have concluded to endeavour to work myself into duties by searching and tracing back all the real reasons why I do them not, and narrowly searching out all the subtle subterfuges of my thoughts, and answering them to the utmost of my power, that I may know what are the very first originals of my defect, as with respect to want of repentance, love to God, loathing of myself,—to do this sometimes in sermons.—*Vid. Resolution* 8. Especially, to take occasion therefrom, to bewail those sins of which I have been guilty, that are akin to them; as for instance, from pride in others, to take occasion to bewail my pride; from their malice, to take occasion to bewail the same in myself: when I am evil-spoken of, to take occasion to bewail my evil speaking: and so of other sins. *Mem.* To receive slanders and reproaches, as glorious opportunities of doing this.

Wednesday afternoon, July 31. After afflictions, to enquire, what I am the better for them; what good I have got by them; and what I might have got by them.—Never, in the least, to seek to hear sarcastical relations of others' faults. Never to give credit to any thing said against others, except there is very plain reason for it; nor to behave in any respect otherwise for it.

Sabbath morning, Aug. 4. Concluded at last, at those times when I am in the best frames, to set down the aspirations of my heart, as soon as I can get time.

Tuesday afternoon, Aug. 6. Very much convinced of the extraordinary deceitfulness of the heart, and how exceedingly affection or appetite blinds the mind, and brings it into entire subjection. There are many things which I should really think to be my duty,

if I had the same affections, as when I first came from New York; which now I think not so to be. How doth Appetite stretch the Reason, to bring both ends together.

Wednesday forenoon, Aug. 7. To esteem it as some advantage, that the duties of religion are difficult, and that many difficulties are sometimes to be gone through, in the way of duty. Religion is the sweeter, and what is gained by labour is abundantly more precious, as a woman loves her child the more for having brought it forth with travail; and even to Christ Jesus himself his mediatorial glory, his victory and triumph, the kingdom which he hath obtained, how much more glorious is it, how much more excellent and precious, for his having wrought it out by such agonies.

Friday afternoon, Aug. 9. With respect to the important business which I have now on hand,* *Resolved*, To do whatever I think to be duty, prudence and diligence in the matter, and to avoid ostentation; and if I succeed not, and how many disappointments soever I meet with, to be entirely easy; only to take occasion to acknowledge my unworthiness; and if it should actually not succeed, and should not find acceptance, as I expected, yet not to afflict myself about it, according to the 57th Resolution. *At night.*—One thing that may be a good help towards thinking profitably in times of vacation, is, when I find a profitable thought that I can fix my mind on, to follow it as far as I possibly can to advantage.—I missed it, when a graduate at College, both in point of duty and prudence, in going against a universal benevolence and good-nature.

Saturday morning, Aug. 10. Transferred my determination of July 23, to the 64th Resolution, and that of July 26, to the 65th. *About sunset.*—As a help against that inward shameful hypocrisy, to confess frankly to myself all that which I find in myself, either infirmity or sin; also to confess to God, and open the whole case to him, when it is what concerns religion, and humbly and earnestly implore of him the help that is needed; not in the least to endeavour to smother over what is in my heart, but to bring it all out to God and my conscience. By this means, I may arrive at a greater knowledge of my own heart.—When I find difficulty in finding a subject of religious meditation, in vacancies, to pitch at random on what alights to my thoughts, and to go from that to other things which that shall bring into my mind, and follow this progression as a clue, till I come to what I can meditate on with profit and attention, and then to follow that, according to last Thursday's determination.

Sabbath afternoon, Aug. 11. Resolved always to do that, which I shall wish I had done when I see others do it; as, for instance, sometimes I argue with myself, that such an act of good nature, kindness, forbearance or forgiveness, &c. is not my duty, because it will have such and such consequences: yet when I see others do

* Perhaps the preparation of a public exercise for the college commencement, when he received his Master's Degree.

it, then it appears amiable to me, and I wish I had done it, and see that none of these feared inconveniences follow.

Monday morning, Aug. 12. The chief thing, that now makes me in any measure to question my good estate, is my not having experienced conversion in those particular steps, wherein the people of New England, and anciently the Dissenters of Old England, used to experience it. Wherefore, now resolved, never to leave searching, till I have satisfyingly found out the very bottom and foundation, the real reason, why they used to be converted in those steps.

Tuesday morning, Aug. 13. Have sinned, in not being careful enough to please my parents. *Afternoon.*—I find it would be very much to my advantage, to be thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures. When I am reading doctrinal books, or books of controversy, I can proceed with abundantly more confidence: can see on what footing and foundation I stand.

Saturday noon, Aug. 17. Let there, in the general, be something of benevolence in all that I speak.

Tuesday night, Aug. 20. Not careful enough in watching opportunities of bringing in christian discourse with a good grace. Do not exercise myself half enough in this holy art; neither have I courage enough to carry it on with a good grace. *Vid. Sept.* 2.

Saturday Morning, Aug. 24. Have not practiced quite right about revenge; though I have not done any thing directly out of revenge, yet, I have perhaps, omitted some things, that I should otherwise have done; or have altered the circumstances and manner of my actions, hoping for a secret sort of revenge thereby. I have felt a little sort of satisfaction, when I thought that such an evil would happen to them by my actions, as would make them repent what they have done. To be satisfied for their repenting, when they repent from a sense of their error, is right. But a satisfaction in their repentance, because of the evil that is brought upon them, is Revenge. This is in some measure, a taking the matter out of God's hands when he was about to manage it, who is better able to plead it for me. Well, therefore, may he leave me to boggle at it.—*Near sunset.* I yet find a want of dependence on God, to look unto him for success, and to have my eyes unto him for his gracious disposal of the matter: for want of a sense of God's particular influence, in ordering and directing all affairs and businesses, of whatever nature, however naturally, or fortuitously, they may seem to succeed; and for want of a sense of those great advantages, that would follow therefrom: not considering that God will grant success, or make the contrary more to my advantage; or will make the advantage accruing from the unsuccessfulness, more sensible and apparent; or will make it of less present and outward disadvantage; or will some way, so order the circumstances, as to make the unsuccessfulness more easy to bear; or several, or all of

these. This want of dependence, is likewise for want of the things mentioned, July 29.—Remember to examine all Narrations, I can call to mind; whether they are exactly according to verity.

Wednesday night, Aug. 28. When I want books to read; yea, when I have not very good books, not to spend time in reading them, but in reading the scriptures, in perusing Resolutions, Reflexions, &c., in writing on Types of the Scripture, and other things, in studying the Languages, and in spending more time in private duties. To do this, when there is a prospect of wanting time for the purpose. Remember as soon as I can, to get a piece of *slate*, or something, whereon I can make short memorandums while travelling.

Thursday, Aug. 29. Two great *Quærenda* with me now are: How shall I make advantage of all the time I spend in journeys? and how shall I make a glorious improvement of afflictions.

Saturday-night, Aug. 31. The objection, which my corruptions make against doing whatever my hands find to do with my might, is, that it is a constant mortification. Let this objection by no means ever prevail.

Sabbath Morning, Sept. 1. When I am violently beset with worldly thoughts, for a relief, to think of Death, and the doleful circumstances of it.

Monday Afternoon, Sept. 2. To help me to enter with a good grace, into religious conversation; when I am conversing on morality, to turn it over by application, exemplification or otherwise, to christianity. Vid. *Aug.* 28 and *Jan.* 15.—*At night.* There is much folly, when I am quite sure I am in the right, and others are positive in contradicting me, in entering into a vehement, or long debate upon it.

Saturday, Sept. 7. Concluded no more to suffer myself to be interrupted, or diverted from important business, by those things, from which I expect, though some, yet but little profit.

Sabbath Morning, Sept. 8. I have been much to blame, for expressing so much impatience for delays in journeys, and the like.

Sabbath Evening, Sept. 22. To praise God, by singing Psalms in prose, and by singing forth the meditations of my heart in prose.

Monday, Sept. 23. I observe that old men seldom have any advantage of new discoveries, because they are beside the way of thinking, to which they have been so long used. *Resolved*, if ever I live to years, that I will be impartial to hear the reasons of all pretended discoveries, and receive them if rational, how long soever I have been used to another way of thinking. My time is so short, that I have not time to perfect myself in all studies: Wherefore resolved, to omit and put off, all but the most important and needful studies.*

* The remainder of the Diary is on a subsequent page.

CHAPTER VIII.

His Tutorship.—Sickness.—Invitation to Northampton.—Personal Narrative continued.—Diary concluded.

In Sept., 1723, he went to New-Haven, and received his degree of Master of Arts, when he was elected a Tutor in the College. About this time, several congregations invited him to become their minister; but, being fond of study, both by nature and habit, and conscious how much it would promote his own usefulness, in his profession, he wisely declined their proposals. As there was no immediate vacancy, in the office of Tutor, he passed the ensuing winter and spring at New-Haven, in study, and in the occasional discharge of the active duties of his profession, and in the beginning of June, 1724, entered on the instruction of a class in the College.

The period of his tutorship, was a period of great difficulty. For a long time, before the election of Mr. Cutler to the office of Rector, the College had been in a state of open revolt against the legal government, and, as we have already seen, had withdrawn from New-Haven. Two years after his election, in Jan. 1721, there was an universal insurrection of the students, which, though after considerable effort, apparently quieted, resulted in a state of extreme disorder and insubordination, beyond any thing, that had been known before.* In 1722, Mr. Cutler, one of the Tutors, and two of the neighbouring ministers, renounced their connexion with the Presbyterian Church, and publicly declared themselves Episcopalians. The shock, occasioned by this event, was very great, in the College, in the town, and throughout the colony; and a series of controversies grew out of it, which lasted for many years. In consequence of this, the offices of these gentlemen were vacated, and the College was left, for four years, without a Head: the Trustees residing, by turns, at the College, and each, in rotation, acting as vice-rector, for a month. Fortunately however for the institution, during this bereavement, it had three gentlemen, in the office of Tutor, of distinguished talents and scholarship, and of great resolution and firmness of character:—Mr. William Smith, of the class of 1719, and chosen Tutor in 1722; Mr. Edwards;

* These facts are particularly mentioned, in a letter from Mr. Edwards to his father.

and Mr. Daniel Edwards, his uncle, class-mate and room-mate, who was chosen in Sept. 1724. On these three gentlemen, all of whom were young men, devolved, almost exclusively, the government and instruction of the College; yet, by their union, energy, and faithfulness, they introduced among the students, in the room of their former negligence and misrule, habits of close study, and exact subordination; and, in no great length of time, rendered the institution, beyond what it had long been, flourishing and prosperous. The late President Stiles, who, though a member of College a considerable time after this period, was personally acquainted with the three gentlemen, and knew well the history of their administration, has left an eulogy on the three united, of the highest character. "The Honourable William Smith, the Honourable Daniel Edwards, and the Rev. President Edwards, were the pillar Tutors, and the glory of the College, at the critical period, between Rector Cutler and Rector Williams. Their tutorial renown was great and excellent. They filled and sustained their offices, with great ability, dignity, and honour. For the honour of literature, these things ought not to be forgotten."

In Sept. 1725, immediately after the commencement, as he was preparing to set out for his father's house, he was taken suddenly ill, at New-Haven; but, hoping that the illness was not severe, and anxious to be at home if he was to be sick, he set out for Windsor. The fatigue of travelling, only increased his illness, and he was compelled to stop at North-Haven, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Stiles, where he was confined, by severe sickness, about three months: during the greater part of this time, his mother was constantly with him. Her husband, writing to her on the 20th of October, begs her to spare herself. "I am afraid, you are taking too great a burden on yourself, in tending your son, both day and night. I beg of you, therefore, not only to take care of him, but of yourself also. Accept, rather, of the kindness of the neighbours, in watching over again, than outbid your own strength, which is but small, by overdoing." She could not leave him, till about the middle of November; and it was some time in the winter, before he could go to his father's house. In this sickness, he speaks of himself, as having enjoyed new, and most refreshing, manifestations of the presence and the grace of God.

After he had held the office of Tutor, upwards of two years, with the highest reputation, he received proposals, from the people of Northampton, to become their minister. Many circumstances conspired, to prompt his acceptance. He was familiarly acquainted with the place, and people. The Rev. Mr. Stoddard, his grandfather, a man of great dignity, and of singular weight and influence in the churches, in consequence of his advanced age, stood in need of his assistance, and wished him to be his colleague. His parents, and his other friends, all desired it. The situation was,

in itself, respectable, and the town unusually pleasant. He therefore resigned his tutorship, in Sept. 1726, and accepted of the invitation.

Those, who are conversant with the instruction and government of a College, will readily be aware, that the period, of which we have now been speaking, was a very busy portion of Mr. Edwards's life; and, if they call to mind the circumstances of the institution, and the habits of the students, when he entered on his office, they will not need to be informed, that the discharge of his official duties, must have been accompanied with constant care, and distressing anxiety. It is a rare event in Providence, that so heavy a responsibility is thrown, publicly, on three individuals so young, and so destitute of experience, and of the knowledge of mankind; and the business of instruction and government, must have occupied their whole time, and exhausted their whole strength.

In such a state of things, it was not possible, that he should find the same leisure, for christian conversation, for retirement and spiritual contemplation, as he had found in New-York. There, his business was, chiefly, to enjoy: here, it was to act. There, the persons, with whom he came in contact, continually, even as members of Christ's family, were possessed of uncommon excellence: here, they were a very perverse part of a very different family. There, his attention was drawn, by the objects around him, to heavenly things: here, it was necessarily confined, almost all the time, to this world. There, when retiring for prayer, and heavenly contemplation, his mind sought communion with God, in all its energy and freshness: here, when it was worn out by toil, and exhausted by perplexities. The change in the current of thought and feeling, must, therefore, have been great; and, (so much is the mind prone to measure its religious state, by the amount of daily enjoyment, and so little, by the readiness to encounter trials, and to perform laborious and self-denying duties,) it is not surprizing, that he should have regarded this change, as evidence of perceptible and lamentable declension in religion. Such, he in fact regarded it; as we shall find, both from his Narrative and Diary; yet, it is by no means certain, that his views of the subject were altogether correct.

The young Christian has usually a season of leisure, given him in the Providence of God, in which to become acquainted with the members of that family, into which he has lately been introduced, and with those objects, with which, as a spiritual being, he is thenceforward to be conversant. His time and his strength are given chiefly to the Scriptures, to prayer, to meditation, and to religious conversation; and he is delightfully conscious, that his communion is with the Father, and the Son Jesus Christ, through the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, as well as with "the whole fam-

ily, both on earth and in heaven." The design of this is, to open to him his new state of existence, to enable him to understand its relations and duties, and to give him an earnest of better things in reversion. It is a most refreshing and happy period of his life; and, were he designed for contemplation merely, might well be protracted to its close. But, as we are taught most explicitly, in the word and providence of God, his great worth lies in Action—in imitating Him, whose rule it was—"I must *do the work* of him that sent me, while it is day;" and whose practice it was—that "he went about *doing* good." The Scriptures are given by the inspiration of God, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness,—Wherefore? that the man of God may be perfected, being thoroughly furnished unto every good *work*. Probably no year in the life of Mr. Edwards, was spent more usefully, than that in which he was occupied, with his associates, in laying the foundation of sober habits, and sound morals, in the seminary now entrusted to their care. Probably in no equal period, did he more effectually serve God, and his generation. And if, in its progress, he found less of that enjoyment, which grows out of spiritual contemplation; he must have had the more delightful consciousness, that, in the midst of great difficulties and crosses, he had honestly endeavoured to serve God, and to perform his duty.

There may therefore be reason for doubt, whether the change in his feelings, of which he speaks, in the succeeding parts of his Narrative and Diary, was not a declension in this particular species of religious enjoyment, necessarily growing out of the circumstances in which he was placed; rather than a declension in the life and power of religion.

"I continued," he observes, "much in the same frame, in the general, as when at New-York, till I went to New-Haven, as Tutor of the College: particularly, once at Bolton, on a journey from Boston, while walking out alone in the fields. After I went to New-Haven, I sunk in religion; my mind being diverted from my eager pursuits after holiness, by some affairs, that greatly perplexed and distracted my thoughts.

"In September, 1725, I was taken ill at New-Haven, and while endeavouring to go home to Windsor, was so ill at the North Village, that I could go no farther; where I lay sick, for about a quarter of a year. In this sickness, God was pleased to visit me again, with the sweet influences of his Spirit. My mind was greatly engaged there, on divine and pleasant contemplations, and longings of soul. I observed, that those who watched with me, would often be looking out wishfully for the morning; which brought to my mind those words of the Psalmist, and which my soul with delight made its own language, *My soul waiteth for the Lord, more than they that watch for the morning; I say, more than they that*

watch for the morning; and when the light of day came in at the window, it refreshed my soul, from one morning to another. It seemed to be some image of the light of God's glory.

"I remember, about that time, I used greatly to long for the conversion of some, that I was concerned with; I could gladly honour them, and with delight be a servant to them, and lie at their feet, if they were but truly holy. But some time after this, I was again greatly diverted with some temporal concerns, that exceedingly took up my thoughts, greatly to the wounding of my soul; and went on, through various exercises, that it would be tedious to relate, which gave me much more experience of my own heart, than I ever had before."

While reading the above, we can scarcely fail to remark, that when his mind was freed from the cares and anxieties, necessarily attendant on the discharge of his official duties, and left amid the calm and retirement of sickness, to its own spontaneous movements; it returned instinctively to meditation, and prayer and heavenly contemplation, as its greatest privileges, and found in them, as the means of immediate communion with God, the same spiritual enjoyment which it had before experienced. This could scarcely have been the fact, if, in consequence of official cares and perplexities, he had been, as he supposes, the subject of a marked declension in his religious state and character.

The remainder of his Diary, is chiefly confined to the period of his life which we have now reviewed, and is, therefore, inserted here. It is only to be regretted, that, through the multiplicity of his affairs, he should have found it necessary to discontinue it.

[REMAINDER OF DIARY.]

Thursday forenoon, Oct. 4, 1723. Have this day fixed and established it, that Christ Jesus has promised me faithfully, that, if I will do what is my duty, and according to the best of my prudence in the matter, that my condition in this world, shall be better for me than any other condition whatever, and more to my welfare, to all eternity. And, therefore, whatever my condition shall be, I will esteem it to be such; and if I find need of faith in the matter, that I will confess it as impiety before God. *Vid. Resolution* 57, *and June* 9.

Sabbath night, Oct. 7. Have lately erred, in not allowing time enough for conversation.

Friday night, Oct. 12. I see there are some things quite contrary to the soundness and perfection of christianity, in which almost all good men do allow themselves, and where innate corruption has an unrestrained secret vent, which they never take notice of, or think to be no hurt, or cloke under the name of virtue; which

things exceedingly darken the brightness, and hide the loveliness of christianity. Who can understand his errors? O that I might be kept from secret faults!

Sabbath morning, Oct. 14. Narrowly to observe after what manner I act, when I am in a hurry, and to act as much so, at other times, as I can, without prejudice to the business.

Monday morning, Oct. 15. I seem to be afraid, after errors and decays, to give myself the full exercise of spiritual meditation: —Not to give way to such fears.

Thursday, Oct. 18. To follow the example of Mr. B. who, though he meets with great difficulties, yet undertakes them with a smiling countenance, as though he thought them but little; and speaks of them, as if they were very small.

Friday night, Nov. 1. When I am unfit for other business, to perfect myself in writing *characters*.*

Friday afternoon, Nov. 22. For the time to come, when I am in a lifeless frame in secret prayer, to force myself to expatiate, as if I were praying before others more than I used to do.

Tuesday forenoon, Nov. 26. It is a most evil and pernicious practice, in meditations on afflictions, to sit ruminating on the aggravations of the affliction, and reckoning up the evil, dark circumstances thereof, and dwelling long on the dark side: it doubles and trebles the affliction. And so, when speaking of them to others, to make them as bad as we can, and use our eloquence to set forth our own troubles, is to be all the while making new trouble, and feeding and pampering the old; whereas, the contrary practice, would starve our affliction. If we dwelt on the bright side of things in our thoughts, and extenuated them all that we possibly could, when speaking of them, we should think little of them ourselves, and the affliction would, really, in a great measure, vanish away.

Friday night, Nov. 29. As a help to attention in social prayer, to take special care to make a particular remark, at the beginning of every petition, confession, &c.

Monday morning, Dec. 9. To observe, whether I express any kind of fretting emotion, for the next three weeks.

Thursday night, Dec. 12. If, at any time, I am forced to tell others wherein I think they are somewhat to blame; in order to avoid the important evil that would otherwise ensue, not to tell it to them so, that there shall be a probability of their taking it as the effect of little, fretting, angry emotions of mind.—*Vid. Aug.* 28. When I do want, or am likely to want, good books, to spend time in studying Mathematics, and in reviewing other kinds of old learning; to spend more time in visiting friends, in the more private duties of a pastor, in taking care of worldly business, in going abroad and other things that I may contrive.

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* He probably refers to short-hand characters.

Friday morning, Dec. 27. At the end of every month, to examine my behaviour, strictly, by some chapter in the New Testament, more especially made up of rules of life.—At the end of the year, to examine my behaviour by the rules of the New Testament in general, reading many chapters. It would also be convenient, some time at the end of the year, to read, for this purpose, in the book of Proverbs.

Tuesday night, Dec. 31. Concluded never to suffer, nor express, any angry emotions of mind, more or less, except the honour of God calls for it in zeal for him, or to preserve myself from being trampled on.

1724. *Wednesday, Jan.* 1. Not to spend too much time in thinking, even of important and necessary worldly business, and to allow every thing its proportion of thought, according to its urgency and importance.

Thursday night, Jan. 2. These things established—That time gained in things of lesser importance, is as much gained in things of greater; that a minute, gained in times of confusion, conversation, or in a journey, is as good as a minute gained in my study, at my most retired times; and so in general that a minute gained at one time, is as good as at another.

Friday night, Jan. 3. The time and pains laid out in seeking the world, is to be proportioned to the necessity, usefulness, and importance of it, with respect to another world, together with the uncertainty of succeeding, the uncertainty of living, and of retaining; provided, that nothing that our duty enjoins, or that is amiable, be omitted, and nothing sinful or unbecoming be done for the sake of it.

Friday, Jan. 10. [After having written to a considerable extent, in short-hand, which he used, when he wished what he wrote to be effectually concealed from every one but himself, he adds the following.] Remember to act according to Prov. xii. 23, *A prudent man concealeth knowledge.*

Monday, Jan. 20. I have been very much to blame, in that I have not been as full, and plain and downright, in my standing up for virtue and religion, when I have had fair occasion, before those who seemed to take no delight in such things. If such conversation would not be agreeable to them, I have in some degree minced the matter, that I might not displease, and might not speak right against the grain, more than I should have loved to have done with others, to whom it would be agreeable to speak directly for religion. I ought to be exceedingly bold with such persons, not talking in a melancholy strain, but in one confident and fearless, assured of the truth and excellence of the cause.

Monday, Feb. 3. Let every thing have the value now which it will have on a sick bed: and frequently, in my pursuits of whatever

kind, let this question come into my mind, "How much shall I value this, on my death-bed?"

Wednesday, Feb. 5. I have not, in times past, in my prayers, enough insisted on the glorifying of God in the world, on the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, the prosperity of the Church and the good of man. Determined, that this objection is without weight, viz. That it is not likely that God will make great alterations in the whole world, and overturnings in kingdoms and nations, only for the prayers of one obscure person, seeing such things used to be done in answer to the united prayers of the whole church; and that if my prayers should have some influence, it would be but imperceptible and small.

Thursday, Feb. 6. More convinced than ever, of the usefulness of free, religious conversation. I find by conversing on Natural Philosophy, that I gain knowledge abundantly faster, and see the reasons of things much more clearly than in private study: wherefore, earnestly to seek, at all times, for religious conversation; for those, with whom I can, at all times, with profit and delight, and with freedom, so converse.

Friday, Feb. 7. *Resolved*, If God will assist me to it, that I will not care about things, when, upon any account, I have prospect of ill-success or adversity; and that I will not think about it, any further than just to do what prudence directs to for prevention, according to Phil. iv. 6, Be careful for nothing; to 1 Pet. v. 7, Cast all your care upon God, for he careth for you; and again, Take no thought for the morrow; and again, Take no thought, saying, What shall I eat, and what shall I drink, and wherewithal shall I be clothed: seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you.

Saturday night, Feb. 15. I find that when eating, I cannot be convinced in the time of it, that if I should eat more, I should exceed the bounds of strict temperance, though I have had the experience of two years of the like; and yet, as soon as I have done, in three minutes I am convinced of it. But yet, when I eat again, and remember it, still, while eating, I am fully convinced that I have not eaten what is but for nature, nor can I be convinced that my appetite and feeling is as it was before. It seems to me that I shall be somewhat faint if I leave off then; but when I have finished, I am convinced again, and so it is from time to time.—I have observed that more really seems to be truth, when it makes for my interest, or is, in other respects, according to my inclination, than it seems, if it be otherwise; and it seems to me, that the words in which I express it are more than the thing will properly bear. But if the thing be against my interest, the words of different import seem as much as the thing will properly bear.—Though there is some little seeming, indecorum, as if it looked like affectation, in re-

ligious conversation, as there is also in acts of kindness; yet this is to be broke through.

Tuesday, Feb. 18. *Resolved*, To act with sweetness and benevolence, and according to the 47th Resolution, in all bodily dispositions,—sick or well, at ease or in pain, sleepy or watchful, and not to suffer discomposure of body to discompose my mind.

Saturday, Feb. 22. I observe that there are some evil habits, which do increase and grow stronger, even in some good people, as they grow older; habits that much obscure the beauty of christianity: some things which are according to their natural tempers, which, in some measure, prevails when they are young in Christ, and the evil disposition, having an unobserved control, the habit at last grows very strong, and commonly regulates the practice until death. By this means, old christians are very commonly, in some respects, more unreasonable than those who are young. I am afraid of contracting such habits, particularly of grudging to give, and to do, and of procrastinating.

Sabbath, Feb. 23. I must be contented, where I have any thing strange or remarkable to tell, not to make it appear so remarkable as it is indeed; lest through the fear of this, and the desire of making a thing appear very remarkable, I should exceed the bounds of simple verity. When I am at a feast, or a meal, that very well pleases my appetite, I must not merely take care to leave off with as much of an appetite as at ordinary meals; for when there is a great variety of dishes, I may do that, after I have eaten twice as much as at other meals, is sufficient. If I act according to my resolution, I shall desire riches no otherwise, than as they are helpful to religion. But this I determine, as what is really evident from many parts of Scripture, that to fallen man, they have a greater tendency to hurt religion.

Monday, March 16. To practice this sort of self-denial, when at sometimes on fair days, I find myself more particularly disposed to regard the glories of the world, than to betake myself to the study of serious religion.

Saturday, May 23. How it comes about I know not, but I have remarked it hitherto, that at those times, when I have read the Scriptures most, I have evermore been most lively and in the best frame.

"At Yale College."

Saturday night, June 6. This week has been a very remarkable week with me, with respect to despondencies, fears, perplexities, multitudes of cares, and distraction of mind: it being the week I came hither to New-Haven, in order to entrance upon the office of Tutor of the College. I have now, abundant reason to be convinced, of the troublesomeness and vexation of the world, and that it never will be another kind of world.

Tuesday, July 7. When I am giving the relation of a thing,

remember to abstain faom altering either in the matter or manner of speaking, so much, as that, if every one, afterwards, should alter as much, it would at last come to be properly false.

Tuesday, Sept. 2. By a sparingness in diet, and eating as much as may be, what is light and easy of digestion, I shall doubtless be able to think more clearly, and shall gain time; 1. By lengthening out my life; 2. Shall need less time for digestion, after meals; 3. Shall be able to study more closely, without injury to my health; 4. Shall need less time for sleep; 5. Shall more seldom be troubled with the head-ache.

Saturday night, Sept. 12. Crosses of the nature of that, which I met with this week, thrust me quite below all comforts in religion. They appear no more than vanity and stubble, especially when I meet with them so unprepared for them. I shall not be fit to encounter them, except I have a far stronger, and more permanent faith, hope and love.

Wednesday, Sept. 30. It has been a prevailing thought with me, to which I have given place in practice, that it is best, sometimes, to eat or drink, when it will do me no good, because the hurt, that it will do me, will not be equal, to the trouble of denying myself. But I have determined, to suffer that thought to prevail no longer. The hurries of commencement, and diversion of the vacancy, has been the occasion of my sinking so exceedingly, as in the three last weeks.

Monday, Oct. 5. I believe it is a good way, when prone to unprofitable thoughts, to deny myself and break off my thoughts, by keeping diligently to my study, that they may not have time to operate to work me to such a listless frame. I am apt to think it a good way, when I am indisposed to reading and study, to read of my own remarks, the fruit of my study in divinity, &c., to set me agoing again.

Friday, Nov. 6. Felt sensibly, somewhat of that trust and affiance, in Christ, and with delight committing of my soul to him, of which our divines used to speak, and about which, I have been somewhat in doubt.

Tuesday, Nov. 10. To mark all that I say in conversation, merely to beget in others, a good opinion of myself, and examine it.

Sabbath, Nov. 15. Determined, when I am indisposed to prayer, always to premeditate what to pray for; and that it is better, that the prayer should be of almost any shortness, than that my mind should be almost continually off from what I say.

Sabbath, Nov. 22. Considering that by-standers always copy some faults, which we do not see, ourselves, or of which, at least, we are not so fully sensible; and that there are many secret workings of corruption, which escape our sight, and of which, others only are sensible: *Resolved*, therefore, that I will, if I can by any

convenient means, learn what faults others find in me, or what things they see in me, that appear any way blame-worthy, unlovely, or unbecoming.

Friday, Feb. 12, 1725. The very thing I now want, to give me a clearer and more immediate view of the perfections and glory of God, is as clear a knowledge of the manner of God's exerting himself, with respect to Spirits and Mind, as I have, of his operations concerning Matter and Bodies.

Tuesday, Feb. 16. A virtue, which I need in a higher degree, to give a beauty and lustre to my behaviour, is gentleness. If I had more of an air of gentleness, I should be much mended.

Friday, May 21. If ever I am inclined to turn to the opinion of any other Sect: *Resolved*, Beside the most deliberate consideration, earnest prayer, &c., privately to desire all the help that can possibly be afforded me, from some of the most judicious men in the country, together with the prayers of wise and holy men, however strongly persuaded I may seem to be, that I am in the right.

Saturday, May 22. When I reprove for faults, whereby I am in any way injured, to defer, till the thing is quite over and done with; for that is the way, both to reprove aright, and without the least mixture of spirit, or passion, and to have reproofs effectual, and not suspected.

Friday, May 28. It seems to me, that whether I am now converted or not, I am so settled in the state I am in, that I shall go on in it all my life. But, however settled I may be, yet I will continue to pray to God, not to suffer me to be deceived about it, nor to sleep in an unsafe condition; and ever and anon, will call all into questien and try myself, using for helps, some of our old divines, that God may have opportunities to answer my prayers, and the Spirit of God to show me my error, if I am in one.

Saturday night, June 6. I am sometimes in a frame so listless, that there is no other way of profitably improving time, but conversation, visiting, or recreation, or some bodily exercise. However it may be best in the first place, before resorting to either of these, to try the whole circle of my mental employments.

Nov. 16. When confined at Mr. Stiles'. I think it would be of special advantage to me, with respect to my truer interest, as near as I can in my studies, to observe this rule. To let half a day's, or at most, a day's study in other things, be succeeded, by half a day's, or a day's study in Divinity.

One thing wherein I have erred, as I would be complete in all social duties, is, in neglecting to write letters to friends. And I would be forewarned of the danger of neglecting to visit my friends and relations, when we are parted.

When one suppresses thoughts that tend to divert the run of the mind's operations from Religion, whether they are melancholy, or anxious, or passionate, or any others; there is this good effect of

it, that it keeps the mind in its freedom. Those thoughts are stopped in the beginning, that would have set the mind agoing in that stream.

There are a great many exercises, that for the present, seem not to help, but rather impede, Religious meditation and affections, the fruit of which is reaped afterwards, and is of far greater worth than what is lost; for thereby the mind is only for the present diverted; but what is attained is, upon occasion, of use for the whole life-time.

Sept. 26, 1726. 'Tis just about three years, that I have been for the most part in a low, sunk estate and condition, miserably senseless to what I used to be, about spiritual things. 'Twas three years ago, the week before commencement; just about the same time this year, I began to be somewhat as I used to be.

Jan. 1728. I think Christ has recommended rising early in the morning, by his rising from the grave very early.

Jan. 22, 1734. I judge that it is best, when I am in a good frame for divine contemplation, or engaged in reading the Scriptures, or any study of divine subjects, that ordinarily, I will not be interrupted by going to dinner, but will forego my dinner, rather than be broke off.

April 4, 1735. When at any time, I have a sense of any divine thing, then to turn it in my thoughts, to a practical improvement. As for instance, when I am in my mind, on some argument for the Truth of Religion, the Reality of a Future State, and the like, then to think with myself, how safely I may venture to sell all, for a future good. So when, at any time, I have a more than ordinary sense of the Glory of the Saints, in another world; to think how well it is worth my while, to deny myself, and to sell all that I have for this Glory, &c.

May, 18. My mind at present is, never to suffer my thoughts and meditations, at all to ruminate.

June 11. To set apart days of meditation on particular subjects; as sometimes, to set apart a day for the consideration of the Greatness of my Sins; at another, to consider the Dreadfulness and Certainty, of the Future Misery of Ungodly men; at another, the Truth and Certainty of Religion; and so, of the Great Future Things promised and threatened in the Scriptures.

CHAPTER IX.

Settlement in the ministry at Northampton.—Situation of things at the time of his settlement.—Attention to Religion in the Parish.—Course of Study.—Habits of Life.—Marriage.—Death and Character of Mr. Stoddard.—Sickness of Mr. Edwards.—Death and Character of his Sister Jerusha.—His first Publication.

On the 15th of February, 1727, Mr. Edwards was ordained as a minister of the Gospel, and placed over the church and congregation at Northampton, as the colleague of his grandfather, the Rev. Mr. Stoddard. He was now entering on the business of life, in a profession attended with many difficulties, and presenting a field, sufficiently ample for the employment of the highest faculties ever conferred on Man. It may not be improper, therefore, to stop a moment, and review the circumstances in which he was placed.

He was twenty-three years of age. His constitution was naturally so tender and feeble, as to be preserved, even in tolerable health, only with unceasing care. He had passed through the successive periods of childhood, youth and early manhood, not only without reproach, but in such a manner, as to secure the high esteem and approbation, of all who knew him. His filial piety, and fraternal affection, had been most exemplary, and had rendered him a centre of strong attraction, to the united family. Originally of a grave and sober character, he had been the subject of early, frequent and strong religious impressions; which, if they did not result in saving conversion, in his childhood, yet rendered him conscientious, and solemnly and habitually mindful of eternal things. For a considerable period, he had not only felt the life and power of religion, but had appeared imbued with an unusually large measure of the grace of God. Few persons, of the same age, discover a piety so pure, so practical, or so pervading.

He had been devoted to books, from his infancy, and appears of his own accord, from an early period, to have formed habits of severe and successful application. His mind, originally possessed of uncommon powers, and fraught with an intense desire of knowledge, was qualified for eminence, as we have already seen, not in a single pursuit merely, but in every walk of literature and science. Though probably the youngest member of his class, he had been

acknowledged as its first scholar, in the distribution of its honours. He had not been distinguished for his attainments in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew literature only, but still more in those studies which require the application of stronger powers—in Mathematics and Logic, in Natural and Mental Philosophy, and the higher principles of Theology. In these, he had not simply proved himself capable of comprehending the discoveries of others, but had ventured out, where there was no path nor guide, into new and unexplored regions of the spiritual* world, with a success, which might well have prompted him to bold and fearless enterprize. As officers of the College, the peculiar difficulties in which they were placed, had given him, and his associates, an opportunity to acquire uncommon reputation, not only as instructors and governors of youths, but as men of unshaken firmness, and unwavering integrity. His mind was now rich in its attainments; its views were already, for the period in which he lived, singularly expanded and comprehensive; and its powers were under thorough discipline, and yielded an exact and persevering obedience. His habits of study were completely formed, and were of the most severe and unbending character.

Theology had been, for years, his favorite study. For it, he had deliberately relinquished, not only the varied pursuits of Natural Science, but in a measure, also, those investigations into the nature and operations of Mind, by which, at an earlier period, his whole attention had been engrossed. He had already discovered, that much of what he found in Systems and Commentaries, was a mere mass of rubbish; and that many of the great principles, which constitute the foundation of the science, were yet to be established. He had studied Theology, not chiefly in Systems or Commentaries, but in the Bible, and in the character and mutual relations of God and his creatures, from which all its principles are derived; and had already entered on a series of investigations, which, if ultimately found correct, would effectuate most important changes in the opinions of the christian world.

The ministry had long been the profession of his choice, and was doubtless the only profession, which he had ever thought of pursuing. Few persons, probably, enter the sacred office, with more just views of its elevation and importance. His work, he appears to have regarded, simply as the work of salvation:—the same work, on which HE, whose commission he bore, came down to this lower world:—and to the accomplishment of it, the surrendry of himself appears to have been deliberate and entire. His reception as a preacher, had certainly been flattering. Repeated, and urgent proposals had been made to him for settlement; and,

*I use *spiritual* here, in its original and most appropriate sense, as opposed to *material*.

as far as he was known, he was obviously regarded, as a young man of uncommon promise.

Northampton, the place of his settlement, is in its natural situation, uncommonly pleasant, was then the shire town of a county, embracing nearly one half of the area of the colony, and embodied within its limits, more than the ordinary share of refinement and polish. The church was large, and, with the congregation, was united. Both were united in him, and earnestly desirous that he should become their minister. From his childhood, he had familiarly known both the place, and the people. His parents were the familiar friends of many of the inhabitants; and they, with his connexions in the place, regarded his settlement there as a most pleasing event.

He was also the individual, whom probably, of all others, his grandfather desired, for his colleague and successor. That venerable man, then in his 84th year, had been the minister of Northampton, 55 years; and by his piety, his great energy of character, and his knowledge of mankind, had early acquired, and maintained through a long life, a singular degree of weight among the clergy and churches of New-England. Though a close student, and an able and faithful preacher, he was in character a man of business, and of action; and, in all the important ecclesiastical bodies of Massachusetts, he had for many years an influence, which usually was not contested, and almost always was paramount. In Northampton, he had been a faithful and successful minister. Under his preaching, the place had repeatedly witnessed revivals of religion: particularly in 1679, 1683, 1690, 1712, and 1718. Those in 1683, 1690, and 1712, were distinguished for their extent, and for the accessions made to the number of communicants. While the existing members of the church, with scarcely an exception, regarded him as their spiritual father, all the acting inhabitants of the town, had grown up under his ministry, and had been accustomed, from infancy, to pay a respect to his person and character, and a deference to his opinions, such as children pay to those of a loved and venerated parent.

One circumstance, relating to the actual condition of the church at Northampton, deserves to be mentioned here, as it had an ultimate bearing on some of the most important events recorded in these pages. That church, like the other early churches of New-England, according to its original platform, admitted none to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, except those, who, after due examination, were regarded, in the judgment of christian charity, as regenerate persons. Such was the uniform practice of the church, from the time of its formation, during the life of Mr. Mather, and for upwards of thirty years after the settlement of Mr. Stoddard. How early Mr. Stoddard changed his own views on this subject, cannot probably be ascertained; but he attempted, in 1704, and

though not without opposition, yet with ultimate success, to introduce a corresponding change in the practice of the Church. Though no vote was then taken to alter the rules of admission, yet the point of practice was yielded. The Sacrament, from that time, was viewed as a converting ordinance, and those, who were not regarded, either by themselves or others, as possessed of piety, were encouraged to unite themselves to the Church.

The attention to religion, in 1718, was neither extensive, nor of long continuance, and appears not to have terminated happily. During the nine years, which intervened between that event and the settlement of Mr. Edwards, Mr. Stoddard witnessed "a far more degenerate time among his people, particularly among the young, than ever before," in which the means of salvation were attended with little or no visible efficacy. The young became addicted to habits of dissipation and licentiousness; family government too generally failed; the Sabbath was extensively profaned; and the decorum of the sanctuary was not unfrequently disturbed. There had also long prevailed in the town, a spirit of contention between two parties, into which they had for many years been divided, which kept alive a mutual jealousy, and prepared them to oppose one another, in all public affairs.

Such were the circumstances, in which Mr. Edwards entered on his ministry at Northampton.

At this time, Mr. Stoddard, though so much advanced in years, had a good degree of strength, both of body and mind; and, for a considerable period after the settlement of his grandson, he was able to officiate in the desk, the half of every Sabbath. Almost immediately after that event, he was permitted to witness a work of divine grace, among some of his people; in the course of which, about twenty were believed to be savingly converted. This was to him, a most pleasing circumstance, as well as most useful to his colleague; who observes, "I have reason to bless God, for the great advantage I had by it." No doubt it was intended, to prepare him for more important and interesting scenes. The attention to religion, though at no time very extensive, continued for about two years, and was followed by several years of general inattention and indifference.

Immediately after his settlement, Mr. Edwards commenced the practice of preparing two discourses weekly; one of which was preached as a Lecture, on an evening in the week. This he continued, for several years. Though he regarded preaching the Gospel, as the great duty of a minister, and would on no account offer to God, or deliver to his people, that, which was not the fruit of toil and labour; yet he resolved, from the commencement of his ministry, not to devote the time of each week, exclusively to the preparation of his sermons, but to spend a large portion of it, in the study of the Bible, and in the investigation of the more diffi-

cult and important Subjects of Theology. His mode of study with the pen, has been described, and was now vigourously pursued, in the continuation of his "Miscellanies," and his "Notes on the Scriptures," as well as of a work, entitled, "The Types of the Messiah in the Old Testament," which he appears to have commenced, while a candidate for the ministry. With an infirm constitution, and health ordinarily feeble, it was obviously impossible, however, to carry this Resolution into practice, without the most strict attention to diet, exercise and method; but in all these points, his habits had long been formed, and persevered in, with a direct reference to the best improvement of time, and the greatest efficiency of his intellectual powers. In eating and drinking, he was unusually abstemious, and constantly watchful. He carefully observed the effects of the different sorts of food, and selected those, which best suited his constitution, and rendered him most fit for mental labour. Having also ascertained the quantity of food, which, while it sustained his bodily strength, left his mind most sprightly and active, he most scrupulously and exactly confined himself to the prescribed limits; regarding it as a shame and a sin, to waste his time, and his mental strength, by animal indulgence. In this respect, he lived *by rule*, and constantly practised great self-denial; as he did also, with regard to the time passed in sleep. He accustomed himself to rise at four, or between four and five in the morning, and, in winter, spent several of those hours in study, which are commonly wasted in slumber. In the evening, he usually allowed himself a season of relaxation, in the midst of his family.

His most usual diversion in summer, was riding on horseback, and walking; and in his solitary rides and walks, he appears to have decided, before leaving home, on what subjects to meditate. He would commonly, unless diverted by company, ride two or three miles after dinner, to some lonely grove, where he would dismount and walk awhile. At such times, he generally carried his pen and ink with him, to note any thought that might be suggested, and which promised some light on any important subject. In winter, he was accustomed, almost daily, to take his axe, and cut wood moderately, for the space of half an hour, or more. In solitary rides of considerable length, he adopted a kind of artificial memory. Having pursued a given subject of thought, to its proper results, he would pin a small piece of paper on a given spot in his coat, and charge his mind to associate the subject and the piece of paper. He would then repeat the same process with a second subject of thought, fastening the token in a different place, and then a third, and a fourth, as the time might permit. From a ride of several days, he would usually bring home a considerable number of these remembrancers; and, on going to his study, would take them off, one by one, in regular order, and write down the train of thought, of which each was intended to remind him.

"He did not," observes Dr. Hopkins, "make it his custom, to visit his people in their own houses, unless he was sent for by the sick; or he heard that they were under some special affliction. Instead of visiting from house to house, he used to preach frequently at private meetings, in particular neighbourhoods; and often call the yonng people and children to his own house, when he used to pray with them, and treat with them in a manner suited to their years and circumstances; and he catechised the children in public, every Sabbath in the forenoon. And he used, sometimes, to propose questions to particular young persons, in writing, for them to answer, after a proper time given to them to prepare. In putting out these questions, he endeavoured to suit them to the age, genius and ability of those, to whom they were given. His questions were generally such, as required but a short answer; and yet, could not be answered, without a particular knowledge of some historical part of the Scriptures; and therefore led, and even obliged, persons to study the Bible.

"He did not neglect visiting his people from house to house, because he did not look upon it, in ordinary cases, to be one important part of the work of a Gospel minister; but, because he supposed that ministers should, with respect to this, consult their own talents and circumstances, and visit more or less, according to the degree, in which they could hope thereby, to promote the great ends of the ministry. He observed, that some had a talent for entertaining and profiting, by occasional visits among their people. They have words at command, and a facility at introducing profitable religious discourse, in a manner free, natural and familiar, and apparently without design or contrivance. He supposed, that such had a call, to spend a great deal of their time, in visiting their people; but he looked on his own talents, to be quite otherwise. He was not able to enter into a free conversation with every person he met, and, in an easy manner, turn it to whatever topic he pleased, without the help of others, and it may be, against their inclinations. He therefore found, that his visits of this kind, must be, in a great degree, unprofitable. And as he was settled in a large parish, it would have taken up a great part of his time, to visit from house to house, which he thought he could spend, in his study, to much more valuable purposes, and so better promote the great ends of his ministry. For it appeared to him, that he could do the greatest good to the souls of men, and most promote the cause of Christ, by preaching and writing, and conversing with persons under religious impressions, in his study; whither he encouraged all such to repair; where they might be sure, in ordinary cases, to find him, and to be allowed easy access to him; and where they were treated with all desirable tenderness, kindness and familiarity."

Owing to his constant watchfulness, and self-denial in food and

sleep, and his regular attention to bodily exercise, notwithstanding the feebleness of his constitution, few students are capable of more close or more long continued application, than he was. He commonly spent thirteen hours, every day, in his study; and these hours were passed, not in perusing or treasuring up the thoughts of others, but in employments far more exhausting—in the investigation of difficult subjects, in the origination and arrangement of thoughts, in the invention of arguments, and in the discovery of truths and principles. Nor was his exact method, in the distribution of his time, of less essential service. In consequence of his uniform regularity and self-denial, and the force of habit, the powers of his mind were always at his command, and would do their prescribed task in the time appointed. This enabled him to assign the preparation of his sermons, each week, to given days, and specific subjects of investigation to other given days; and except in cases of sickness, or journeying, or some other extraordinary interruption, it was rare, indeed, that he failed of accomplishing every part of his weekly task, or that he was pressed for time in the accomplishment. So exact was the distribution of his time, and so perfect the command of his mental powers, that in addition to his preparation of two discourses in each week, his stated and occasional lectures, and his customary pastoral duties, he continued regularly his "Notes on the Scriptures," his "Miscellanies," his "Types of the Messiah," and a work which he soon commenced, entitled, "Prophecies of the Messiah in the Old Testament, and their Fulfilment."

On the 28th of July, 1727, Mr. Edwards was married, at New Haven, to Miss Sarah Pierrepont. Her paternal grandfather, John Pierrepont, Esq. who came from England and resided in Roxbury, Massachusetts, was a younger branch of a most distinguished family, in his own country. Her father, the Rev. James Pierrepont, was "an eminent, pious and useful minister, at New Haven." He married Mary, the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Hooker, of Farmington, who was the son of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, familiarly denominated "the father of the Connecticut Churches," and "well known, in the Churches of England, for his distinguished talents and most ardent piety." Mr. Pierrepont was one of the principal founders, and one of the Trustees of Yale College; and, to help forward the infant seminary, read lectures to the students, for some considerable time, as Professor of Moral Philosophy. The Platform of the Connecticut Churches, established at Saybrook, in 1708, is ascribed to his pen. Miss Pierrepont was born on the 9th of January, 1710, and at the time of her marriage, was in the 18th year of her age. She was a young lady of uncommon beauty. Not only is this the language of tradition; but Dr. Hopkins, who first saw her when the mother of seven children, says she was more than ordinarily beautiful; and

her portrait, taken by a respectable English painter,* while it presents a form and features not often rivalled, exhibits also that peculiar loveliness of expression, which is the combined result of intelligence, cheerfulness and benevolence. The native powers of her mind, were of a superior order; and her parents being in easy circumstances, and of liberal views, provided for their children all the advantages of an enlightened and polished education. In her manners she was gentle and courteous, amiable in her behaviour, and the law of kindness appeared to govern all her conversation and conduct. She was also a rare example of early piety; having exhibited the life and power of religion, and that in a remarkable manner, when only five years of age;† and having also confirmed the hopes which her friends then cherished, by the uniform and increasing excellence of her character, in childhood and youth. So warm and animated were her religious feelings, in every period of life, that they might perhaps have been regarded as enthusiastic, had they not been under the control of true delicacy and sound discretion. Mr. Edwards had known her several years before their marriage, and from the following passage, written on a blank leaf, in 1723, it is obvious, that even then her uncommon piety, at least, had arrested his attention. "They say there is a young lady in [New Haven] who is beloved of that Great Being, who made and rules the world, and that there are certain seasons in which this Great Being, in some way or other invisible, comes to her and fills her mind with exceeding sweet delight, and that she hardly cares for any thing, except to meditate on him—that she expects after a while to be received up where he is, to be raised up out of the world and caught up into heaven; being assured that he loves her too well to let her remain at a distance from him always. There she is to dwell with him, and to be ravished with his love and delight forever. Therefore, if you present all the world before her, with the richest of its treasures, she disregards it and cares not for it, and is unmindful of any pain or affliction. She has a strange sweetness in her mind, and singular purity in her affections; is most just and conscientious in all her conduct; and you could not persuade her to do any thing wrong or sinful, if you would give her all the world, lest she should offend this Great Being. She is of a wonderful sweetness, calmness and universal benevolence of mind; especially after this Great God has manifested himself to her mind.

* The Rev. Dr. Erskine, the warm friend and the correspondent of Mr. Edwards, being desirous of procuring a correct portrait, both of him and his wife, and hearing that a respectable English painter was in Boston, forwarded to his agent in that town, the sum requisite, not only for the portraits, but for the expenses of the journey. They were taken in 1740; and after the death of Dr. Erskine, were very kindly transmitted by his Executor, to Dr. Edwards.

† Hopkins' Life of Edwards. Dr. H. resided in the family a considerable time.

She will sometimes go about from place to place, singing sweetly; and seems to be always full of joy and pleasure; and no one knows for what. She loves to be alone, walking in the fields and groves, and seems to have some one invisible always conversing with her." After due allowance is made for animation of feeling, the reader will be convinced, that such a testimony, concerning a young lady of thirteen, could not have been given, by so competent a judge, had there not been something unusual in the purity and elevation of her mind, and the excellence of her life. Few persons, we are convinced, no older than she was at the time of her marriage, have made equal progress in holiness; and rare, very rare, is the instance, in which such a connexion results in a purer or more uninterrupted happiness. It was a union, founded on high personal esteem, and on a mutual affection, which continually grew, and ripened, and mellowed for the time of harvest. The station, which she was called to fill at this early age, is one of great delicacy, as well as responsibility, and is attended with many difficulties. She entered on the performance of the various duties to her family and the people, to which it summoned her, with a firm reliance on the guidance and support of God; and perhaps no stronger evidence can be given of her substantial worth, than that from the first she discharged them in such a manner, as to secure the high and increasing approbation of all who knew her.

The attention to religion, which has been mentioned, as commencing about the period of Mr. Edwards' ordination, though at no time extensive, continued about two years, and was followed by several years of inattention and indifference. His public labours were continued with faithfulness, but with no peculiar success; and he had reason to lament the too perceptible declension of his people, both in religion and morals.

On the 11th of February, 1729, his venerable colleague was removed from the scene of his earthly labours. This event was sincerely and tenderly lamented by the people of Northampton, as well as extensively throughout the Province. His funeral sermon was preached by his son-in-law, the Rev. William Williams, of Hatfield; and numerous clergymen, in their own desks, paid a similar tribute of respect to his memory.

In the spring of the same year, the health of Mr. Edwards, in consequence of too close application, so far failed him, that he was obliged to be absent from his people several months. Early in May, he was at New Haven, in company with Mrs. Edwards and their infant child, a daughter born Aug. 25th, 1728. In September, his father, in a letter to one of his daughters, expresses the hope that the health of his son is so far restored, as to enable him to resume his labours, and to preach twice on the Sabbath. The summer was probably passed, partly at Northampton, and partly in travelling.

His visit to Windsor, in September, gave him his last opportunity of seeing his sister Jerusha, whom he tenderly loved; and who a little while before, had passed a considerable time with her friends in Northampton. She was attacked with a malignant fever, in December, and, on the 22d of that month, died at her father's house. The uncommon strength and excellence of her character, rendered her peculiarly dear to all her relatives and friends; and from the testimonials of her father, of four of her sisters, and of a friend of the family at a distance, written soon after her death,* I have ascertained the following particulars. She was born in June, 1710, and, on the testimony of that friend, was a young lady of great sweetness of temper, of a fine understanding and of a beautiful countenance. She was devoted to reading from childhood, and though fond of books of taste and amusement, she customarily preferred those which require close thought, and are fitted to strengthen and inform the mind. Like her sisters, she had received a thorough education, both English and classical, and by her proficiency, had justified the views of her father and sustained the honour and claims of her sex. In conversation, she was solid and instructive beyond her years, yet, at the same time, was sprightly and active, and had an uncommon share of native wit and humour. Her wit was always delicate and kind, and used merely for recreation. According to the rule she prescribed to another, it constituted "the sauce, and not the food, in the entertainment." Being fond of retirement and meditation from early life, she passed much of her leisure time in solitary walks in the groves behind her father's house; and the richness of her mind, in moral reflection and philosophical remark, proved that these hours were not wasted in reverie, but occupied by solid thought and profitable contemplation. Habitually serene and cheerful, she was contented and happy; not envious of others, not desirous of admiration, not ambitious nor aspiring: and while she valued highly the esteem of her friends and of the wise and good, she was firmly convinced that her happiness depended, chiefly and ultimately, on the state of her own mind. She appeared to have gained the entire government of her temper and her passions, discovered uncommon equanimity and firmness under trials, and while, in difficult cases, she sought the best advice, yet ultimately acted for herself. Her religious life began in childhood; and from that time, meditation, prayer, and reading the sacred Scriptures, were not a prescribed task, but a coveted enjoyment. Her sisters, who knew how much of her time she daily passed alone, had the best reason to believe that no place was so pleasant to her as her own retirement, and no society so delightful as solitude with God.

* This last was published.

She read Theology, as a Science, with the deepest interest, and pursued the systematic study of the Scriptures, by the help of the best commentaries. Her observance of the Sabbath was exemplary, in solemnly preparing for it, in allotting to it the prescribed hours, and in devoting it only to sacred employments; and in the solemn and entire devotion of her mind to the duties of the sanctuary, she appeared, habitually, to feel with David, "Holiness becometh thine house forever." Few persons attend more closely to preaching, or judge more correctly concerning it, or have higher pleasure in that which is solid, pungent and practical. She saw and conversed with God, in his works of creation and providence. Her religious joy was, at times, intense and elevated. After telling one of her sisters, on a particular occasion, that she could not describe it, she observed to her, that it seemed like a streak of light shining in a dark place; and reminded her of a line in Watt's Lyrics,

"And sudden, from the cleaving skies, a gleam of glory broke."

Her conscience was truly enlightened, and her conduct appeared to be governed by principle. She approved of the best things; discovered great reverence for religion, and strong attachment to the truly pious and conscientious; was severe in her estimate of herself, and charitable in judging of others; was not easily provoked, and usually tried to excuse the provocation; was unapt to cherish prejudices, and lamented, and strove to conceal, the faults of christians.

On the testimony of those who knew her best, "She was a remarkably loving, dutiful, obedient daughter, and a very kind and loving sister," "very helpful and serviceable in the family, and willingly labouring with her own hands," very "kind and friendly to her neighbours," attentive to the sick, charitable to the poor, prone to sympathize with the afflicted, and merciful to the brutes; and at the same time, respectful to superiors, obliging to equals, condescending and affable to inferiors, and manifesting sincere good will to all mankind. Courteous and easy in her manners, she was also modest, unostentatious and retiring; and, while she uniformly respected herself, she commanded the respect of all who saw her. She was fond of all that was comely in dress, but averse to every thing gay and gaudy. She loved peace, and strove to reconcile those who were at variance; was delicately attentive to those of her sex, who were slighted by others; received reproofs with meekness, and told others of their faults, with so much sweetness and faithfulness, as to increase their esteem and affection for herself. She detested all guile, and management, and deception, all flattery and falsehood, and wholly refused to associate with those who exhibited this character. She was most careful and select in

her friendships, and most true and faithful to her friends—highly valuing their affection, and discovering the deepest interest in their welfare. Her conversation and conduct, indicated uncommon innocence and purity of mind; and she avoided many things, which are thought correct by multitudes, who are strictly virtuous. During her sickness, she was not forsaken. A day or two before its termination, she manifested a remarkable admiration of the grace and mercy of God, through Jesus Christ, to sinners, and particularly to herself: saying, "It is wonderful, it surprizes me." A part of the time, she was in some degree delirious; but, when her mind wandered, it seemed to wander heavenward. Just before her death, she attempted to sing a hymn, entitled, "The Absence of Christ," and died, in the full possession of her rational powers, expressing her hope of eternal salvation through his blood. This first example of the ravages of death, in this numerous family, was a most trying event to all its members; and the tenderness, with which they cherished the memory of her who was gone, probably terminated only with life.

The second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, was born on the 26th of the following April, and named JERUSHA, after their deceased sister.

In July, 1731, Mr. Edwards being in Boston, delivered a Sermon at the public lecture, entitled, "God glorified in Man's Dependence," from 1 Cor. i. 29, 30. "*That no flesh should glory in his presence. But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. That according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.*" It was published, at the request of several ministers, and others who heard it, and preceded by a preface, by the Rev. Messrs. Prince and Cooper, of Boston. This was his first publication, and is scarcely known to the American reader of his Works. The subject was at that time novel, as exhibited by the preacher, and made a deep impression on the audience, and on the Rev. Gentlemen who were particularly active in procuring its publication. "It was with no small difficulty," say they, "that the author's youth and modesty were prevailed on, to let him appear a preacher in our public lecture, and afterwards to give us a copy of his discourse, at the desire of divers ministers, and others who heard it. But, as we quickly found him to be a workman that need not be ashamed before his brethren, our satisfaction was the greater, to see him pitching upon so noble a subject, and treating it with so much strength and clearness, as the judicious will perceive in the following composure: a subject, which secures to God his great design, in the work of fallen man's redemption by the Lord Jesus Christ, which is evidently so laid out, as that the glory of the whole should return to him the blessed ordainer, purchaser, and applier; a subject, which enters deep into practical religion; with-

out the belief of which, that must soon die in the hearts and lives of men."

The following is the testimony, borne by these excellent men, to the talents and piety of the author:

"We cannot, therefore, but express our joy and thankfulness, that the great Head of the Church is pleased still to raise up, from among the children of his people, for the supply of his churches, those who assert and maintain these evangelical principles; and that our churches, notwithstanding all their degeneracies, have still a high value for just principles, and for those who publicly own and teach them. And, as we cannot but wish and pray, that the College in the neighbouring colony, as well as our own, may be a fruitful mother of many such sons as the author; so we heartily rejoice, in the special favour of Providence, in bestowing such a rich gift on the happy church of Northampton, which has, for so many lustres of years, flourished under the influence of such pious doctrines, taught them in the excellent ministry of their late venerable pastor, whose gift and spirit we hope will long live and shine in his grandson, to the end that they may abound in all the lovely fruits of evangelical humility and thankfulness, to the glory of God."

The discourse itself, deserves this high commendation. It was the commencement of a series of efforts, on the part of the author, to illustrate the glory of God, as appearing in the greatest of all his works, the work of man's redemption. Rare indeed is the instance, in which a first publication is equally rich in condensed thought, or in new and elevated conceptions.

The third child of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, also a daughter, was born, February 13th, 1732, and received the name of Esther, after his Mother and Mrs. Stoddard.

CHAPTER X.

Remarkable Revival of Religion, in 1734, *and* '35.—*Its Extent and Power.*—*Manner of treating Awakened Sinners.*—*Causes of its Decline.*—*Religious Controversy in Hampshire.*—*Death of his Sister Luey.*—*Characteristics of Mrs. Edwards.*—*Remainder of Personal Narrative.*

Early in 1732, the state of religion in Northampton, which had been for several years on the decline, began gradually, and perceptibly, to grow better; and, an obvious check was given, to the open prevalence of disorder and licentiousness. Immoral practices, which had long been customary, were regarded as disgraceful, and extensively renounced. The young, who had been the chief abettors of these disorders, and on whom the means of grace had exerted no salutary influence, discovered more of a disposition to hearken to the counsels of their parents, and the admonitions of the Gospel, relinquished by degrees their more gross and public sins, and attended on the worship of the Sabbath more generally, and with greater decorum and seriousness of mind; and, among the people as a body, there was a larger number than before, who manifested a personal interest in their own salvation. This desirable change in the congregation, became more and more perceptible, throughout that and the following year. At the latter end of 1733, there appeared a very unusual flexibleness, and a disposition to yield to advice, in the young of both sexes; on an occasion, too, and under circumstances, where it was wholly unexpected. It had long, and perhaps always, been the custom in Northampton, to devote the Sabbath evening, and the evening after the stated public lecture, to visiting and diversion. On a Sabbath preceding one of the public lectures, Mr. Edwards preached a sermon on the subject, explaining the mischievous consequences of this unhappy practice, exhorting the young to a reformation; and calling on parents and masters, universally, to come to an explicit agreement with one another, to govern their families in this respect, and on these evenings, to keep their children and servants at home. The following evening, it so happened that, among a considerable number visiting at his house, there were individuals from every part of the town; and he took that occasion, to propose to those who were present, that they should, in his name, request the heads of families in their respective neighbourhoods, to assemble the next

day, and converse upon the subject, and agree, every one, to restrain his own family. They did so. Such a meeting was accordingly held in each neighbourhood, and the proposal was universally complied with. But, when they made known this agreement to their families, they found little or no restraint necessary; for the young people, almost without exception, declared that they were convinced, by what they had heard from the desk, of the impropriety of the practice, and were ready cheerfully to relinquish it. From that time forward, it was given up, and there was an immediate and thorough reformation of those disorders and immoralities, which it had occasioned. This unexpected occurrence, tenderly affected and solemnized the minds of the people, and happily prepared them for events of still deeper interest.

Just after this, there began to be an unusual concern on the subject of religion, at a little hamlet called Pascommuck, consisting of a few farm houses, about three miles from the principal settlement; and a number of persons, at that place, appeared to be savingly converted. In the ensuing spring, the sudden and awful death of a young man, who became immediately delirious, and continued so until he died; followed by that of a young married woman, who, after great mental suffering, appeared to find peace with God, and died full of comfort, in a most earnest and affecting manner warning and counselling others; contibuted extensively, and powerfully, to solemnize the minds of the young, and to excite a deeper interest on the subject of religion, throughout the congregation.

The fourth child and daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, was born April 7th, 1734, and baptized by the name of Mary.

In the autumn, Mr. Edwards recommended to the young people, on the day of each stated public lecture, to assemble in various parts of the town, and spend the evening in prayer, and the other duties of social religion. This they readily did, and their example was followed, by those who were older.

The solemnity of mind, which now began to pervade the church and congregation, and which was constantly increasing, had a visible re-action on all the labours of Mr. Edwards, public as well as private; and it will not be easy to find discourses,in any language,more solemn, spiritual or powerful, than many of those which he now delivered. One of these, from Matt. xvi. 17, entitled, "A Divine and Supernatural Light immediately imparted to the Soul by the Spirit of God, shown to be both a Scriptural and Rational doctrine," excited uncommon interest in the hearers, and, at their request, was now published. As an exhibition of religion, as existing within the soul, in one of its peculiar forms or aspects, it will be found, in the perusal, remarkably adapted to enlighten, to refresh and to sanctify; while the evidence of the reality of such a light, as derived both from the Scriptures and from Reason, will convince every unprejudiced mind.

At this time, a violent controversy, respecting Arminianism, prevailed extensively over that part of New-England, and the friends of vital piety in Northampton, regarded it as likely to have a most unhappy bearing on the interests of religion in that place; but, contrary to their fears, it served to solemnize, rather than to excite animosity, and was powerfully overruled for the promotion of religion. Mr. Edwards, well knowing that the points at issue had an immediate bearing on the great subject of Salvation, and that mankind never can be so powerfully affected by any subject, as when their attention to it has been strongly excited; determined, in opposition to the fears and the counsels of many of his friends, to explain his own views to his people, from the desk. Accordingly, he preached a series of sermons, on the various points relating to the controversy, and among others, his well-known Discourses, on the great doctrine of Justification by Faith alone. For this, he was severely censured by numbers on the spot, as well as ridiculed by many elsewhere.* The event, however, proved that he had judged wisely. In his discourses, he explained the scriptural conditions of salvation, and exposed the errors then prevalent with regard to them, with so much force of argument, and in a manner so solemn and practical, that it was attended with a signal blessing from heaven, on the people of his charge. Many, who had cherished these errors, were convinced that they could be justified only by the righteousness of Christ; while others, who had not, were brought to feel, that they must be renewed by the Holy Spirit; and the minds of both were led the more earnestly to seek that they might be accepted of God. In the latter part of December, five or six individuals appeared to be very suddenly and savingly converted, one after another; and some of them, in a manner so remarkable, as to awaken and solemnize very great numbers, of all ages and conditions.

The year 1735, opened on Northampton, in a most auspicious manner. A deep and solemn interest, in the great truths of religion, had become universal in all parts of the town, and among all classes of people. This was the only subject of conversation, in every company; and almost the only business of the people, ap-

*Among those, who opposed Mr. Edwards on this occasion, were several members of a family, in a neighbouring town, nearly connected with his own, and possessing, from its numbers, wealth and respectability, a considerable share of influence. Their religious sentiments differed widely from his, and their opposition to him, in the course which he now pursued, became direct and violent. As his defence of his own opinions was regarded as triumphant, they appear to have felt, in some degree, the shame and mortification of a defeat; and their opposition to Mr. Edwards, though he resorted to every honourable method of conciliation, became, on their part, a settled personal hostility. It is probable, that their advice to Mr. Edwards, to refrain from the controversy, and particularly, not to publish his sentiments with regard to it, was given somewhat categorically, and with a full expectation that he, young as he was, would comply with it. His refusal so to do, was an offence not to be forgiven. We shall have occasion to recur to this subject again.

peared to be, to secure their salvation. So extensive was the influence of the Spirit of God, that there was scarcely an individual in the town, either old or young, who was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world. This was true of the gayest, of the most licentious, and of the most hostile to religion. And in the midst of this universal attention, the work of conversion was carried on in the most astonishing manner. Every day witnessed its triumphs; and so great was the alteration in the appearance of the town, that in the spring and summer following, it appeared to be full of the presence of God. There was scarcely a house, which did not furnish the tokens of his presence, and scarcely a family which did not present the trophies of his grace. "The town," says Mr. Edwards, "was never so full of love, nor so full of joy, nor yet so full of distress, as it was then." Whenever he met the people in the sanctuary, he not only saw the house crowded, but every hearer earnest to receive the truth of God, and often the whole assembly dissolved in tears: some weeping for sorrow, others for joy, and others from compassion. In the months of March and April, when the work of God was carried on with the greatest power, he supposes the number, apparently of genuine conversions, to have been at least four a day, or nearly thirty a week, take one week with another, for five or six weeks together.

During the winter and spring, many persons from the neighbouring towns, came to Northampton, to attend the stated lectures of Mr. Edwards; many others, on business, or on visits; and many others, from a distance, having heard contradictory reports of the state of things, came to see and examine for themselves. Of these, great numbers had their consciences awakened, were savingly wrought upon, and went home rejoicing in the forgiving love of God. This appeared to be the means of spreading the same influence in the adjacent towns, and in places more remote, so that no less than ten towns in the same county, and seventeen in the adjoining colony of Connecticut, within a short time, were favoured with Revivals of Religion.

This was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable events of the kind, that has occurred since the Canon of the New Testament was finished. It was so on account of its universality: no class, nor age, nor description, was exempt. Upwards of fifty persons above forty years of age, and ten above ninety, near thirty between ten and fourteen, and one of four,* became, in the view of Mr.

* Of the conversion of this child, whose name was Phebe Bartlett, a most minute and interesting account is given in the "Narrative of Surprizing Conversions." Dr. Edwards, under date of March 30, 1789, in a letter to Dr. Ryland, says, "In answer to your enquiry, in a former letter, concerning Phebe Bartlett, I have to inform you, that she is yet living, and has uniformly maintained the character of a true convert."

Edwards, the subjects of the renewing grace of God. It was so on account of the unusual numbers, who appeared to become christians: amounting to more than three hundred persons, in half a year, and about as many of them males as females. Previous to one sacrament, about one hundred were received to the communion, and near sixty previous to another; and the whole number of communicants, at one time, was about six hundred and twenty, including almost all the adult population of the town. It was so in its rapid progress, in its amazing power, in the depth of the convictions felt, and in the degree of light, of love, and of joy communicated; as well as in its great extent, and in its swift propagation, from place to place.

Early in the progress of this work of grace, Mr. Edwards seems to have decided for himself, the manner in which he was bound to treat awakened sinners:—to urge repentance on every such sinner, as his immediate duty; to insist that God is under no manner of obligation to any unrenewed man; and that a man can challenge nothing, either in absolute justice, or by free promise, on account of any thing he does before he repents and believes. He was fully convinced that if he had taught those, who came to consult him in their spiritual troubles, any other doctrines, he should have taken the most direct course, to have utterly undone them. The discourses, which, beyond measure more than any others which he preached, "had an immediate saving effect," were several from Rom. iii. 19, "*That every mouth may be stopped*,"—in which he endeavoured to show that it would be just with God, forever to reject, and cast off, mere natural men.

Though it had not been the custom, as we have already seen, for a long period at Northampton, to require of candidates for admission to the church, a credible relation of the evidences of their own conversion, because, if unconverted, they were supposed to have a right to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as a converting ordinance; yet Mr. Edwards supposed he had very "sufficient evidence" of the conversion of those who were now admitted. There can be but little doubt, however, that, if the rules of the church had required, in every case, a thorough examination of the candidate's piety, the period of probation would have been longer, the danger of a false profession more solemnly realized, and the examination of each individual, by the pastor of the church, as well as by himself, far more strict; or that many, at first, regarded, both by themselves and others, as unquestionably christians, would not, at that time, have made a profession of religion. But unfortunately he had never fully examined the scriptural ground for admission to the Lord's Supper, and, like many others, had taken it for granted, that Mr. Stoddard's views of the subject were just. Had he investigated it as thoroughly, at that important crisis, as he did afterwards, there can be but little doubt that, in the

high state of religious feeling then prevalent, the church would readily have changed its practice, or that all the candidates for admission, would have consented to a thorough examination. Had such indeed been the issue, Mr. Edwards himself would have been saved from many trials, and the church and people of Northampton from great and incalculable evils: still it may well be doubted, whether the actual result has not occasioned a far greater amount of good, to the church at large.

In the latter part of May, 1735, this great work of the Spirit of God, began obviously to decline, and the instances of conversion to be less numerous, both at Northampton and in the neighbouring villages. One principal cause of this declension, is undoubtedly to be found in the fact, that in all these places, both among ministers and private christians, the *physical excitement* had been greater, than the human constitution can, for a long period, endure. Nothing, it should be remembered, exhausts the strength and the animal spirits, like *feeling*. One hour of intense joy, or of intense sorrow, will more entirely prostrate the frame, than weeks of close study. In revivals of religion, as they have hitherto appeared, the nerves of the whole man—of body, mind and heart,—are kept continually on the stretch, from month to month; until at length they are relaxed, and become non-elastic: and then all feeling and energy, of every kind, is gone. Another reason is undoubtedly to be found in the fact, that those, who had so long witnessed this remarkable work of God, without renouncing their sins, had at length become hardened and hopeless, in their impenitence. Mr. Edwards also attributes it, in part, to two striking events of Providence, at Northampton, and to two remarkable instances of enthusiastic delusion, in two of the neighbouring villages.

He mentions also, a third cause, and one far more powerful, and more extensive in its influence, than either of the two last. This was an Ecclesiastical Controversy, growing out of the settlement of a minister at Springfield, in which he himself was ultimately compelled, though with great reluctance, to take a part; which agitated, not only the county of Hampshire, but the more remote churches of the Province. Of this, a bare mention would alone be necessary, did we not find his connection with it referred to, at a subsequent and most interesting period of his life.

In 1735, the first church in Springfield, having elected a pastor, invited the churches in the southern part of Hampshire, by their pastors and delegates in Council, to proceed to his ordination. The Council, when convened, after examining the qualifications of the Candidate, refused to ordain him, and assigned two reasons for this refusal—youthful immorality, and anti-scriptural tenets. Mr. Edwards, though invited to this Council, for some reason or other, was not present. The Church, in August, called a second Council, consisting chiefly of ministers and delegates from the Churches

in Boston, which, without delay, proceeded to the ordination. The First Council, finding their own measures thus openly impeached, published a pamphlet entitled, "A Narrative and Defence of the proceedings of the ministers of Hampshire," etc. justifying their own conduct, and censuring that of their brethren. The Second Council defended themselves in a pamphlet entitled, "An Answer to the Hampshire Narrative." Mr. Edwards, at the request of the First Council, and particularly of his uncle, the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Hatfield, who was its moderator, wrote a Reply to this, entitled, "A Letter to the Author of the pamphlet called, An Answer to the Hampshire Narrative."—This Reply, viewed either as an argument upon the law and the facts, or as an answer to his opponents, is an exhibition of logic, not often met with in similar discussions, and appears to have concluded the controversy. This series of events occurred, during the revival of religion in the churches of that county, and was thought, by too powerfully engrossing the attention, both of ministers and people, in various places, to have hastened its conclusion. And there can be no doubt, that this opinion was correct. A Revival of Religion is nothing but the *immediate result* of an uncommon *Attention*, on the part of a church and congregation, to the Truth of God:—particularly to the great truths, which disclose the worth of the soul, and the only way in which it can be saved. Whenever, and wherever, the members of a church pay the due attention to these truths, by giving them their proper influence on their hearts, religion revives immediately in their affections and their conduct; and when the impenitent pay such attention, the kingdom of heaven immediately "suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." The only effectual way to put a stop to such a work of grace, is, therefore, *to divert the attention* of christians and sinners from those truths, which bear immediately on the work of salvation.

In the latter part of the summer, Mr. and Mrs. Edwards were called to mourn the death of another of his sisters named Lucy, the youngest but one, of his father's children; who was born in 1715, and died August 21, 1736,* at the age of 21. After her, they named their fifth child, who was born August 31, of the same year.

It was a peculiarly favourable dispensation of Providence, that, amid the multiplied cares and labours of this period, the health of Mr. Edwards was graciously preserved. A revival of religion to a clergyman, like the period of harvest to the husbandman, is the most busy and the most exhausting of all seasons; and during the progress of that, which he had just witnessed, not only was the whole time of Mr. Edwards fully occupied, but all the powers of

* I have discovered no papers or letters of the family, of a date near this, and no mention of this young lady, except on her tombstone.

his mind were laboriously employed, and all the feelings of his heart kept, from month to month, in high and powerful excitement. In addition to his ordinary duties as a teacher and pastor, his public lectures were now multiplied, private lectures were weekly appointed in different parts of the town, and his study was almost daily thronged by multitudes, looking to him as their spiritual guide. From the adjacent villages, also, great numbers resorted to him, for the same purpose, having the highest confidence in his wisdom and experience; and numerous clergymen from various parts of the country, came to his house, to witness the triumphs of divine grace, and to gain, from his counsels and his measures, more just conceptions of the best manner of discharging the highest and most sacred duties of their office.

In the midst of these complicated labours, as well as at all times, he found at home one, who was in every sense a *help meet* for him; one who made their common dwelling the abode of order and neatness, of peace and comfort, of harmony and love, to all its inmates, and of kindness and hospitality to the friend, the visitant and the stranger. "While she uniformly paid a becoming deference to her husband, and treated him with entire respect, she spared no pains in conforming to his inclinations, and rendering every thing in the family agreeable and pleasant: accounting it her greatest glory, and that wherein she could best serve God and her generation, to be the means, in this way, of promoting his usefulness and happiness. As he was of a weakly, infirm constitution, and was necessarily peculiarly exact in his diet, she was a tender nurse to him, cheerfully attending upon him at all times, and in all things ministering to his comfort. And no person of discernment could be conversant in the family, without observing, and admiring, the perfect harmony, and mutual love and esteem, that subsisted between them. At the same time, when she herself laboured under bodily disorders and pains, which was not unfrequently the case, instead of troubling those around her with her complaints, and wearing a sour or dejected countenance, as if out of humour with every body, and every thing around her, because she was disregarded and neglected; she was accustomed to bear up under them, not only with patience, but with cheerfulness and good humour."

Devoted as Mr. Edwards was to study, and to the duties of his profession, it was necessary for him at all times, but especially in a season like this, of multiplied toils and anxieties, to be relieved from attention to all secular concerns; and it was a most happy circumstance, that he could trust every thing of this nature to the care of Mrs. Edwards, with entire safety, and with undoubting confidence. "She was a most judicious and faithful mistress of a family, habitually industrious, a sound economist, managing her household affairs with diligence and discretion. She was conscientiously careful.

that nothing should be wasted and lost; and often, when she herself took care to save any thing *of trifling value*, or directed her children or others to do so, or when she saw them *waste* any thing, she would repeat the words of our Saviour—"THAT NOTHING BE LOST;" which words, she said she often thought of, as containing a maxim worth remembering, especially when considered as the reason alleged by Christ, why his disciples should gather up the fragments of that bread, which he had just before *created with a word*. She took almost the whole direction of the temporal affairs of the family, without doors and within, managing them with great wisdom and prudence, as well as cheerfulness; and in this, was particularly suited to the disposition, as well as the habits and necessities, of her husband, who chose to have no care, if possible, of any worldly business.

But there are other duties, of a still more tender and difficult nature, which none but a parent can adequately perform; and it was an unspeakable privilege to Mr. Edwards, now surrounded by a young and growing family, that when his duties to his people, especially in seasons like this, necessarily occupied his whole attention, he could safely commit his children to the wisdom and piety, the love and faithfulness, of their mother. Her views of the responsibility of parents, were large and comprehensive. "She thought that, as a parent, she had great and important duties to do towards her children, before they were capable of government and instruction. For them, she constantly and earnestly prayed, and bore them on her heart before God, in all her secret and most solemn addresses to him; and that, even before they were born. The prospect of her becoming the mother of a rational immortal creature, which came into existence in an undone and infinitely dreadful state, was sufficient to lead her to bow before God daily, for his blessing on it—even redemption and eternal life by Jesus Christ. So that, through all the pain, labour and sorrow, which attended her being the mother of children, she was in travail for them, that they might be born of God"

She regularly prayed with her children, from a very early period, and, as there is the best reason to believe, with great earnestness and importunity. Being thoroughly sensible that, in many respects, the chief care of forming children by government and instruction, naturally lies on mothers, as they are most with their children, at an age when they commonly receive impressions that are permanent, and have great influence in forming the character for life, she was very careful to do her part in this important business. When she foresaw, or met with, any special difficulty in this matter, she was wont to apply to her husband, for advice and assistance; and on such occasions, they would both attend to it, as a matter of the utmost importance. She had an excellent way of governing her children; she knew how to make them regard and obey

her cheerfully, without loud angry words, much less heavy blows. She seldom punished them; and in speaking to them, used gentle and pleasant words. If any correction was necessary, she did not administer it in a passion; and when she had occasion to reprove and rebuke, she would do it in few words, without warmth and noise, and with all calmness and gentleness of mind. In her directions and reproofs in matters of importance, she would address herself to the reason of her children, that they might not only know her inclination and will, but at the same time be convinced of the reasonableness of it. She had need to speak but once; she was cheerfully obeyed: murmuring and answering again, were not known among them. In their manners, they were uncommonly respectful to their parents. When their parents came into the room, they all rose instinctively from their seats, and never resumed them until their parents were seated; and when either parent was speaking, no matter with whom they had been conversing, they were all immediately silent and attentive. The kind and gentle treatment they received from their mother, while she strictly and punctiliously maintained her parental authority, seemed naturally to beget and promote a filial respect and affection, and to lead them to a mild tender treatment of each other. Quarrelling and contention, which too frequently take place among children, were in her family wholly unknown. She carefully observed the first appearance of resentment and ill will in her young children, towards any person whatever, and did not connive at it, as many who have the care of children do, but was careful to show her displeasure, and suppress it to the utmost; yet, not by angry, wrathful words, which often provoke children to wrath, and stir up their irascible passions, rather than abate them. Her system of discipline, was begun at a very early age, and it was her rule, to resist the first, as well as every subsequent exhibition of temper or disobedience in the child, however young, until its will was brought into submission to the will of its parents: wisely reflecting, that until a child will obey his parents, he can never be brought to obey God.

Fond as Mr. Edwards was of welcoming the friend and the stranger, and much as his house was a favourite place of resort, to gentlemen both of the clergy and laity; it was absolutely necessary, at all times, and peculiarly so in seasons of religious attention like this, that some one, well knowing how to perform the rites of hospitality, and to pay all the civilities and charities of life, should relieve him from these attentions, during those hours which were consecrated to his professional duties; and here also, he could most advantageously avail himself of the assistance of Mrs. Edwards. Educated in the midst of polished life, familiar from childhood with the rules of decorum and good breeding, affable and easy in her manners, and governed by the feelings of liberality and benevolence, she was remarkable for her kindness to her

friends, and to the visitants who resorted to Mr. Edwards; sparing no pains to make them welcome, and to provide for their convenience and comfort. She was also peculiarly kind to strangers, who came to her house. By her sweet and winning manners, and ready conversation, she soon became acquainted with them, and brought them to feel acquainted with herself; and showed such concern for their comfort, and so kindly offered what she thought they needed, that while her friendly attentions discovered at once that she knew the feelings of a stranger, they also made their way directly to his heart, and gaining his confidence, led him immediately to feel as if he were at home, in the midst of near and affectionate friends.

"She made it her rule, to speak well of all, so far as she could with truth, and justice to herself and others. She was not wont to dwell with delight on the imperfections and failings of any; and when she heard persons speaking ill of others, she would say what she thought she could, with truth and justice, in their excuse, or divert the obloquy, by mentioning those things, that were commendable in them. Thus she was tender of every one's character, even of those who injured and spoke evil of her; and carefully guarded against the too common vice, of evil speaking and backbiting. She could bear injuries and reproach, with great calmness, without any disposition to render evil for evil; but, on the contrary, was ready to pity and forgive those, who appeared to be her enemies." This course of conduct, steadily pursued, secured, in an unusual degree, the affection and confidence of those who knew her.

She proved also, an invaluable auxiliary to Mr. Edwards, in the duties of his profession, not only by her excellent example, but by her active efforts in doing good. "She was," says Dr. Hopkins, "eminent for her piety, and for experimental religion. Religious conversation was her delight; and, as far as propriety permitted, she promoted it in all companies. Her religious conversation showed at once, her clear comprehension of spiritual and divine things, and the deep impression which they had made upon her mind." It was not merely conversation *about* religion—about its truths, or duties, or its actual state—its doctrines or triumphs—or the character and conduct of its friends and ministers: it was religion itself;—that supreme love to God, to his kingdom and his glory, which, abounding in the heart, flows forth spontaneously, in the daily conversation and the daily life.

The friends of vital christianity, those who delighted in its great and essential truths, who showed its practical influence on their lives, and who were most engaged in promoting its prosperity, were her chosen friends and intimates. With such persons, she would converse freely and confidentially, telling them of the exercises of her own heart, and the happiness she had experienced in a life of religion, for their encouragement in the christian course. Her

mind appeared to attend to spiritual and divine things constantly, on all occasions, and in every condition and business of life. Secret prayer was her uniform practice, and appeared to be the source of daily enjoyment. She was a constant attendant on public worship, and always exhibited the deepest solemnity and reverence, in the house of God. She always prized highly the privilege of social worship, not only in the family, but in the private meetings of christians. Such meetings, on the part of females *only*, for prayer and religious conversation, have at times been objected to, as, both in their nature and results, inconsistent with the true delicacy of the sex. Her own judgment, formed deliberately, and in coincidence with that of her husband, was in favour of these meetings; and accordingly, she regularly encouraged and promoted them, during the Revival of Religion of which we have been speaking, as well as at other times; attending on them herself, and not declining to take her proper share in the performance of their various duties. In this way, she exerted an important influence among her own sex, and over the young: an influence always salutary in promoting union, ardour and spiritual-mindedness, but especially powerful, in seasons of uncommon attention to religion.

One circumstance, which served essentially to extend and increase this influence, was the fact, that her religion had nothing gloomy or forbidding in its character. Unusual as it was in degree, it was eminently the religion of joy. On the testimony of Mr. Edwards, it possessed this character, even when she was a little child of about five or six years of age, as well as customarily in after life. At the commencement of this remarkable work of grace, she appears to have dedicated herself anew to God, with more entire devotion of heart to his service and glory, than she had ever been conscious of before; and during its progress, as well as afterwards, she experienced a degree of religious enjoyment, not previously known to herself, and not often vouchsafed to others. But on this subject, we may have occasion to speak more fully hereafter.

What, during this interesting work of grace, was the state of Mr. Edwards's own feelings on the subject of religion, must be gathered chiefly from his sermons written at the time, from the "Narrative of Surprising Conversions," and from that high character for moral excellence, which he enjoyed not only among his own people, but among the clergy. Yet the remainder of his Personal Narrative, extending from his settlement, until a date somewhat later than this, and of course including this period, presents a general view of the subject, in a high degree interesting, and most proper to be inserted here.

REMAINDER OF PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

"Since I came to Northampton, I have often had sweet complacency in God, in views of his glorious perfections, and of the

excellency of Jesus Christ. God has appeared to me a glorious and lovely Being, chiefly on account of his holiness. The holiness of God has always appeared to me the most lovely of all his attributes. The doctrines of God's absolute sovereignty, and free grace, in shewing mercy to whom he would shew mercy; and man's absolute dependence on the operations of God's Holy Spirit, have very often appeared to me as sweet and glorious doctrines. These doctrines have been much my delight. God's sovereignty has ever appeared to me, a great part of his glory. It has often been my delight to approach God, and adore him as a sovereign God, and ask sovereign mercy of him.

"I have loved the doctrines of the gospel; they have been to my soul like green pastures. The gospel has seemed to me the richest treasure; the treasure that I have most desired, and longed that it might dwell richly in me. The way of salvation by Christ, has appeared, in a general way, glorious and excellent, most pleasant and most beautiful. It has often seemed to me, that it would, in a great measure, spoil heaven, to receive it in any other way. That text has often been affecting and delightful to me, Isa. xxxii. 2, *A man shall be an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, &c.*

"It has often appeared to me delightful, to be united to Christ; to have him for my head, and to be a member of his body; also to have Christ for my teacher and prophet. I very often think with sweetness, and longings, and pantings of soul, of being a little child, taking hold of Christ, to be led by him through the wilderness of this world. That text, Matt. xviii. 3, has often been sweet to me, *Except ye be converted, and become as little children, &c.* I love to think of coming to Christ, to receive salvation of him, poor in spirit, and quite empty of self, humbly exalting him alone; cut off entirely from my own root, in order to grow into, and out of Christ: to have God in Christ to be all in all; and to live by faith on the Son of God, a life of humble, unfeigned confidence in him. That Scripture has often been sweet to me, Psal. cxv. 1, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake.* And those words of Christ, Luke x. 21, *In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.* That sovereignty of God, which Christ rejoiced in, seemed to me worthy of such joy; and that rejoicing seemed to show the excellency of Christ, and of what spirit he was.

"Sometimes, only mentioning a single word, caused my heart to burn within me; or only seeing the name of Christ, or the name of some attribute of God. And God has appeared glorious to me, on account of the Trinity. It has made me have exalting thoughts

of God, that he subsists in three persons; Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The sweetest joys and delights I have experienced, have not been those that have arisen from a hope of my own good estate; but in a direct view of the glorious things of the gospel. When I enjoy this sweetness, it seems to carry me above the thoughts of my own estate; it seems, at such times, a loss that I cannot bear, to take off my eye from the glorious, pleasant object I behold without me, to turn my eye in upon myself, and my own good estate.

"My heart has been much on the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world. The histories of the past advancement of Christ's kingdom have been sweet to me. When I have read histories of past ages, the pleasantest thing, in all my reading, has been, to read of the kingdom of Christ being promoted. And when I have expected, in my reading, to come to any such thing, I have rejoiced in the prospect, all the way as I read. And my mind has been much entertained and delighted with the scripture promises and prophecies, which relate to the future glorious advancement of Christ's kingdom upon earth.

"I have sometimes had a sense of the excellent fulness of Christ, and his meetness and suitableness as a Saviour; whereby he has appeared to me, far above all, the chief of ten thousands. His blood and atonement have appeared sweet, and his righteousness sweet; which was always accompanied with ardency of spirit; and inward strugglings and breathings, and groanings that cannot be uttered, to be emptied of myself, and swallowed up in Christ.

"Once, as I rode out into the woods for my health, in 1737, having alighted from my horse in a retired place, as my manner commonly has been, to walk for divine contemplation and prayer, I had a view, that for me was extraordinary, of the glory of the Son of God, as Mediator between God and man, and his wonderful, great, full, pure and sweet grace and love, and meek and gentle condescension. This grace that appeared so calm and sweet, appeared also great above the heavens. The person of Christ appeared ineffably excellent, with an excellency great enough to swallow up all thought and conception—which continued, as near as I can judge, about an hour; which kept me the greater part of the time, in a flood of tears, and weeping aloud. I felt an ardency of soul to be, what I know not otherwise how to express, emptied and annihilated; to lie in the dust, and to be full of Christ alone; to love him with a holy and pure love; to trust in him; to live upon him; to serve and follow him; and to be perfectly sanctified and made pure, with a divine and heavenly purity. I have, several other times, had views very much of the same nature, and which have had the same effects.

"I have, many times, had a sense of the glory of the Third Person in the Trinity, in his office of Sanctifier; in his holy operations,

communicating divine light and life to the soul. God in the communications of his holy spirit, has appeared as an infinite fountain of divine glory and sweetness; being full and sufficient to fill and satisfy the soul; pouring forth itself in sweet communications; like the sun in its glory, sweetly and pleasantly diffusing light and life. And I have sometimes had an affecting sense of the excellency of the word of God as a word of life; as the light of life; a sweet, excellent, life-giving word; accompanied with a thirsting after that word, that it might dwell richly in my heart.

"Often, since I lived in this town, I have had very affecting views of my own sinfulness and vileness; very frequently to such a degree, as to hold me in a kind of loud weeping, sometimes for a considerable time together; so that I have often been forced to shut myself up. I have had a vastly greater sense of my own wickedness, and the badness of my heart, than ever I had before my conversion.* It has often appeared to me, that if God should mark iniquity against me, I should appear the very worst of all mankind; of all that have been, since the beginning of the world, to this time: and that I should have by far the lowest place in hell. When others, that have come to talk with me about their soul-concerns, have expressed the sense they have had of their own wickedness, by saying, that it seemed to them, that they were as bad as the devil himself; I thought their expressions seemed exceeding faint and feeble, to represent my wickedness.

"My wickedness, as I am in myself, has long appeared to me perfectly ineffable, and swallowing up all thought and imagination; like an infinite deluge, or mountains over my head. I know not how to express better what my sins appear to me to be, than by heaping infinite upon infinite, and multiplying infinite by infinite. Very often, for these many years, these expressions are in my mind, and in my mouth, "Infinite upon infinite—Infinite upon infinite!" When I look into my heart, and take a view of my wickedness, it looks like an abyss, infinitely deeper than hell. And it appears to me, that were it not for free grace, exalted and raised up to the infinite height of all the fulness and glory of the great Jehovah, and the arm of his power and grace stretched forth in all the majesty of his power, and in all the glory of his sovereignty, I

* Our author does not say, that he *had* more wickedness, and badness of heart, since his conversion, than he had before; but that he had a greater *sense* thereof. Thus a blind man may *have* his garden *full* of noxious weeds, and yet not *see* or be *sensible* of them. But should the garden be in great part, cleared of these, and furnished with many beautiful and salutary plants; and supposing the owner now to have the power of discriminating objects of sight; in this case, he would *have* less, but would *see* and have a *sense* of more. And thus it was that St. Paul, though greatly freed from sin, yet *saw* and *felt* himself as "the chief of sinners." To which may be added, that the better the organ, and clearer the light may be, the stronger will be the *sense* excited by sin or holiness.

should appear sunk down in my sins below hell itself; far beyond the sight of every thing, but the eye of sovereign grace, that can pierce even down to such a depth. And yet, it seems to me that my conviction of sin is exceedingly small, and faint; it is enough to amaze me, that I have no more sense of my sin. I know certainly. that I have very little sense of my sinfulness. When I have had turns of weeping and crying for my sins, I thought I knew at the time, that my repentance was nothing to my sin.

"I have greatly longed of late, for a broken heart, and to lie low before God; and, when I ask for humility, I cannot bear the thoughts of being no more humble than other christians. It seems to me, that though their degrees of humility may be suitable for them, yet it would be a vile self-exaltation in me, not to be the lowest in humility of all mankind. Others speak of their longing to be "humbled to the dust;" that may be a proper expression for them, but I always think of myself, that I ought, and it is an expression that has long been natural for me to use in prayer, "to lie infinitely low before God." And it is affecting to think, how ignorant I was, when a young christian, of the bottomless, infinite depths of wickedness, pride, hypocrisy and deceit, left in my heart.

"I have a much greater sense of my universal, exceeding dependance on God's grace and strength, and mere good pleasure, of late, than I used formerly to have; and have experienced more of an abhorrence of my own righteousness. The very thought of any joy arising in me, on any consideration of my own amiableness, performances, or experiences, or any goodness of heart or life, is nauseous and detestable to me. And yet, I am greatly afflicted with a proud and self-righteous spirit, much more sensibly than I used to be formerly. I see that serpent rising and putting forth its head continually, every where, all around me.

"Though it seems to me, that in some respects, I was a far better christian, for two or three years after my first conversion, than I am now; and lived in a more constant delight and pleasure; yet of late years, I have had a more full and constant sense of the absolute sovereignty of God, and a delight in that sovereignty; and have had more of a sense of the glory of Christ, as a Mediator revealed in the gospel. On one Saturday night, in particular, I had such a discovery of the excellency of the gospel above all other doctrines, that I could not but say to myself, "This is my chosen light, my chosen doctrine: and of Christ, "This is my chosen Prophet." It appeared sweet, beyond all expression, to follow Christ, and to be taught, and enlightened, and instructed by him; to learn of him, and live to him. Another Saturday night, (*Jan.* 1739) I had such a sense, how sweet and blessed a thing it was to walk in the way of duty; to do that which was right and meet to be done, and agreeable to the holy mind of God; that it caused me to break forth into a kind of loud weeping, which held me

some time, so that I was forced to shut myself up, and fasten the doors. I could not but, as it were, cry out, "How happy are they, who do that which is right in the sight of God! They are blessed indeed, *they* are the happy ones!" I had, at the same time, a very affecting sense, how meet and suitable it was that God should govern the world, and order all things according to his own pleasure; and I rejoiced in it, that God reigned, and that his will was done."

CHAPTER XI.

Narrative of Surprising Conversions.—His views of Revivals of Religion.—Remarkable Providence at Northampton.—"Five Discourses."—Mr. Bellamy a resident of his family.—History of Redemption.—Extra-Parochial labours of Mr. Edwards.—Sermon at Enfield.—Funeral Sermon on the Rev. W. Williams.

On the 30th of May, 1735, Mr. Edwards, in answer to a letter from the Rev. Dr. Colman, of Boston, wrote a succinct account of the work of Divine grace at Northampton; which, being published by him, and forwarded to the Rev. Dr. Watts and the Rev. Dr. Guyse, in London, those gentlemen discovered so much interest in the facts recited, detailing them on several occasions before large assemblies, that the author, at the request of his correspondent, was induced to prepare a much fuller statement, in a letter to the same gentleman, bearing date, Nov. 6, 1736. This was published in London, under the title of "Narrative of Surprising Conversions," with an Introduction by Dr. Watts and Dr. Guyse; and was read very extensively, and with very lively emotions, by christians in England. There, this mark of Divine grace was regarded, not only with very deep interest, but with surprise and wonder: nothing like it, for its extent and power, having been witnessed, in that country, for many previous years. Those excellent men observe, "We are abundantly satisfied of the truth of this Narrative, not only from the character of the writer but from the concurrent testimony of many other persons in New England: *for this thing was not done in a corner.* There is a spot of ground, as we are here informed, wherein there are twelve or fourteen towns and villages, chiefly situate in the county of Hampshire, near the banks of the river Connecticut, within the compass of thirty miles, wherein it pleased God, two years ago, to display his sovereign mercy, in the conversion of a great multitude of souls, in a short space of time; turning them from a formal, cold and careless, profession of christianity, to the lively exercise of every christian grace, and the powerful practice of our holy religion. The great God has seemed to act over again, the miracle of Gideon's fleece, which was plentifully watered with the dew of heaven, while the rest of the earth round about it was dry, and had no such remarkable blessing.

"There has been a great and just complaint, for many years, among the ministers and churches of Old England, and in New, (except about the time of the late Earthquake there,) that the work of conversion goes on very slowly, that the Spirit of God in his saving influences, is much withdrawn from the ministrations of his word; and there are few that receive the ministrations of the Gospel, with any eminent success upon their hearts. But as the Gospel is the same divine instrument of grace, still, as ever it was in the days of the Apostles, so our ascended Saviour, now and then, takes a special occasion to manifest the divinity of this Gospel, by a plentiful effusion of his Spirit, where it is preached: then sinners are turned into saints in numbers, and there is a new face of things spread over a town or country. The wilderness and the solitary places are glad, the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose; and surely, concerning this instance, we may add, that they have seen the glory of the Lord there, and the excellency of our God; they have seen the outgoings of God our King in his sanctuary."

This work was the first of a series of publications from Mr. Edwards, intended to explain the nature and effects of saving conversion, and the nature of a genuine work of the Holy Spirit in a community. As a religious Narrative, it is one of the most interesting I have hitherto met with; having all that exactness of description and vividness of colouring, which attend the account of an eye witness, when drawn up, not from recollection, but in the very passing of the scenes which he describes. It proved a most useful and seasonable publication. For a long period, Revivals of religion had been chiefly unknown, both in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe. The Church at large, had generally ceased to expect events of this nature, regarding them as confined to Apostolic times, and to the ultimate triumphs of Christianity; and appear to have entertained very imperfect views of their causes, their nature, and the manner in which they ought to be regarded. In no previous publication, had these important subjects been adequately explained. The particular event, which Mr. Edwards had the privilege of recording, viewed as a remarkable work of Divine grace, has, to this day, scarcely a parallel in the modern annals of the Church. His own views of these subjects, were alike removed from the apathy of unbelief, and the wildness of enthusiasm: they were derived, not merely from his familiarity with the facts, but from just conceptions of the intellectual and moral faculties of man, and from a thorough knowledge of the word of God. And while the Narrative of Surprising Conversions served to inspire the Church at large with a new and higher kind of faith, and hope and zeal, it also proved a safe directory of their views and their conduct. In a short time it was extensively circulated, both in England and Scotland; and in the latter country, as we shall soon have

occasion to remark, its diffusion was speedily followed by salutary and important consequences.

It may not be improper to insert in this place, the following letter of Mr. Edwards, giving an account of a surprising and alarming providence, which attended the people of Northampton, in the early part of 1737.

"*Northampton, March* 19, 1737.

"We in this town were, the last Lord's day, (March 13th) the spectators, and many of us the subjects, of one of the most amazing instances of Divine preservation, that perhaps was ever known in the world. Our meeting-house is old and decayed, so that we have been for some time building a new one, which is yet unfinished. It has been observed of late, that the house we have hitherto met in, has gradually spread at the bottom; the sills and walls giving way, especially in the foreside, by reason of the weight of timber at top pressing on the braces, that are inserted into the posts and beams of the house. It has done so more than ordinarily this spring: which seems to have been occasioned by the heaving of the ground, through the extreme frosts of the winter past, and its now settling again on that side which is next the sun, by the spring thaws. By this means, the underpinning has been considerably disordered, which people were not sensible of, till the ends of the joists, which bore up the front gallery, were drawn off from the girts on which they rested, by the walls giving way. So that in the midst of the public exercise in the forenoon, soon after the beginning of the sermon, the whole gallery—full of people, with all the seats and timbers, suddenly and without any warning—sunk, and fell down, with the most amazing noise, upon the heads of those that sat under, to the astonishment of the congregation. The house was filled with dolorous shricking and crying; and nothing else was expected than to find many people dead, or dashed to pieces.

"The gallery, in falling, seemed to break and sink first in the middle; so that those who were upon it were thrown together in heaps before the front door. But the whole was so sudden, that many of those who fell, knew nothing what it was, at the time, that had befallen them. Others in the congregation, thought it had been an amazing clap of thunder. The falling gallery seemed to be broken all to pieces, before it got down; so that some who fell with it, as well as those who were under, were buried in the ruins; and were found pressed under heavy loads of timber, and could do nothing to help themselves.

"But so mysteriously and wonderfully did it come to pass, that every life was preserved; and though many were greatly bruised, and their flesh torn, yet there is not, as I can understand, one bone

broken, or so much as put out of joint, among them all. Some, who were thought to be almost dead at first, are greatly recovered; and but one young woman, seems yet to remain in dangerous circumstances, by an inward hurt in her breast: but of late there appears more hope of her recovery.

"None can give an account, or conceive, by what means people's lives and limbs should be thus preserved, when so great a multitude were thus imminently exposed. It looked as though it was impossible, but that great numbers must instantly be crushed to death, or dashed in pieces. It seems unreasonable to ascribe it to any thing else but the care of Providence, in disposing the motions of every piece of timber, and the precise place of safety where every one should sit and fall, when none were in any capacity to care for their own preservation. The preservation seems to be most wonderful, with respect to the women and children in the middle alley, under the gallery where it came down first, and with greatest force, and where there was nothing to break the force of the falling weight.

"Such an event, may be a sufficient argument of a Divine providence over the lives of men. We thought ourselves called on to set apart a day to be spent in the solemn worship of God, to humble ourselves under such a rebuke of God upon us, in time of public service in his house, by so dangerous and surprising an accident; and to praise his name for so wonderful, and as it were miraculous, a preservation. The last Wednesday was kept by us to that end; and a mercy, in which the hand of God is so remarkably evident, may be well worthy to affect the hearts of all who hear it."

In 1738, the Narrative of Surprising Conversions was republished in Boston, with a Preface by four of the senior ministers of that town.

To it were prefixed five discourses, on the following subjects:

I. Justification by Faith alone. Rom. iv. 5.

II. Pressing into the kingdom of God. Luke xvi. 16.

III. Ruth's Resolution. Ruth i. 16.

IV. The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners. Rom. iii. 19.

V. The Excellency of Jesus Christ. Rev. v. 5, 6.

The first four of these discourses, were delivered during the Revival of Religion, and were published at the earnest desire of those to whom they were preached. In fixing on the particular discourses, necessary to make up the volume, he was guided by the choice of the people. "What has determined them in this choice," he observes, "is the experience of special benefit to their souls from *these discourses.* Their desire to have them in their hands, from the press, has been long manifested, and often expressed to

me; their earnestness in it is evident from this, that though it be a year to them of the greatest charge that ever has been, by reason of the expense of building a new meeting house, yet they chose rather to be at this additional expense now, though it be very considerable, than to have it delayed another year." In publishing the discourse on JUSTIFICATION, he was also influenced by the urgent request of several clergymen, who were present when a part of it was delivered, and whose opinion and advice he thought deserving of great respect. This discourse, though when first written of a much less size than as it is printed, was preached at two successive public lectures, in the latter part of 1734. It was at a time, when the minds of the people, in all that section of country, were very much agitated by a controversy on that very subject; when some were brought to doubt of that way of acceptance with God, which they had been taught from their infancy, was the only way; and when many were engaged in looking more thoroughly into the grounds of those doctrines, in which they had been educated; that this discourse seemed to be remarkably blessed, not only in establishing the judgments of men in this truth, but in engaging their hearts in a more earnest pursuit of justification, by faith in the righteousness of Christ. "*At that time*," says the author, "while I was greatly reproached for defending this doctrine in the pulpit, and just upon my suffering a very open abuse for it, God's work wonderfully broke forth among us, and souls began to flock to Christ, as the Saviour in whose righteousness alone they hoped to be justified. So that this was the doctrine, on which this work, in its beginning, was founded, as it evidently was in the whole progress of it." He regarded these facts as a remarkable testimony of God's approbation of the doctrine of justification by faith alone.

This discourse, which is really a Treatise of more than one hundred closely printed pages, exhibited the subject in a light so new, clear and convincing, and so effectually removed the difficulties with which, till then, it was supposed to be attended, that on its first publication it met a very welcome reception, and from that time to the present has been regarded as the common Text-book of students in Theology. It would not be easy to find another treatise on the same subject, equally able and conclusive.

There are individuals, who, having received their theological views from the straitest sect of a given class of theologians, regard the Sermon on "Pressing into the kingdom of God," as inconsistent with those principles of Moral Agency, which are established in the Treatise on the Freedom of the Will; and charitably impute the error to the imperfect views of the Author, at this period. While a member of college, however, Mr. Edwards, in investigating the subject of *Power*, as he was reading the Essay of Locke, came to the settled conclusion, that men have, *in the physical sense*, the power of repenting and turning to God. A farther examination

might perhaps evince, that the points in question are less consistent with some peculiar views of Theology, of a more modern date, than with any, logically deducible from the Treatise on the Will. The Sermon itself, like the rest, has uncommon ardour, unction and solemnity, and was one of the most useful which he delivered.

The Sermon on the Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners, in the language of the Text, literally *stops the mouth* of every reader, and compels him, as he stands before his Judge, to admit, if he does not feel, the justice of his sentence. I know not where to find, in any language, a discourse so well adapted to strip the impenitent sinner of every excuse, to convince him of his guilt, and to bring him low before the justice and holiness of God. According to the estimate of Mr. Edwards, it was far the most powerful and effectual of his discourses; and we scarcely know of any other sermon which has been favoured with equal success.

The Sermon on the Excellency of Christ, was selected by Mr. Edwards himself, partly because he had been importuned to publish it by individuals in another town, in whose hearing it was occasionally preached; and partly because he thought that a discourse on such an evangelical subject, would properly follow others that were chiefly awakening, and that something of the excellency of the *Saviour* was proper to succeed those things, that were to show the necessity of *salvation*. No one who reads it will hesitate to believe, that it was most happily selected. I have met with no sermon hitherto, so admirably adapted to the circumstances of a sinner, when, on the commencement of his repentance, he renounces every other object of trust, but the righteousness of Christ. Taking the whole volume, as thus printed: the Narrative and the Five Discourses: we suppose it to have been one of the most effectual, in promoting the work of salvation, which has hitherto issued from the press.

The sixth child, and eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards was born July 25, 1738, and after *his* father was baptized by the name of Timothy.

About this period, Mr. Joseph Bellamy, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Bellamy of Bethlem Connecticut, went to Northampton to pursue his theological studies under Mr. Edwards, and resided for a considerable period in his family. The very high respect, which he cherished for the eminent talents and piety of Mr. Edwards, and which drew him to Northampton, was reciprocated by the latter; and a friendship commenced between them, which terminated only with life.*

In the beginning of March, 1739, Mr. Edwards commenced a series of Sermons from Isaiah li. 8, "*For the moth shall eat them*

* Mr. Bellamy was settled at Bethlem in the spring of 1740, in the midst of a general attention to religion, on the part of the people of that place.

up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them like wool; but my righteousness shall be forever, and my salvation from generation to generation." The eight first were delivered during that month, the eight next in the two following months, and the whole series, thirty in all, was completed before the close of August. After explaining the text, he derives from it the following doctrine. "The Work of Redemption is a work, which God carries on from the fall of man to the end of the world." The subject was one in which Mr. Edwards felt the deepest interest; but he appears never to have repeated the Series of Discourses to his people. What his ultimate intentions were, we may learn, however, from the following extract of a letter, written by him many years afterwards: "I have had on my mind and heart, (which I long ago began, not with any view to publication,) a great work, which I call, *a History of the Work of Redemption*, a Body of Divinity in an entire new method, being thrown into the form of a History, considering the affair of Christian Theology, as the whole of it, in each part, stands in reference to the great Work of Redemption by Jesus Christ, which I suppose is to be the grand design of all God's designs, and the *summum* and *ultimum* of all God's operations and decrees, particularly considering all parts of the grand scheme in their historical order:—The order of their existence, or their being brought forth to view, in the course of divine dispensations, or the wonderful series of successive acts and events; beginning from eternity and descending from thence to the great work and successive dispensations of the infinitely wise God in time, considering the chief events coming to pass in the church of God, and revolutions in the world of mankind, affecting the state of the church and the affair of redemption, which we have an account of in history or prophecy, till at last we come to the general resurrection, last judgment and consummation of all things when it shall be said, *It is done*, I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and *the End:* concluding my work, with the consideration of that perfect state of things, which shall be finally settled to last for eternity.—This history will be carried on with regard to all three worlds,—heaven, earth and hell; considering the connected, successive events, and alterations in each, so far as the scriptures give any light; introducing all parts of divinity in that order, which is most scriptural and most natural; which is a method which appears to me the most beautiful and entertaining, wherein every doctrine will appear to the greatest advantage, in the brightest light, in the most striking manner, showing the admirable contexture and harmony of the whole."

From this it is obvious, that he long cherished the intention of re-writing and enlarging the work, and of turning it into a regular

Treatise; but this design he never accomplished. We shall have occasion to allude to this work hereafter.

The sixth daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, was born June 24, 1740, and named SUSANNAH.

The circumstances, which caused the remarkable attention to religion, which began in 1734, to decline, were chiefly local in their nature, and limited in their influence, either to Northampton, or to the County of Hampshire. The consequence was, that it continued to exist, in various sections of the country to the East, the South and the West, during the five following years. By the astonishing work of grace at Northampton, an impulse had been given to the churches of this whole western world, which could not soon be lost. The history of that event, having been extensively circulated, had produced a general conviction in the minds of christians, that the preaching of the gospel might be attended by effects, not less surprising, than those which followed it in Apostolic times. This conviction produced an important change in the views, and conduct, both of ministers and churches. The style of preaching was altered: it became, extensively, more direct and pungent, and more adapted to awaken the feelings and convince the conscience. The prayers of good men, both in public and private, indicated more intense desires for the prevalence of religion, and a stronger expectation that the word of God would be attended with an immediate blessing. As the natural result of such a change, revivals of religion were witnessed in numerous villages in New-Jersey, Connecticut and the eastern parts of New-England; and, even where this was not the case, Religion was so extensively and unusually the object of attention, during the period specified, that the church at large seemed preparing for events of a more interesting nature, than any that had yet been witnessed.

In consequence of the high reputation, which Mr. Edwards had acquired as a powerful and successful preacher, and as a safe and wise counsellor to the anxious and enquiring, he received frequent invitations from churches, near and more remote, to come and labour among them for a little period; and with the consent of his people, (his own pulpit always being supplied,) he often went forth on these missionary tours, and found an ample reward in the abundant success which crowned his labours. In this, his example was soon followed by several distinguished clergymen in Connecticut and New-Jersey. In one of these excursions, he spent some little time at Enfield in Connecticut, where he preached, on the 8th of July, 1741, the well known sermon, entitled, SINNERS IN THE HANDS OF AN ANGRY GOD, from Deut. xxxii. 35; which was

the cause of an immediate and general Revival of religion throughout the place. It was soon afterwards published.

On the 2d of September following, he preached the Sermon, entitled, "The Sorrows of the bereaved spread before Jesus," at the funeral of his uncle, the Rev. William Williams of Hatfield, a gentleman highly respected for his sound understanding, piety, and faithfulness as a minister. This sermon was immediately afterwards published.

CHAPTER XII.

Commencement of a second Great Revival of Religion, in the Spring and Summer of 1740.—*Visit of Mr. Whitefield at Northampton.—Impulses.—Judging of the Religious Character of others.—Letter to Mr. Wheelock.—Great effects of a Private Lecture of Mr. E.—Letter to his Daughter.—Letter to a young Lady in Connecticut.—Lay Preaching.—Letter of Rev. G. Tennent.—Sermon at New-Haven.—Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God.—Prefaces by Mr. Cooper and Mr. Willison.—Mr. Samuel Hopkins.*

While Mr. Edwards was thus occasionally serving his Divine Master abroad, he found, also, that his labours at home began to be attended with similar success. A great reformation in morals, as well as religion, had been the consequence of the preceding Revival of religion. Associations for prayer and social religion, had been regularly kept up, and a few instances of awakening and conversion had all along been known, even at the season of the greatest stupidity. In the Spring of 1740, there was a perceptible alteration for the better; and the influence of the Spirit of God was most obvious on the minds of the people, particularly on those of the young, in causing greater seriousness and solemnity, and in prompting them to make religion far more generally the subject of conversation. Improprieties of conduct, too often allowed, were more generally avoided; greater numbers resorted to Mr. Edwards to converse with him respecting their salvation; and, in particular individuals, there appeared satisfactory evidence of an entire change of character. This state of things continued through the summer and autumn.

On the evening of Thursday, the 16th of October, 1740, Mr. Whitefield came to Northampton to see Mr. Edwards, and to converse with him respecting the work of God in 1735, and remained there until the morning of the 20th. In this interval, he preached five sermons, adapted to the circumstances of the town, reproving the backslidings of some, the obstinate impenitence of others, and summoning all, by the mercies with which the town had been distinguished, to return to God. His visit was followed by an awakening among professors of religion, and soon afterwards by a deep concern among the young, and there were some instances of hopeful conversion. This increased during the winter; and in the spring of 1741 Religion became the object of general attention.

On Monday, Mr. Edwards, with the Rev. Mr. Hopkins of West Springfield, his brother-in-law, and several other gentlemen, accompanied Mr. Whitefield on the east side of the river as far as East Windsor, to the house of his father, the Rev. Timothy Edwards. While they were thus together, he took an opportunity to converse with Mr. Whitefield alone, at some length, on the subject of *Impulses*, and assigned the reasons which he had to think, that he gave too much heed to such things. Mr. Whitefield received it kindly, but did not seem inclined to have much conversation on the subject, and in the time of it, did not appear convinced by any thing which he heard. He also took occasion, in the presence of others, to converse with Mr. Whitefield at some length, about his too customary practice of *judging other persons to be unconverted;* examined the scriptural warrant for such judgments, and expressed his own decided disapprobation of the practice. Mr. Whitefield, at the same time, mentioned to Mr. Edwards his design of bringing over a number of young men from England, into New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, to be ordained by the two Mr. Tennents. Their whole interview was an exceedingly kind and affectionate one; yet Mr. Edwards supposed, that Mr. Whitefield regarded him somewhat less, as an intimate and confidential friend, than he would have done, had he not opposed him in two favourite points of his own practice, for which no one can be at a loss to perceive, that he could find no scriptural justification. Each however regarded the other, with great affection and esteem, as a highly favoured servant of God; and Mr. Edwards, as we shall soon see, speaks of Mr. Whitefield's visit to Northampton, in terms of the warmest approbation.

In the month of May, a private Lecture of Mr. Edwards's was attended with very powerful effects on the audience, and ultimately upon the young of both sexes, and on children, throughout the town; and during the summer, and the early part of the autumn, there was a glorious progress in the work of God on the hearts of sinners, in conviction and conversion, and great numbers appeared to become the real disciples of Christ.

Among the clergy, who at this period occasionally left their own congregations, and went forth as labourers into the common field to gather in the harvest, one of those, who were most distinguished for their activity and success, was the Rev. Mr. Wheelock, of Lebanon, afterwards the President of Dartmouth College. In the following letter from Mr. Edwards to this gentleman, he urges him to visit Scantic, a feeble settlement in the northern part of his father's parish: the inhabitants of which were too remote to attend public worship regularly at East-Windsor, and yet too few and feeble to maintain it themselves.

"*Northampton, June* 9, 1741.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"The special occasion of my now writing to you, is a desire I have of two things; one is, that you and your brother Pomeroy would go to Scantic, in my father's parish, and preach there, as often as the people will be willing to hear you, and continue so doing, as long as the concerns of your own parishes will allow of your being absent. You know the wretched circumstances of that society; and, if ever they are healed, I believe it must be by a reviving and prevailing of true religion among them. By all that I can understand, they are wholly dead, in this extraordinary day of God's gracious visitation. You have lately been so remarkably blessed elsewhere, that I cannot but hope you would have success there also. I have written to my father, to inform him, that I have desired this of you.

"Another thing that I desire of you is, that you would come up hither and help us, both you and Mr. Pomeroy. There has been a reviving of religion among us of late: but your labours have been much more remarkably blessed than mine. Other ministers, I have heard, have shut up their pulpits against you; but here I engage you shall find one open. May God send you hither, with the like blessing as he has sent you to some other places; and may your coming be a means to humble me, for my barrenness and unprofitableness, and a means of my instruction and enlivening. I want an opportunity to concert measures with you, for the advancement of the kingdom and glory of our Redeemer. Please to communicate what I write to Mr. Pomeroy, and give my service to him. I desire the prayers of you both, that God will give me more of that holy spirit, and happy success, with which you are replenished.

"I am Dear Sir, your unworthy brother and fellow labourer,

Jonathan Edwards."

As very few of Mr. Edwards's letters to his own family are preserved, it is proper to give those few to the reader, even when they are not otherwise interesting, in order to exhibit his true character, as an affectionate and faithful christian father. The following was addressed to his eldest daughter, in her thirteenth year, while residing with her aunt, Mrs. Huntington, at Lebanon.

"To Miss Sarah Edwards, Lebanon.

"*Northampton, June 25th,* 1741.

"My dear Child,

"Your mother has received two letters from you, since you went away. We rejoice to hear of your welfare, and of the flourishing state of religion in Lebanon. I hope you will well improve the great

advantage, God is thereby putting into your hands, for the good of your own soul. You have very weak and infirm health, and I am afraid are always like to have; and it may be, are not to be long-lived; and while you do live, are not like to enjoy so much of the comforts of this life, as others do, by reason of your want of health; and therefore, if you have no better portion, will be miserable indeed. But, if your soul prospers, you will be a happy, blessed person, whatever becomes of your body. I wish you much of the presence of Christ, and of communion with him, and that you might live so as to give him honour, in the place where you are, by an amiable behaviour towards all.

"Your mother would have you go on with your work, if you can, and she would be glad if your aunt would set you to work something of hers, though you do but little in a day. She would have you send word by Mr. Wheelock, who I suppose will come up the next week, or the week after, whether you are well enough to make lace: if you are, she will send you a lace and bobbins.

"The flourishing of religion in this town, and in these parts of the country, has rather increased since you went away. Your mother joins with me in giving her love to you, and to your uncle and aunt. Your sisters give their love to you, and their duty to them. The whole family is glad, when we hear from you. Recommending you to the continual care and mercy of heaven, I remain your loving father,

JONATHAN EDWARDS."

Some time in the course of the year, a young lady, residing at S——, in Connecticut, who had lately made a public profession of religion, requested Mr. Edwards to give her some advice, as to the best manner of maintaining a religious life. In reply, he addressed to her the following letter; which will be found eminently useful, to all persons just entering on the christian course.

Letter addressed to a Young Lady at S——, Conn. in the year 1741.

"MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

As you desired me to send you, in writing, some directions how to conduct yourself in your christian course, I would now answer your request. The sweet remembrance of the great things I have lately seen at S——, inclines me to do any thing in my power, to contribute to the spiritual joy and prosperity of God's people there.

1. I would advise you to keep up as great a strife and earnestness in religion, as if you knew yourself to be in a state of nature, and were seeking conversion. We advise persons under conviction, to be earnest and violent for the kingdom of Heaven; but when they have attained to conversion, they ought not to be the less watchful, laborious, and earnest, in the whole work of religion,

but the more so; for they are under infinitely greater obligations. For want of this, many persons, in a few months after their conversion, have begun to lose their sweet and lively sense of spiritual things, and to grow cold and dark, and have "pierced themselves through with many sorrows;" whereas, if they had done as the Apostle did, (Phil. iii. 12—14,) their path would have been "as the shining light, that shines more and more unto the perfect day."

2. Do not leave off seeking, striving, and praying for the very same things that we exhort unconverted persons to strive for, and a degree of which you have had already in conversion. Pray that your eyes may be opened, that you may receive sight, that you may know yourself, and be brought to God's footstool, and that you may see the glory of God and Christ, and may be raised from the dead, and have the love of Christ shed abroad in your heart. Those who have most of these things, have need still to pray for them; for there is so much blindness and hardness, pride and death remaining, that they still need to have that work of God wrought upon them, further to enlighten and enliven them, that shall be bringing them out of darkness into God's marvellous light, and be a kind of new conversion and resurrection from the dead. There are very few requests that are proper for an impenitent man, that are not also, in some sense, proper for the godly.

3. When you hear a sermon, hear for yourself. Though what is spoken may be more especially directed to the unconverted, or to those that, in other respects, are in different circumstances from yourself; yet, let the chief intent of your mind be to consider, "In what respect is this applicable to me? and what improvement ought I to make of this, for my own soul's good?"

4. Though God has forgiven and forgotten your past sins, yet do not forget them yourself: often remember, what a wretched bond-slave you were in the land of Egypt. Often bring to mind your particular acts of sin before conversion; as the blessed Apostle Paul is often mentioning his old blaspheming, persecuting spirit, and his injuriousness to the renewed; humbling his heart, and acknowledging that he was "the least of the Apostles," and not worthy "to be called an apostle," and the "least of all saints," and the "chief of sinners;" and be often confessing your old sins to God, and let that text be often in your mind, (Ezek. xvi. 63,) "that thou mayest remember and be confounded, and never open thy mouth any more, because of thy shame, when I am pacified toward thee for all that thou hast done, saith the Lord God."

5. Remember, that you have more cause, on some accounts, a thousand times, to lament and humble yourself for sins that have been committed since conversion, than before, because of the infinitely greater obligations that are upon you to live to God, and to look upon the faithfulness of Christ, in unchangeably continuing his

loving-kindness, notwithstanding all your great unworthiness since your conversion.

6. Be always greatly abased for your remaining sin, and never think that you lie low enough for it; but yet be not discouraged or disheartened by it; for, though we are exceeding sinful, yet we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; the preciousness of whose blood, the merit of whose righteousness, and the greatness of whose love and faithfulness, infinitely overtop the highest mountains of our sins.

7. When you engage in the duty of prayer, or come to the Lord's Supper, or attend any other duty of Divine worship, come to Christ as Mary Magdalen* did; (Luke vii. 37, 38;) come, and cast yourself at his feet, and kiss them, and pour forth upon him the sweet perfumed ointment of Divine love, out of a pure and broken heart, as she poured the precious ointment out of her pure broken alabaster box.

8. Remember, that pride is the worst viper that is in the heart, the greatest disturber of the soul's peace, and of sweet communion with Christ: it was the first sin committed, and lies lowest in the foundation of Satan's whole building, and is with the greatest difficulty rooted out, and is the most hidden, secret, and deceitful of all lusts, and often creeps insensibly into the midst of religion; even, sometimes, under the disguise of humility itself.

9. That you may pass a correct judgment concerning yourself, always look upon those as the best discoveries, and the best comforts, that have most of these two effects: those that make you least and lowest, and most like a child; and those that most engage and fix your heart, in a full and firm disposition to deny yourself for God, and to spend and be spent for him.

10. If at any time you fall into doubts about the state of your soul, in dark and dull frames of mind, it is proper to review your past experience; but do not consume too much time and strength in this way: rather apply yourself, with all your might, to an earnest pursuit after renewed experience, new light, and new lively acts of faith and love. One new discovery of the Glory of Christ's face, will do more toward scattering clouds of darkness in one minute, than examining old experience, by the best marks that can be given, through a whole year.

11. When the exercise of grace is low, and corruption prevails, and by that means fear prevails; do not desire to have fear cast out any other way, than by the reviving and prevailing of love in the heart: by this, fear will be effectually expelled, as darkness in a room vanishes away, when the pleasant beams of the sun are let into it.

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*This is a very common mistake. The woman here mentioned was not Mary Magdalen.

12. When you counsel and warn others, do it earnestly, and affectionately, and thoroughly; and when you are speaking to your equals, let your warnings be intermixed with expressions of your sense of your own unworthiness, and of the sovereign grace that makes you differ.

13. If you would set up religious meetings of young women by yourselves, to be attended once in a while, besides the other meetings that you attend, I should think it would be very proper and profitable.

14. Under special difficulties, or when in great need of, or great longings after, any particular mercy, for yourself or others, set apart a day for secret prayer and fasting by yourself alone; and let the day be spent, not only in petitions for the mercies you desire, but in searching your heart, and in looking over your past life, and confessing your sins before God, not as is wont to be done in public prayer, but by a very particular rehearsal, before God, of the sins of your past life, from your childhood hitherto, before and after conversion, with the circumstances and aggravations attending them, spreading all the abominations of your heart, very particularly, and fully as possible, before him.

15. Do not let the adversaries of the cross have occasion to reproach religion on your account. How holily should the children of God, the redeemed and the beloved of the Son of God, behave themselves. Therefore, "walk as children of the light, and of the day," and "adorn the doctrine of God your Saviour;" and especially, abound in what are called the Christian virtues, and make you like the Lamb of God: be meek and lowly of heart, and full of pure, heavenly and humble, love to all; abound in deeds of love to others, and self-denial for others; and let there be in you a disposition to account others better than yourself.

16. In all your course, walk with God, and follow Christ, as a little, poor, helpless child, taking hold of Christ's hand, keeping your eye on the marks of the wounds in his hands and side, whence came the blood that cleanses you from sin, and hiding your nakedness under the skirt of the white shining robes of his righteousness.

17. Pray much for the Ministers and the Church of God; especially, that he would carry on his glorious work which he has now begun, till the world shall be full of his glory."

About this period, a considerable number of lay members of the church began, in various parts of New England, to hold religious meetings, and to preach and exhort in the manner of clergymen. They were usually men of worth, and desirous of doing good; but having much zeal, and little knowledge, and often but little discretion, the church, at that period, had certainly very little reason to rejoice in their labours. The following letter of the Rev. Gilbert

Tennent, written probably in the autumn of 1741, explains his own views on this subject.*

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"I rejoice to hear that my poor labours have been of any service to any in New England. All glory be to the great and glorious God, when out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, he is pleased sometimes to ordain praise. I rejoice to hear of the progress of God's work among you, this last summer, and that there are any appearances of its continuance: Blessed be God, dear Brother! As to the subject you mention, of *laymen being sent out to exhort and to teach*, supposing them to be real converts, I cannot but think, if it be encouraged and continued, it will be of dreadful consequence to the church's peace and soundness in the faith. I will not gainsay but that private persons may be of service to the church of God by private, humble, fraternal reproof, and exhortations; and no doubt it is their duty to be faithful in these things. But in the mean time if christian prudence and humility do not attend their essays, they are like to be prejudicial to the church's real well-being. But for ignorant young converts to take upon them authoritatively to instruct and exhort publicly, tends to introduce the greatest errors and the grossest anarchy and confusion. The ministers of Christ should be apt to teach and able to convince gainsayers, and it is dangerous to the pure church of God, when those are novices, whose lips should preserve knowledge. It is base presumption, whatever zeal be pretended to, notwithstanding, for any persons to take this honour to themselves, unless they be called of God as Aaron. I know most young zealots are apt, through ignorance, inconsideration and pride of heart, to undertake what they have no proper qualifications for: and, through their imprudences and enthusiasm, the church of God suffers. I think all that fear God, should rise up and crush the enthusiastic creature in the egg. Dear Brother, the times we live in are dangerous. The Churches in America and elsewhere are in great hazard of enthusiasm: we have need to think of the maxim, *principiis obsta.* May Zion's King protect his Church! I add no more, but love, and beg a remembrance in your prayers.

"Gilbert Tennent."

In the September following, Mr. Edwards attended the public commencement at New Haven, and on the 10th of that month preached his celebrated Sermon entitled, "Distinguishing Marks

* The superscription and date are gone from the MS. but having Mr. Edward's hand-writing on the back, I suppose the letter to have been written to him.

of a Work of the Spirit of God," which, in consequence of a general request from the clergy, and other gentlemen attending the commencement, was published soon after, at Boston, accompanied with a Preface from the Rev. Mr. Cooper; and in Scotland the ensuing year, with a Preface from the Rev. Mr. Willison. This Sermon, by exhibiting the distinguishing marks between an imaginary, and a real, work of the Spirit of God, and by applying those marks to the work of grace then begun, and rapidly spreading throughout the Northern and Middle Colonies, became an unanswerable defence, not only of that, but of all genuine Revivals of religion. It was indeed the object of immediate and reiterated attacks from the press; but, being built on the foundation of the Apostles and the Prophets, it stands sure, while those attacks, and their authors are forgotten. It exhibits the scriptural evidences of a genuine Revival of religion, in much the same manner, as his subsequent Treatise on Religious Affections, does those of a genuine Conversion. Mr. Cooper thus introduces it to the christians of New England:

"If any are disposed to receive conviction, have a mind open to light, and are really willing to know of the present Work, whether it be of God; it is with great satisfaction and pleasure I can recommend to them the following sheets, in which they will find the "distinguishing marks" of such a Work, as they are to be found in the Holy Scriptures, applied to the uncommon operation that has been on the minds of many in this land. Here the matter is tried by the infallible touchstone of the Holy Scriptures, and is weighed in the balance of the Sanctuary with great judgment and impartiality.

"A performance of this kind is seasonable and necessary; and I desire heartily to bless God, who inclined this, his servant, to undertake it, and has greatly assisted him in it. The Reverend Author is known to be "a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven;" the place where he has been called to exercise his ministry, has been famous for experimental religion; and he has had opportunities to observe this work in many places where it has powerfully appeared, and to converse with numbers that have been the subjects of it. These things qualify him for this undertaking, above most. His arguments in favour of the Work, are strongly drawn from Scripture, Reason and Experience: And I shall believe every candid, judicious reader will say, he writes very free from an enthusiastic or a party spirit. The use of human learning is asserted; a methodical way of preaching, the fruit of study as well as prayer, is recommended; and the exercise of charity, in judging others, pressed and urged: And those things, which are esteemed the blemishes, and are like to be the hindrances, of the work, are with great faithfulness cautioned and warned against.—Many, I believe,

will be thankful for this publication. Those, who have already entertained favourable thoughts of this work, will be confirmed by it; and the doubting may be convinced and satisfied. But if there be any, after all, who cannot see the signatures of a divine hand on the work, it is to be hoped they will be prevailed on to spare their censures, and stop their oppositions, lest "haply they should be found to fight against God."—I will only add my prayer, That the worthy Author of this discourse, may long be continued a burning and a shining light, in the golden candlestick where Christ has placed him, and from thence diffuse his light throughout these Provinces! That the Divine Spirit, whose cause is here espoused, would accompany this, and the other valuable publications of his servant, with his powerful influences; that they may promote the Redeemer's interests, serve the ends of vital religion, and so add to the Author's present joy and future crown!"

The following is the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Willison, to the churches of Scotland. "The ensuing Treatise, by the Rev. Mr. Edwards, of Northampton, in New England, concerning the work and operation of the Holy Spirit on men's consciences, is, in my humble opinion, a most excellent, solid, judicious and scriptural, performance; which, I hope through the Divine blessing, will prove most useful to the Church, for discerning a true and real work of the Spirit of God, and for guarding against delusions and mistakes. It is certainly a great mercy to the church, that this subject hath been undertaken and handled by such an experienced, well furnished scribe, that hath been long acquainted with the Spirit of God's dealings with the souls of men, in his own congregation, and the country where he lives. And seeing the extraordinary work there at present, though several thousand miles distant from Scotland, is of the same kind with that at Cambuslang and other places about, and meets with the same opposition; the Author doth, with great judgment, answer the common objections which are made against the work, both here and there, so that scarce any thing further needs be added. He warns people very warmly, against opposing or reproaching the work of the Holy Spirit. He being the Third Person of the glorious Trinity, and God equal with the Father and the Son, and the great applier of the redemption purchased for us; it becomes all men highly to honour him and his work, and to look upon it as highly dangerous to speak a word against him, according to Matt. xii. 32.—I shall add no more but my fervent prayers to God, to bless both the Author and his discourse, and that he would pour out his Spirit yet more abundantly, both on America and all the British dominions; and that he would hasten the glory of the latter days, when the Jews shall be brought in with the fulness of the Gentiles, and that all the kingdoms of

the world may become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ, that he may reign forever and ever! Amen and Amen."

It was during this visit to New-Haven, that Mr. Hopkins,* then about to receive the degree of A. B. at Yale College, first saw Mr. Edwards. He soon after became his pupil, and continued his intimate friend through life, and was ultimately his biographer. The impression made on his mind, may be gathered from the following account of the subject, in the Memoirs of his own life. "When I heard Mr. Tennent," [the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, who had preached often at New-Haven in the preceding March,] "I thought he was the greatest and best man, and the best preacher, that I had ever seen or heard. His words were to me, "like apples of gold in pictures of silver." And I thought that, when I should leave the College, as I was then in my last year, I would go and live with him, wherever I should find him. But just before the Commencement in September, when I was to take my degree, on the seventeenth day of which month I was twenty years old, Mr. Edwards, of Northampton, came to New-Haven, and preached. He then preached the Sermon on *The Trial of the Spirits*, which was afterwards printed. I had before read his Sermons on Justification, etc., and his Narrative of Remarkable Conversions at Northampton, which took place about seven years before this. Though I then did not obtain any personal acquaintance with him, any farther than by hearing him preach: yet I conceived such an esteem of him, and was so pleased with his preaching, that I altered my former determination with respect to Mr. Tennent, and concluded to go and live with Mr. Edwards, as soon as I should have opportunity, though he lived about eighty miles from my father's house."

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*Afterwards the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D. of Newport, author of the System of Divinity.

CHAPTER XIII.

Temporary Abatement of Religious Attention.—Letter to Mr. Bellamy.—Missionary Tour.—Success at Liecester.—Mr. Hopkins becomes a member of his family.—Mr. Buell's successful labours at Northampton.—Mr. Edwards's Narrative of the Revival at Northampton, in 1740, '41, '42.—*Covenant entered into by the Church.*

For about three months, or from November to January, there was an obvious abatement in the attention to Religion at Northampton; and although there were instances of conversion from time to time through the winter, yet they were less frequent than before. Mr. Edwards alludes to this fact, in the following letter to Mr. Bellamy, of Bethlem.

"*Northampton, Jan.* 21, 1742.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"I received yours of Jan. 11, for which I thank you. Religion, in this and the neighbouring towns, has now of late been on the decaying hand. I desire your prayers, that God would quicken and revive us again; and particularly, that he would greatly humble, and pardon, and quicken me, and fill me with his own fulness; and, if it may consist with his will, improve me as an instrument to revive his work. There has been, the year past, the most wonderful work among children here, by far, that ever was. God has seemed almost wholly to take a new generation, that are come on since the late great work, seven years ago.—Neither earth nor hell can hinder his work, that is going on in the country. Christ gloriously triumphs at this day. You have probably before now, heard of the great and wonderful things that have lately been wrought at Portsmouth, the chief town in New-Hampshire. There are also appearing great things at Ipswich and Newbury, the two largest towns in this province, except Boston, and several other towns beyond Boston, and some towns nearer. By what I can understand, the work of God is greater at this day in the land, than it has been at any time. O what cause have we, with exulting hearts, to agree to give glory to him, who thus rides forth in the chariot of his salvation, conquering and to conquer; and earnestly to pray, that now the Sun of Righteousness would come forth like a bridegroom, rejoicing as a giant, to run his race from one end of the heavens to the other, that nothing may be hid from the light and heat thereof.

"It is not probable that I shall be able to attend your meeting at Guilford. I have lately been so much gone from my people, and don't know but I must be obliged to leave 'em again next week about a fortnight, being called to Liecester, a town about half way to Boston, where a great work of grace has lately commenced; and probably soon after that to another place; and having at this time some extraordinary affairs to attend to at home. I pray that Christ, our good Shepherd, will be with you, and direct you, and greatly strengthen and bless you.

"Dear Sir, I have none of those books you speak of, to sell. I have only a few, that I intend to send to some of my friends. I have already sent you one of my New-Haven Sermons, by Mr. ——. Nevertheless, I have herewith sent another, which I desire you to give to Mr. Mills. if he has none; but if he has, dispose of it where you think it will do most good. I have also sent one of those Sermons I preached at Enfield; as to the other, I have but one of them in the world.

"I am, dear Sir, your affectionate and unworthy brother, and fellow labourer,

JONATHAN EDWARDS."

The absence from his people, alluded to in the preceding letter, occurred in consequence of a missionary tour of some length, in the two preceding months; during which he visited various places, to which he had been invited, in consequence of an unusual attention to religion there, among the people. His own congregation, readily admitting that, at such a time, there was a louder call for his services in those places, than in Northampton, consented, in the true spirit of christian benevolence, that he should listen to these calls of Providence, and go forth into other fields of labour. In so doing, they soon found a fulfilment of the promise, that *he, who watereth, shall be watered himself.* On Monday the 25th of January, Mr. Edwards set out for Liecester, and remained there several weeks, preaching with remarkable success. The revival of religion almost immediately pervaded the whole congregation, and great numbers were believed to be the subjects of hopeful conversion. On Wednesday, January 27th, Mr. Buell, a class mate of Mr. Hopkins, who, though he left College in the September preceding, had already been preaching some time, and had gained the reputation of an uncommonly engaged and animated preacher, came to Northampton, to preach during the absence of Mr. Edwards. Immediately the work of grace, which had for a season declined, was again carried on with even greater power than before. A high degree of religious feeling was excited in the church; a solemn, anxious attention to the salvation of the soul, was witnessed extensively among the congregation; and, soon after the

return of Mr. Edwards, the work of conviction and conversion again went forward, with renewed success.

Mr. Hopkins alludes to these events, in his own Narrative. "In the month of December," he observes, "being furnished with a horse, I set out for Northampton, with a view to live with Mr. Edwards, where I was an utter stranger. When I arrived there, Mr. Edwards was not at home; but I was received with great kindness by Mrs. Edwards and the family, and had encouragement that I might live there during the winter. Mr. Edwards was absent on a preaching tour, as people in general were greatly attentive to religion and preaching, which was attended with remarkable effects, in the conviction and supposed conversion of multitudes. I was very gloomy, and was most of the time retired in my chamber. After some days, Mrs. Edwards came into my chamber, and said, "As I was now become a member of the family for a season, she felt herself interested in my welfare; and, as she observed that I appeared gloomy and dejected, she hoped I would not think she intruded, by her desiring to know, and asking me what was the occasion of it, or to that purpose. I told her the freedom she used was agreeable to me; that the occasion of the appearance which she mentioned, was the state in which I considered myself. I was in a christless, graceless state, and had been under a degree of conviction and concern for myself, for a number of months; had got no relief, and my case, instead of growing better, appeared to grow worse. Upon which we entered into a free conversation; and on the whole she told me, that she had peculiar exercises in prayer respecting me, since I had been in the family; that she trusted I should receive light and comfort, and doubted not that God intended yet to do great things by me.

"Religion was now at a lower ebb at Northampton, than it had been of late, and than it appeared to be in the neighbouring towns, and in New England in general. In the month of January, Mr. Buell, my class-mate, came to Northampton, having commenced a zealous preacher of the gospel; and was the means of greatly reviving the people to zeal in religion. He preached every day, and sometimes twice a day, publicly, Mr. Edwards being out of town, preaching in distant towns. Professing christians appeared greatly revived and comforted; and a number were under conviction; and I think there were some hopeful new converts. After Mr. Buell had been in Northampton a week or two, he set out on a tour towards Boston."*

Having thus alluded to the religious state of Northampton at this

* Mr. Hopkins continued to pursue his studies with Mr. Edwards, until the next autumn, and again for a short period in the spring, after which he was settled at *Housatonnuck*, then a part of Stockbridge, now called Great Barrington.

period, so far as was necessary to exhibit the order and connexion of events; we now proceed to give Mr. Edwards' own account of the Revival of Religion in that town, in 1740, 41 and 42, as communicated in a letter to a clergyman of Boston.

"*Northampton, Dec.* 12, 1743.

"Rev and dear Sir,

"Ever since the great work of God, that was wrought here about nine years ago, there has been a great and abiding alteration in this town, in many respects. There has been vastly more religion kept up in the town, among all sorts of persons, in religious exercises, and in common conversation; there has been a great alteration among the youth of the town, with respect to revelry, frolicking, profane and licentious conversation, and lewd songs; and there has also been a great alteration, amongst both old and young, with regard to tavern-haunting. I suppose the town has been in no measure, so free of vice in these respects, for any long time together for sixty years, as it has been these nine years past. There has also been an evident alteration, with respect to a charitable spirit to the poor: though I think with regard to this, we in this town, as well as the land in general, come far short of gospel rules. And though after that great work nine years ago, there has been a very lamentable decay of religious affections, and the engagedness of people's spirit in religion; yet many societies for prayer and social worship, were all along kept up, and there were some few instances of awakening, and deep concern about the things of another world, even in the most dead time.

"In the year 1740, in the spring, before Mr. Whitefield came to this town, there was a visible alteration: there was more seriousness and religious conversation; especially among young people: those things that were of ill tendency among them, were foreborne; and it was a very frequent thing for persons to consult their minister upon the salvation of their souls; and in some particular persons, there appeared a great attention, about that time. And thus it continued, until Mr. Whitefield came to town, which was about the middle of October following: he preached here four sermons in the meeting-house, (besides a private lecture at my house,) one on Friday, another on Saturday, and two upon the Sabbath. The congregation was extraordinarily melted by every sermon; almost the whole assembly being in tears for a great part of sermon time. Mr. Whitefield's sermons were suitable to the circumstances of the town; containing a just reproof of our backslidings, and in a most moving and affecting manner, making use of our great professions, and great mercies, as arguments with us to return to God, from whom we had departed. Immediately after this, the minds

of the people in general appeared more engaged in religion, shewing a greater forwardness to make religion the subject of their conversation, and to meet frequently for religious purposes, and to embrace all opportunities to hear the word preached. The revival at first, appeared chiefly among professors, and those that had entertained hope that they were in a state of salvation, to whom Mr. Whitefield chiefly addressed himself; but in a very short time, there appeared an awakening and deep concern among some young persons, that looked upon themselves in a christless state; and there were some hopeful appearances of conversion, and some professors were greatly revived. In about a month or six weeks, there was a great attention in the town, both as to the revival of professors and the awakening of others. By the middle of December, a considerable work of God appeared among those that were very young; and the revival of religion continued to increase, so that in the spring an engagedness of spirit, about the things of religion, was become very general amongst young people and children, and religious subjects almost wholly took up their conversation, when they were together.

"In the month of May, 1741, a sermon was preached to a company, at a private house: Near the conclusion of the discourse, one or two persons, that were professors, were so greatly affected with a sense of the greatness and glory of divine things, and the infinite importance of the things of eternity, that they were not able to conceal it—the affection of their minds overcoming their strength, and having a very visible effect upon their bodies. When the exercises were over, the young people that were present, removed into the other room for religious conference; and particularly that they might have opportunity to enquire of those, that were thus affected, what apprehensions they had: and what things they were, that thus deeply impressed their minds; and there soon appeared a very great effect of their conversation; the affection was quickly propagated throughout the room; many of the young people and children, that were professors, appeared to be overcome with a sense of the greatness and glory of divine things, and with admiration, love, joy, and praise, and compassion to others, that looked upon themselves as in a state of nature; and many others at the same time were overcome with distress, about their sinful and miserable estate and condition; so that the whole room was full of nothing but outcries, faintings, and the like. Others soon heard of it in several parts of the town, and came to them; and what they saw and heard there, was greatly affecting to them, so that many of them were overpowered in like manner, and it continued thus for some hours; the time being spent in prayer, singing, counselling and conferring. There seemed to be a consequent happy effect of that meeting, to several particular persons, and on the state of religion in the town in general. After this, were meetings from

time to time, attended with like appearances. But a little after it, at the conclusion of the public exercises on the Sabbath, I appointed the children that were under seventeen years of age, to go from the meeting-house to a neighbouring house, that I might there further enforce what they had heard in public, and might give in some counsels proper for their age. The children were there very generally and greatly affected with the warnings and counsels that were given them, and many exceedingly overcome; and the room was filled with cries; and when they were dismissed, they almost all of them went home crying aloud through the streets, to all parts of the town. The like appearances attended several such meetings of children, that were appointed. But their affections appeared by what followed, to be of a very different nature: in many, they appeared indeed but childish affections, and in a day or two would leave them as they were before: others were deeply impressed; their convictions took fast hold of them, and abode by them: and there were some that, from one meeting to another, seemed extraordinarily affected for some time, to but little purpose, their affections presently vanishing from time to time; but yet afterwards, were seized with abiding convictions, and their affections became durable.

"About the middle of the summer, I called together the young people that were communicants, from sixteen to twenty-six years of age, to my house; which proved to be a most happy meeting: many seemed to be very greatly and most agreeably affected with those views, which excited humility, self-condemnation, self-abhorrence, love and joy: many fainted under these affections. We had several meetings that summer, of young people, attended with like appearances. It was about that time, that there first began to be cryings out in the meeting house; which several times occasioned many of the congregation to stay in the house after the public exercises were over, to confer with those who seemed to be overcome with religious convictions and affections, which was found to tend much to the propagation of their impressions, with lasting effect upon many; conference being, at these times, commonly joined with prayer and singing. In the summer and autumn, the children in various parts of the town, had religious meetings by themselves, for prayer, sometimes joined with fasting; wherein many of them seemed to be greatly and properly affected, and I hope some of them savingly wrought upon.

"The months of August and September, were the most remarkable of any this year, for appearances of the conviction and conversion of sinners, and great revivings, quickenings, and comforts of professors, and for extraordinary external effects of these things. It was a very frequent thing, to see an house full of out-cries, faintings, convulsions, and such like, both with distress, and also with admiration and joy. It was not the manner here, to hold meetings all

night, as in some places, nor was it common to continue them till very late in the night: but it was pretty often so, that there were some that were so affected, and their bodies so overcome, that they could not go home, but were obliged to stay all night where they were. There was no difference, that I know of here, with regard to these extraordinary effects, in meetings in the night and in the day time: the meetings in which these effects appeared in the evening, being commonly begun, and their extraordinary effects, in the day, and continued in the evening; and some meetings have been very remarkable for such extraordinary effects, that were both begun and finished in the day time. There was an appearance of a glorious progress of the work of God upon the hearts of sinners, in conviction and conversion, this summer and autumn, and great numbers, I think we have reason to hope, were brought savingly home to Christ. But this was remarkable: the work of God in his influences of this nature, seemed to be almost wholly upon a new generation—those that were not come to years of discretion in that wonderful season, nine years ago, children, or those that were then children: Others, who had enjoyed that former glorious opportunity, without any appearance of saving benefit, seemed now to be almost wholly passed over and let alone. But now we had the most wonderful work among children, that ever was in Northampton. The former outpouring of the Spirit, was remarkable for influences upon the minds of children, beyond all that had ever been before; but this far exceeded that. Indeed, as to influences on the minds of professors, this work was by no means confined to a new generation. Many, of all ages, partook of it: but yet in this respect, it was more general on those that were of the young sort. Many, who had been formerly wrought upon, and in the time of our declension had fallen into decays, and had in a great measure left God, and gone after the world, now passed under a very remarkable new work of the Spirit of God, as if they had been the subjects of a second conversion. They were first led into the wilderness, and had a work of conviction; having much deeper convictions of the sins of both nature and practice, than ever before; though with some new circumstances, and something new in the kind of conviction in some, with great distress, beyond what they had felt before their first conversion. Under these convictions, they were excited to strive for salvation, and the kingdom of heaven suffered violence from some of them, in a far more remarkable manner than before; and after great convictions and humblings, and agonizing with God, they had Christ discovered to them anew, as an all sufficient Saviour, and in the glories of his grace, and in a far more clear manner than before; and with greater humility, self-emptiness and brokenness of heart, and a purer, a higher joy, and greater desires after holiness of life; but with greater self-diffidence and distrust of their treacherous hearts. One circumstance,

wherein this work differed from that, which had been in the towns five or six years before, was, that conversions were frequently wrought more sensibly and visibly; the impressions stronger, and more manifest by their external effects; the progress of the Spirit of God in conviction, from step to step, more apparent; and the transition from one state to another, more sensible and plain; so that it might, in many instances, be as it were seen by by-standers. The preceding season had been very remarkable on this account, beyond what had been before; but this more remarkable than that. And in this season, these apparent or visible conversions, (if I may so call them,) were more frequently in the presence of others, at religious meetings, where the appearances of what was wrought on the heart, fell under public observation.

"After September, 1741, there seemed to be some abatement of these extraordinary appearances, yet they did not wholly cease, but there was something of them from time to time, all winter. About the beginning of February, 1742, Mr. Buell came to this town. I was then absent from home, and continued so till about a fortnight after. Mr. Buell preached from day to day, almost every day, in the meeting house.—I had left to him the free use of my pulpit, having heard of his designed visit, before I went from home. He spent almost the whole time in religious exercises with the people, either in public or private, the people continually thronging him. When he first came, there came with him a number of the zealous people from Suffield, who continued here for some time. There were very extraordinary effects of Mr. Buell's labours; the people were exceedingly moved, crying out in great numbers in the meeting house, and a great part of the congregation commonly staying in the house of God, for hours after the public service. Many also, were exceedingly moved in private meetings, where Mr. Buell was: almost the whole town seemed to be in a great and continual commotion, day and night, and there was indeed a very great revival of religion. But it was principally among professors; the appearances of a work of conversion were in no measure as great, as they had been the summer before. When I came home, I found the town in very extraordinary circumstances, such as, in some respects, I never saw it in before. Mr. Buell continued here a fortnight or three weeks after I returned: there being still great appearances attending his labours; many in their religious affections being raised, far beyond what they had ever been before: and there were some instances of persons lying in a sort of trance, remaining perhaps for a whole twenty-four hours motionless, and with their senses locked up; but in the mean time under strong imaginations, as though they went to heaven, and had there a vision of glorious and delightful objects. But when the people were raised to this height, Satan took the advantage, and his interposition, in many instances, soon became very apparent: and a great deal of

caution and pains were found necessary, to keep the people, many of them, from running wild.

"In the month of March, I led the people into a solemn public renewal of their covenant with God. To that end, having made a draft of a covenant, I first proposed it to some of the principal men in the church; then to the people, in their several religious associations in various parts of the town; then to the whole congregation in public; and then, I deposited a copy of it in the hands of each of the four deacons, that all who desired it might resort to them, and have opportunity to view and consider it. Then the people in general, that were above fourteen years of age, first subscribed the covenant with their hands; and then, on a day of fasting and prayer, all together presented themselves before the Lord in his house, and stood up, and solemnly manifested their consent to it, as their vow to God. The covenant was as follows:

"COPY OF A COVENANT,

"Entered into and subscribed, by the people of God at Northampton, and owned before God in his house as their vow to the Lord, and made a solemn act of public worship, by the congregation in general that were above fourteen years of age, on a day of fasting and proyer for the continuance and increase of the gracious presence of God in that place.

"*March* 16*th*, 1742. Acknowledging God's great goodness to us, a sinful, unworthy people, in the blessed manifestations, and fruits of his gracious presence in this town, both formerly and lately, and particularly in the very late spiritual Revival; and adoring the glorious Majesty, Power and Grace of God, manifested in the present wonderful outpouring of his Spirit, in many parts of this land, in this place; and lamenting our past backslidings and ungrateful departings from God, and humbly begging of God that he would not mark our iniquities, but for Christ's sake, come over the mountains of our sins, and visit us with his salvation, and continue the tokens of his presence with us, and yet more gloriously pour out his blessed Spirit upon us, and make us all partakers of the divine blessings, he is, at this day, bestowing here, and in many parts of this land; we do this day present ourselves before the Lord, to renounce our evil ways, we put away our abominations from before God's eyes, and with one accord, to renew our engagements to seek and serve God: and particularly do now solemnly promise and vow to the Lord as follows:—

"In all our conversation, concerns and dealings with our neighbour, we will have a strict regard to rules of honesty, justice and uprightness, that we dont overreach or defraud our neighbour in any matter, and either wilfully, or through want of care, injure him in any of his honest possessions or rights, and in all our communication, will have a tender respect, not only to our own interest,

but also to the interest of our neighbour; and will carefully endeavour, in every thing, to do to others as we should expect, or think reasonable, that they should do to us, if we were in their case, and they in ours.

"And particularly we will endeavour to render every one his due, and will take heed to ourselves, that we dont injure our neighbour, and give him just cause of offence, by wilfully or negligently forbearing to pay our honest debts.

"And wherein any of us, upon strict examination of our past behaviour, may be conscious to ourselves, that we have by any means wronged any of our neighbours in their outward estate, we will not rest, till we have made that restitution, or given that satisfaction, which the rules of moral equity require; or if we are, on a strict and impartial search, conscious to ourselves, that we have in any other respect, considerably injured our neighbour, we will truly endeavour to do that, which we in our consciences, suppose christian rules require, in order to a reparation of the injury, and removing the offence given thereby.

"And furthermore we promise, that we will not allow ourselves in backbiting; and that we will take great heed to ourselves to avoid all violations of those christian rules, Tit. iii. 2, *Speak evil of no man;* Jam. iv. 11, *Speak not evil one of another, brethren;* and 2 Cor. xii. 20, *Let there be no strifes, backbitings, whisperings;* and that we will not only not slander our neighbour, but also will not feed a spirit of bitterness, ill will, or secret grudge against our neighbour, insist on his real faults needlessly, and when not called to it, or from such a spirit, speak of his failings and blemishes with ridicule, or an air of contempt.

"And we promise, that we will be very careful to avoid doing any thing to our neighbour from a spirit of revenge. And that we will take great care that we do not, for private interest or our own honour, or to maintain ourselves against those of a contrary party, or to get our wills, or to promote any design in opposition to others, do those things which we, on the most impartial consideration are capable of, can think in our consciences, will tend to wound religion, and the interests of Christ's kingdom.

"And particularly, that so far as any of us, by divine Providence, have any special influence upon others, to lead them in the management of public affairs, we will not make our own worldly gain, or honour, or interest in the affections of others, or getting the better of any of a contrary party, that are in any respect our competitors, or the bringing or keeping them down, our governing aim, to the prejudice of the interest of religion, and the honour of Christ.

"And in the management of any public affair, wherever there is a difference of opinions, concerning any outward possessions, privileges, rights or properties, we will not willingly violate justice,

for private interest: and with the greatest strictness and watchfulness, will avoid all unchristian bitterness, vehemence and heat of spirit; yea, though we should think ourselves injured by a contrary party; and in the time of the management of such affairs, will especially watch over ourselves, our spirits and our tongues, to avoid all unchristian inveighings, reproachings, bitter reflectings, judging and ridiculing others, either in public meetings or in private conversation, either to men's faces, or behind their backs; but will greatly endeavour, so far as we are concerned, that all should be managed with christian humility, gentleness, quietness and love.

"And furthermore we promise, that we will not tolerate the exercise of enmity and ill will, or revenge in our hearts, against any of our neighbours; and we will often be strictly searching and examining our own hearts with respect to that matter.

"And if any of us find that we have an old secret grudge against any of our neighbours, we will not gratify it, but cross it, and endeavour to our utmost to root it out, crying to God for his help; and that we will make it our true and faithful endeavour, in our places, that a party spirit may not be kept up amongst us, but that it may utterly cease; that for the future, we may all be one, united in undisturbed peace, and unfeigned love.

"And those of us that are in youth, do promise, never to allow ourselves in any diversions or pastimes, in meetings, or companies of young people, that we, in our consciences, upon sober consideration, judge not well to consist with, or would sinfully tend to hinder, the devoutest and most engaged spirit in religion, or indispose the mind for that devout, and profitable attendance on the duties of the closet, which is most agreeable to God's will, or that we, in our most impartial judgment, can think tends to rob God of that honour which he expects, by our orderly serious attendance on family worship.

"And furthermore we promise, that we will strictly avoid all freedoms and familiarities in company, so tending, either to stir up, or gratify a lust of laciviousness, that we cannot in our consciences think will be approved by the infinitely pure and holy eye of God, or that we can think, on serious and impartial consideration, we should be afraid to practice, if we expected in a few hours to appear before that holy God, to give an account of ourselves to him, as fearing they would be condemned by him as unlawful and impure.

"We also promise, with great watchfulness, to perform relative duties, required by christian rules, in the families we belong to, as we stand related respectively, towards parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, masters or mistresses, and servants.

"And we now appear before God, depending on divine grace

and assistance, solemnly to devote our whole lives, to be laboriously spent in the business of religion; ever making it our greatest business, without backsliding from such a way of living, not hearkening to the solicitations of our sloth, and other corrupt inclinations, or the temptations of the world, that tend to draw us off from it; and particularly, that we will not abuse a hope or opinion that any of us may have, of our being interested in Christ, to indulge ourselves in sloth, or the more easily to yield to the solicitations of any sinful inclinations; but will run with perseverance, the race that is set before us, and work out our own salvation with fear and trembling.

"And because we are sensible that the keeping these solemn vows may hereafter in many cases, be very contrary to our corrupt inclinations, and carnal interests, we do now therefore appear before God to make a surrender of all to him, and to make a sacrifice of every carnal inclination and interest, to the great business of religion and the interest of our souls.

"And being sensible of our weakness, and the deceitfulness of our own hearts, and our proneness to forget our most solemn vows, and lose our resolutions, we promise to be often strictly examining ourselves by these promises, especially before the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and beg of God that he would, for Christ's sake, keep us from wickedly dissembling in these our solemn vows; and that he who searches our hearts, and ponders the path of our feet, would, from time to time, help us in trying ourselves by this Covenant, and help us to keep Covenant with him, and not leave us to our own foolish, wicked and treacherous hearts."

"In the beginning of the summer of 1742, there seemed to be an abatement of the liveliness of people's affections in religion; but yet many were often in a great height of them. And in the fall and winter following, there were, at times, extraordinary appearances. But in the general, people's engagedness in religion, and the liveliness of their affections, have been on the decline: and some of the young people especially, have shamefully lost their liveliness and vigour in religion, and much of the seriousness and solemnity of their spirits. But there are many that walk as becometh saints; and to this day there are a considerable number in town that seem to be near to God, and maintain much of the life of religion, and enjoy many of the sensible tokens and fruits of his gracious presence.

"With respect to the late season of revival of religion amongst us, for three or four years past, it has been observable, that in the former part of it, in the years 1740 and 1741, the work seemed to be much more pure, having less of a corrupt mixture, than in the former great outpouring of the Spirit, in 1735 and 1736. Persons seemed to be sensible of their former errors, and had learned

more of their own hearts, and experience had taught them more of the tendency and consequences of things. They were now better guarded, and their affections were not only stronger, but attended with greater solemnity, and greater humility and self distrust, and greater engagedness after holy living and perseverance; and there were fewer errors in conduct. But in the latter part of it, in the year 1742, it was otherwise: the work continued more pure till we were infected from abroad: Our people hearing of, and some of them seeing, the work in other places, where there was a greater visible commotion than here, and the outward appearances were more extraordinary, were ready to think that the work in those places far excelled what was amongst us, and their eyes were dazzled with the high profession and great show that some made, who came hither from other places.

"That those people went so far beyond them in raptures and violent emotions of the affections, and a vehement zeal, and what they called *boldness for Christ*, our people were ready to think was owing to far greater attainments in grace, and intimacy with heaven: they looked little in their own eyes, in comparison with them, and were ready to submit themselves to them, and yield themselves up to their conduct, taking it for granted, that every thing was right that they said and did. These things had a strange influence on the people, and gave many of them a deep and unhappy tincture from which it was a hard and long labour to deliver them, and from which some of them are not fully delivered, to this day.

"The *effects* and *consequences* of things among us plainly show the following things, viz. That the degree of *grace* is by no means to be judged of by the degree of *joy*, or the degree of *zeal;* and that indeed we cannot at all determine by these things, who are gracious and who are not; and that it is not the *degree* of religious affections, but the *nature* of them, that is chiefly to be looked at. *Some* that have had very great raptures of joy, and have been extraordinarily *filled*, (as the vulgar phrase is,) and have had their bodies overcome, and that very often, have manifested far less of the temper of christians in their conduct since, than some others that have been still, and have made no great outward show. But then again, there are *many others*, that have had extraordinary joys and emotions of mind, with frequent great effects upon their bodies, that behave themselves stedfastly, as humble, amiable, eminent christians.

"'Tis evident that there may be great religious affections in individuals, which may, in show and appearance, resemble gracious affections, and have the same effects upon their bodies, but are far from having the same effect on the temper of their minds and the course of their lives. And likewise, there is nothing more manifest, by what appears amongst us, than that the good estate of individuals is not chiefly to be judged of by any exactness of steps,

and method of experiences, in what is supposed to be the first conversion; but that we must judge by the spirit that breathes, the effect wrought upon the temper of the soul in the time of the work and remaining afterwards. Though there have been very few instances among professors, amongst us, of what is ordinarily called scandalous sins, known to me; yet the temper that some of them show, and the behaviour they have been of, together with some things in the nature and circumstances of their experiences, make me much afraid least there be a considerable number, that have wofully deceived themselves. Though, on the other hand, there is a great number, whose temper and conversation is such, as justly confirms the charity of others towards them; and not a few, in whose disposition and walk, there are amiable appearances of eminent grace. And notwithstanding all the corrupt mixtures that have been in the late work here, there are not only many blessed fruits of it, in particular persons that yet remain, but some good effects of it upon the town in general. A spirit of party has more extensively subsided. I suppose there has been less appearance, these three or four years past, of that division of the town into two parties, which has long been our bane, than has been, at any time during the preceding thirty years; and the people have apparently had much more caution, and a greater guard on their spirit and their tongues, to avoid contention and unchristian heats, in town-meetings, and on other occasions. And 'tis a thing greatly to be rejoiced in, that the people very lately came to an agreement and final issue, with respect to their grand controversy relating to their common lands; which has been, above any other particular thing, a source of mutual prejudices, jealousies and debates, for fifteen or sixteen years past. The people also seem to be much more sensible of the danger of resting in old experiences, or what they were subjects of at their supposed first conversion; and to be more fully convinced of the necessity of forgetting the things that are behind, and pressing forward and maintaining earnest labour, watchfulness and prayerfulness, as long as they live.

"I am, Rev. Sir,

"Your friend and brother,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

CHAPTER XIV.

Mrs. Edwards.—Her solemn self-dedications.—Her uncommon discoveries of the Divine Perfections and Glory; and of the Excellency of Christ.—Remarks concerning them.

In speaking of Mrs. Edwards, we have already had occasion to remark, that her piety appears to have been in no ordinary degree pure, intense and elevated, and that her views of spiritual and heavenly things, were uncommonly clear and joyful. Near the close of the year 1738, according to the testimony of Mr. Edwards, she was led, under an uncommon discovery of God's excellency, and in an high exercise of love to God, and of rest and joy in him, to make a new and most solemn dedication of herself to his service and glory, an entire renunciation of the world, and a resignation of all to God. After this, she had often such views of the glory of the Divine perfections, and of Christ's excellencies, and at times, for hours together, without any interruption, that she was overwhelmed, and as it were swallowed up, in the light and joy of the love of God. In the summer of 1740, after a new and more perfect resignation of herself to God, with yet greater fervency, her views of the glory of God, and of the excellency of Christ, became still more clear and transporting; and in the following winter, after a similar, but more perfect resignation of herself, and acceptance of God as the only portion and happiness of her soul, God appeared to vouchsafe to her, for a long period, a degree of spiritual light and enjoyment, which seemed to be, in reality, an anticipation of the joys of the heavenly world. There was so much that was unusual and striking in this state of mind, that her husband requested her to draw up an exact statement of it; which, having been preserved, is now presented to the reader.

"On Tuesday night, Jan. 19, 1742," observes Mrs. Edwards, "I felt very uneasy and unhappy, at my being so low in grace. I thought I very much needed help from God, and found a spirit of earnestness to seek help of him, that I might have more holiness. When I had for a time been earnestly wrestling with God for it, I felt within myself great quietness of spirit, unusual submission to God, and willingness to wait upon him, with respect to the time and manner in which he should help me, and wished that he should take his own time, and his own way, to do it.

"The next morning, I found a degree of uneasiness in my mind,

at Mr. Edwards's suggesting, that he thought I had failed in some measure in point of prudence, in some conversation I had with Mr. Williams of Hadley, the day before. I found, that it seemed to bereave me of the quietness and calm of my mind, in any respect not to have the good opinion of my husband. This, I much disliked in myself, as arguing a want of a sufficient rest in God, and felt a disposition to fight against it, and look to God for his help, that I might have a more full and entire rest in him, independent of all other things. I continued in this frame, from early in the morning until about 10 o'clock, at which time the Rev. Mr. Reynolds went to prayer in the family.

"I had before this, so entirely given myself up to God, and resigned up every thing into his hands, that I had, for a long time, felt myself quite alone in the world; so that the peace and calm of my mind, and my rest in God, as my only and all sufficient happiness, seemed sensibly above the reach of disturbance from any thing but these two: 1st. My own good name and fair reputation among men, and especially the esteem and just treatment of the people of this town; 2dly. And more especially, the esteem, and love and kind treatment of my husband. At times, indeed, I had seemed to be considerably elevated above the influence of even these things; yet I had not found my calm, and peace and rest in God so sensibly, fully and constantly, above the reach of disturbance from them, until now.

"While Mr. Reynolds was at prayer in the family this morning, I felt an earnest desire that, in calling on God, he should say, *Father*, or that he should address the Almighty under that appellation: on which the thought turned in my mind—Why can I say, *Father?*—Can I now at this time, with the confidence of a child, and without the least misgiving of heart, call God my Father?—This brought to my mind, two lines of Mr. Erskine's Sonnet:

> "I see him lay his vengeance by,
> "And smile in Jesus' face."

"I was thus deeply sensible, that my sins did loudly call for vengeance; but I then by faith saw God "lay his vengeance by, and smile in Jesus' face." It appeared to be real and certain that he did so. I had not the least doubt, that he then sweetly smiled upon me, with the look of forgiveness and love, having laid aside all his displeasure towards me, for Jesus' sake; which made me feel very weak, and somewhat faint.

"In consequence of this, I felt a strong desire to be alone with God, to go to him, without having any one to interrupt the silent and soft communion, which I earnestly desired between God and my own soul; and accordingly withdrew to my chamber. It should have been mentioned that, before I retired, while Mr. Reynolds was praying, these words, in Rom. viii. 34, came into my mind "*Who is he that condemneth; It is Christ that died, yea rather*

that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us;" as well as the following words, "*Who shall separate us from the love of Christ,*" *etc.;* which occasioned great sweetness and delight in my soul. But when I was alone, the words came to my mind with far greater power and sweetness; upon which I took the Bible, and read the words to the end of the chapter, when they were impressed on my heart with vastly greater power and sweetness still. They appeared to me with undoubted certainty as the words of God, and as words which God did pronounce concerning me. I had no more doubt of it, than I had of my being. I seemed as it were to hear the great God proclaiming thus to the world concerning me; "*Who shall lay any thing to thy charge,*" *etc.;* and had it strongly impressed on me, how impossible it was for any thing in heaven or earth, in this world or the future, ever to separate me from the love of God which was in Christ Jesus. I cannot find language to express, how *certain* this appeared—the everlasting mountains and hills were but shadows to it. My safety, and happiness, and eternal enjoyment of God's immutable love, seemed as durable and unchangeable as God himself. Melted and overcome by the sweetness of this assurance, I fell into a great flow of tears, and could not forbear weeping aloud. It appeared certain to me that God was my Father, and Christ my Lord and Saviour, that he was mine and I his. Under a delightful sense of the immediate presence and love of God, these words seemed to come over and over in my mind, "My God, my all; my God, my all." The presence of God was so near, and so real, that I seemed scarcely conscious of any thing else. God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, seemed as distinct persons, both manifesting their inconceivable loveliness, and mildness, and gentleness, and their great and immutable love to me. I seemed to be taken under the care and charge of my God and Saviour, in an inexpressibly endearing manner; and Christ appeared to me as a mighty Saviour, under the character of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, taking my heart, with all its corruptions, under his care, and putting it at his feet. In all things, which concerned me, I felt myself safe under the protection of the Father and the Saviour; who appeared with supreme kindness to keep a record of every thing that I did, and of every thing that was done to me, purely for my good.

"The peace and happiness, which I hereupon felt, was altogether inexpressible. It seemed to be that which came from heaven; to be eternal and unchangeable. I seemed to be lifted above earth and hell, out of the reach of every thing here below, so that I could look on all the rage and enmity of men or devils, with a kind of holy indifference, and an undisturbed tranquility. At the same time, I felt compassion and love for all mankind, and a deep abasement of soul, under a sense of my own unworthiness. I thought

of the ministers who were in the house, and felt willing to undergo any labour and self-denial, if they would but come to the help of the Lord. I also felt myself more perfectly weaned from all things here below, than ever before. The whole world, with all its enjoyments, and all its troubles, seemed to be nothing:—My God was my all, my only portion. No possible suffering appeared to be worth regarding: all persecutions and torments were a mere nothing. I seemed to dwell on high, and the place of defence to be the munition of rocks.

"After some time, the two evils mentioned above, as those which I should have been least able to bear, came to my mind—the ill treatment of the town, and the ill will of my husband; but now I was carried exceedingly above even such things as these, and I could feel that, if I were exposed to them both, they would seem comparatively nothing. There was then a deep snow on the ground, and I could think of being driven from my home into the cold and snow, of being chased from the town with the utmost contempt and malice, and of being left to perish with the cold, as cast out by all the world, with perfect calmness and serenity. It appeared to me, that it would not move me, or in the least disturb the inexpressible happiness and peace of my soul. My mind seemed as much above all such things, as the sun is above the earth.

"I continued in a very sweet and lively sense of divine things, day and night, sleeping and waking, until Saturday, Jan. 23. On Saturday morning, I had a most solemn and deep impression on my mind of the eye of God as fixed upon me, to observe what improvement I made of those spiritual communications I had received from him; as well as of the respect shown Mr. Edwards, who had then been sent for to preach at Leicester. I was sensible that I was sinful enough to bestow it on my pride, or on my sloth, which seemed exceedingly dreadful to me. At night, my soul seemed to be filled with an inexpressibly sweet and pure love to God, and to the children of God; with a refreshing consolation and solace of soul, which made me willing to lie on the earth, at the feet of the servants of God, to declare his gracious dealings with me, and breathe forth before them my love, and gratitude and praise.

"The next day, which was the Sabbath, I enjoyed a sweet, and lively and assured sense of God's infinite grace, and favour and love to me, in taking me out of the depths of hell, and exalting me to the heavenly glory, and the dignity of a royal priesthood.

"On Monday night, Mr. Edwards, being gone that day to Leicester, I heard that Mr. Buell was coming to this town, and from what I had heard of him, and of his success, I had strong hopes that there would be great effects from his labours here. At the same time, I had a deep and affecting impression, that the eye of God was ever upon my heart, and that it greatly concerned me to watch my heart, and see to it that I was perfectly resign-

ed to God, with respect to the instruments he should make use of to revive religion in this town, and be entirely willing, if it was God's pleasure, that he should make use of Mr. Buel; and also that other christians should appear to excel me in christian experience, and in the benefit they should derive from ministers. I was conscious, that it would be exceedingly provoking to God if I should not be thus resigned, and earnestly endeavoured to watch my heart, that no feelings of a contrary nature might arise; and was enabled, as I thought, to exercise full resignation, and acquiescence in God's pleasure, as to these things. I was sensible what great cause I had to bless God, for the use he had made of Mr. Edwards hitherto; but thought, if he never blessed his labours any more, and should greatly bless the labours of other ministers, I could entirely acquiesce in his will. It appeared to me meet and proper, that God should employ babes and sucklings to advance his kingdom. When I thought of these things, it was my instinctive feeling to say, "Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen, Lord Jesus!" This seemed to be the sweet and instinctive language of my soul.

"On Tuesday, I remained in a sweet and lively exercise of this resignation, and love to and rest in God, seeming to be in my heart from day to day, far above the reach of every thing here below. On Tuesday night, especially the latter part of it, I felt a great earnestness of soul and engagedness in seeking God for the town, that religion might now revive, and that God would bless Mr. Buell to that end. God seemed to be very near to me while I was thus striving with him for these things, and I had a strong hope that what I sought of him would be granted. There seemed naturally and unavoidably to arise in my mind an assurance, that now God would do great things for Northampton.

On Wednesday morning, I heard that Mr. Buell arrived the night before at Mr. Phelps's, and that there seemed to be great tokens and effects of the presence of God there, which greatly encouraged, and rejoiced me. About an hour and a half after, Mr. Buell came to our house, I sat still in entire resignedness to God, and willingness that God should bless his labours here as much as he pleased; though it were to the enlivening of every saint, and to the conversion of every sinner, in the town. These feelings continued afterwards, when I saw his great success; as I never felt the least rising of heart to the contrary, but my submission was even and uniform, without interruption or disturbance. I rejoiced when I saw the honour which God put upon him, and the respect paid him by the people, and the greater success attending his preaching, than had followed the preaching of Mr. Edwards immediately before he went to Leicester. I found rest and rejoicing in it, and the sweet language of my soul continually was, "Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen, Lord Jesus!"

"At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, a lecture was preached by Mr. Buell. In the latter part of the sermon, one or two appeared much moved, and after the blessing, when the people were going out, several others. To my mind there was the clearest evidence, that God was present in the congregation, on the work of redeeming love; and in the clear view of this, I was all at once filled with such intense admiration of the wonderful condescension and grace of God, in returning again to Northampton, as overwhelmed my soul, and immediately took away my bodily strength. This was accompanied with an earnest longing, that those of us, who were the children of God, might now arise and strive. It appeared to me, that the angels in heaven sung praises, for such wonderful, free and sovereign grace, and my heart was lifted up in adoration and praise. I continued to have clear views of the future world, of eternal happiness and misery, and my heart full of love to the souls of men. On seeing some, that I found were in a natural condition, I felt a most tender compassion for them; but especially was I, while I remained in the meeting-house, from time to time overcome, and my strength taken away, by the sight of one and another, whom I regarded as the children of God, and who, I had heard were lively and animated in religion. We remained in the meeting-house about three hours, after the public exercises were over. During most of the time, my bodily strength was overcome; and the joy and thankfulness, which were excited in my mind, as I contemplated the great goodness of God, led me to converse with those who were near me, in a very earnest manner.

"When I came home, I found Mr. Buell, Mr. Christophers, Mr. Hopkins, Mrs. Eleanor Dwight, the wife of Mr. Joseph Allen, and Mr. Job Strong, at the house. Seeing and conversing with them on the Divine goodness, renewed my former feelings, and filled me with an intense desire that we might all arise, and, with an active, flowing and fervent heart, give glory to God. The intenseness of my feelings again took away my bodily strength. The words of one of Dr. Watts's Hosannas powerfully affected me; and, in the course of the conversation, I uttered them, as the real language of my heart, with great earnestness and emotion.

"Hosanna to King David's Son,
"Who reigns on a superior throne," &c.

And while I was uttering the words, my mind was so deeply impressed with the love of Christ, and a sense of his immediate presence, that I could with difficulty refrain from rising from my seat, and leaping for joy. I continued to enjoy this intense, and lively and refreshing sense of Divine things, accompanied with strong emotions, for nearly an hour; after which, I experienced a delightful calm, and peace and rest in God, until I retired for the night; and during the night, both waking and sleeping, I had joyful views of Divine things, and a complacential rest of soul in God. I

awoke in the morning of Thursday, June 28th, in the same happy frame of mind, and engaged in the duties of my family with a sweet consciousness, that God was present with me, and with earnest longings of soul for the continuance, and increase, of the blessed fruits of the Holy Spirit in the town. About nine o'clock, these desires became so exceedingly intense, when I saw numbers of the people coming into the house, with an appearance of deep interest in religion, that my bodily strength was much weakened, and it was with difficulty that I could pursue my ordinary avocations. About 11 o'clock, as I accidentally went into the room where Mr. Buell was conversing with some of the people, I heard him say, "O that we, who are the children of God, should be cold and lifeless in religion!" and I felt such a sense of the deep ingratitude manifested by the children of God, in such coldness and deadness, that my strength was immediately taken away, and I sunk down on the spot. Those who were near raised me, and placed me in a chair; and, from the fulness of my heart, I expressed to them, in a very earnest manner, the deep sense I had of the wonderful grace of Christ towards me, of the assurance I had of his having saved me from hell, of my happiness running parallel with eternity, of the duty of giving up all to God, and of the peace and joy inspired by an entire dependence on his mercy and grace. Mr. Buell then read a melting hymn of Dr. Watts,* concerning the loveliness of Christ, the enjoyments and employments of heaven, and the christian's earnest desire of heavenly things; and the truth and reality of the things mentioned in the hymn, made so strong an impression on my mind, and my soul was drawn so powerfully towards Christ and heaven, that I leaped unconsciously from my chair. I seemed to be drawn upwards, soul and body, from the earth towards heaven; and it appeared to me that I must naturally and necessarily ascend thither. These feelings continued while the hymn was reading, and during the prayer of Mr. Christophers, which followed. After the prayer, Mr. Buell read two other hymns, on the glories of heaven, which moved me so exceedingly, and drew me so strongly heavenward, that it seemed as it were to draw my body upwards, and I felt as if I must necessarily ascend thither. At length my strength failed me, and I sunk down; when they took me up and laid me on the bed, where I lay for a considerable time, faint with joy, while contemplating the glories of the heavenly world. After I had lain a while, I felt more perfectly subdued and weaned from the world, and more fully resigned to God, than I had ever been conscious of before. I felt an entire indifference to the opinions, and representations and conduct of mankind res-

* Probably the 91st Hymn of the 2d Book, beginning with

"O the delights, the heavenly joys,
"The glories of the place.

pecting me; and a perfect willingness, that God should employ some other instrument than Mr. Edwards, in advancing the work of grace in Northampton. I was entirely swallowed up in God, as my only portion, and his honour and glory was the object of my supreme desire and delight. At the same time, I felt a far greater love to the children of God, than ever before. I seemed to love them as my own soul; and when I saw them, my heart went out towards them, with an inexpressible endearedness and sweetness. I beheld them by faith in their risen and glorified state, with spiritual bodies re-fashioned after the image of Christ's glorious body, and arrayed in the beauty of heaven. The time when they would be so, appeared very near, and by faith it seemed as if it were present. This was accompanied with a ravishing sense of the unspeakable joys of the upper world. They appeared to my mind in all their reality and certainty, and as it were in actual and distinct vision; so plain and evident were they to the eye of my faith, I seemed to regard them as begun. These anticipations were renewed over and over, while I lay on the bed, from twelve o'clock till four, being too much exhausted by emotions of joy, to rise and sit up; and during most of the time, my feelings prompted me to converse very earnestly, with one and another of the pious women, who were present, on those spiritual and heavenly objects, of which I had so deep an impression. A little while before I arose, Mr. Buell and the people went to meeting.

"I continued in a sweet and lively sense of Divine things, until I retired to rest. That night, which was Thursday night, Jan. 28. was the sweetest night I ever had in my life. I never before, for so long a time together, enjoyed so much of the light, and rest and sweetness of heaven in my soul, but without the least agitation of body during the whole time. The great part of the night I lay awake, sometimes asleep, and sometimes between sleeping and waking. But all night I continued in a constant, clear and lively sense of the heavenly sweetness of Christ's excellent and transcendent love, of his nearness to me, and of my dearness to him; with an inexpressibly sweet calmness of soul in an entire rest in him. I seemed to myself to perceive a glow of divine love come down from the heart of Christ in heaven, into my heart, in a constant stream, like a stream or pencil of sweet light. At the same time, my heart and soul all flowed out in love to Christ; so that there seemed to be a constant flowing and reflowing of heavenly and divine love, from Christ's heart to mine; and I appeared to myself to float or swim, in these bright, sweet beams of the love of Christ, like the motes swimming in the beams of the sun, or the streams of his light which come in at the window. My soul remained in a kind of heavenly elysium. So far as I am capable of making a comparison, I think that what I felt each minute, during the continuance of the whole time, was worth more than all the outward

comfort and pleasure, which I had enjoyed in my whole life put together. It was a pure delight, which fed and satisfied the soul. It was pleasure, without the least sting, or any interruption. It was a sweetness, which my soul was lost in. It seemed to be all that my feeble frame could sustain, of that fulness of joy, which is felt by those, who behold the face of Christ, and share his love in the heavenly world. There was but little difference, whether I was asleep or awake, so deep was the impression made on my soul; but if there was any difference, the sweetness was greatest and most uninterrupted, while I was asleep.

"As I awoke early the next morning, which was Friday, I was led to think of Mr. Williams of Hadley preaching that day in the town, as had been appointed; and to examine my heart, whether I was willing that he, who was a neighbouring minister, should be extraordinarily blessed, and made a greater instrument of good in the town, than Mr. Edwards; and was enabled to say, with respect to that matter, "Amen, Lord Jesus!" and to be entirely willing, if God pleased, that he should be the instrument of converting every soul in the town. My soul acquiesced fully in the will of God, as to the instrument, if his work of renewing grace did but go on.

"This lively sense of the beauty and excellency of divine things, continued during the morning, accompanied with peculiar sweetness and delight. To my own imagination, my soul seemed to be gone out of me to God and Christ in heaven, and to have very little relation to my body. God and Christ were so present to me, and so near me, that I seemed removed from myself. The spiritual beauty of the Father and the Saviour, seemed to engross my whole mind; and it was the instinctive feeling of my heart, "Thou art; and there is none beside thee." I never felt such an entire emptiness of self-love, or any regard to any private, selfish interest of my own. It seemed to me, that I had entirely done with myself. I felt that the opinions of the world concerning me were nothing, and that I had no more to do with any outward interest of my own, than with that of a person whom I never saw. The glory of God seemed to be all, and in all, and to swallow up every wish and desire of my heart.

"Mr. Sheldon came into the house about 10 o'clock, and said to me as he came in, "The Sun of righteousness arose on my soul this morning, before day;" upon which I said to him in reply, "That Sun has not set upon my soul all this night; I have dwelt on high in the heavenly mansions; the light of divine love has surrounded me; my soul has been lost in God, and has almost left the body." This conversation only served to give me a still livelier sense of the reality and excellence of divine things, and that to such a degree, as again to take away my strength, and occasion great agitation of body. So strong were my feelings, I could not

refrain from conversing with those around me, in a very earnest manner, for about a quarter of an hour, on the infinite riches of divine love in the work of salvation: when, my strength entirely failing, my flesh grew very cold, and they carried me and set me by the fire. As I sat there, I had a most affecting sense of the mighty power of Christ, which had been exerted in what he had done for my soul, and in sustaining and keeping down the native corruptions of my heart, and of the glorious and wonderful grace of God in causing the ark to return to Northampton. So intense were my feelings, when speaking of these things, that I could not forbear rising up and leaping with joy and exultation. I felt at the same time an exceedingly strong and tender affection for the children of God, and realized, in a manner exceedingly sweet and ravishing, the meaning of Christ's prayer, in John xvii. 21, "*That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us.*" This union appeared to me an inconceivable, excellent and sweet oneness; and at the same time I felt that oneness in my soul, with the children of God who were present. Mr. Christophers then read the hymn out of the Penitential Cries, beginning with

> "My soul doth magnify the Lord,
> "My spirit doth rejoice;"

The whole hymn was deeply affecting to my feelings: but when these words were read,

> "My sighs at length are turn'd to songs,
> "The Comforter is come:"—

So conscious was I of the joyful presence of the holy Spirit, I could scarcely refrain from leaping with transports of joy. This happy frame of mind continued until two o'clock, when Mr. Williams came in, and we soon went to meeting. He preached on the subject of the assurance of faith. The whole sermon was affecting to me, but especially when he came to show the way in which assurance was obtained, and to point out its happy fruits. When I heard him say, that *those, who have assurance, have a foretaste of heavenly glory*, I knew the truth of it from what I then felt: I knew that I then tasted the clusters of the heavenly Canaan: My soul was filled and overwhelmed with light, and love, and joy in the Holy Ghost, and seemed just ready to go away from the body. I could scarcely refrain from expressing my joy aloud, in the midst of the service. I had in the mean time, an overwhelming sense of the glory of God, as the Great Eternal All, and of the happiness of having my own will entirely subdued to his will. I knew that the foretaste of glory, which I then had in my soul, came from him, that I certainly should go to him, and should, as it were, drop into the Divine Being, and be swallowed up in God.

"After meeting was done, the congregation waited while Mr. Buell went home, to prepare to give them a Lecture. It was almost dark before he came, and, in the mean time, I conversed in a very earnest and joyful manner, with those who were with me in the pew. My mind dwelt on the thought, that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth, and it appeared to me that he was going to set up a Reign of Love on the earth, and that heaven and earth were, as it were, coming together; which so exceedingly moved me that I could not forbear expressing aloud, to those near me, my exultation of soul. This subsided into a heavenly calm, and a rest of soul in God, which was even sweeter than what preceded it. Afterwards, Mr. Buell came and preached; and the same happy frame of mind continued during the evening, and night, and the next day. In the forenoon, I was thinking of the manner in which the children of God had been treated in the world—particularly of their being shut up in prison—and the folly of such attempts to make them miserable, seemed to surprise me. It appeared astonishing, that men should think, by this means, to injure those who had such a kingdom within them. Towards night, being informed that Mrs. P—— had expressed her fears least I should die before Mr. Edwards' return, and he should think the people had killed his wife; I told those who were present, that I chose to die in the way that was most agreeable to God's will, and that I should be willing to die in darkness and horror, if it was most for the glory of God.

"In the evening, I read those chapters in John, which contain Christ's dying discourse with his disciples, and his prayer with them. After I had done reading, and was in my retirement, a little before bed-time, thinking on what I had read, my soul was so filled with love to Christ, and love to his people, that I fainted under the intenseness of the feeling. I felt, while reading, a delightful acquiescence in the petition to the Father—"*I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil.*" Though it seemed to me infinitely better to die to go to Christ, yet I felt an entire willingness to continue in this world so long as God pleased, to do and suffer what he would have me.

"After retiring to rest and sleeping a little while, I awoke and had a very lively consciousness of God's being near me. I had an idea of a shining way, or path of light, between heaven and my soul, somewhat as on Thursday night, except that God seemed nearer to me, and as it were close by, and the way seemed more open, and the communication more immediate and more free. I lay awake most of the night, with a constant delightful sense of God's great love and infinite condescension, and with a continual view of God as *near*, and as *my God*. My soul remained, as on Thursday night, in a kind of heavenly elysium. Whether waking

or sleeping, there was no interruption, throughout the night, to the views of my soul, to its heavenly light, and divine, inexpressible sweetness. It was without any agitation or motion of the body. I was led to reflect on God's mercy to me, in giving me, for many years, a willingness to die; and after that, for more than two years past, in making me willing to live, that I might do and suffer whatever he called me to here; whereas, before that, I often used to feel impatient at the thought of living. This then appeared to me, as it had often done before, what gave me much the greatest sense of thankfulness to God. I also thought how God had graciously given me, for a great while, an entire resignation to his will, with respect to the kind and manner of death that I should die; having been made willing to die on the rack, or at the stake, or any other tormenting death, and, if it were God's will, to die in darkness: and how I had that day been made very sensible and fully willing, if it was God's pleasure and for his glory, to die in horror. But now it occurred to me, that when I had thus been made willing to live, and to be kept on this dark abode, I used to think of living no longer than to the ordinary age of man. Upon this I was led to ask myself, Whether I was not willing to be kept out of heaven even longer; and my whole heart seemed immediately to reply, "Yes, a thousand years, if it be God's will, and for his honour and glory:" and then my heart, in the language of resignation, went further, and with great alacrity and sweetness, to answer as it were over and over again, "Yes, and live a thousand years in horror, if it be most for the glory of God: yea, I am willing to live a thousand years an hell upon earth, if it be most for the honour of God." But then I considered with myself, What this would be, to live an hell upon earth, for so long a time; and I thought of the torment of my body being so great, awful and overwhelming, that none could bear to live in the country where the spectacle was seen, and of the torment and horror of my mind being vastly greater than the torment of my body; and it seemed to me that I found a perfect willingness, and sweet quietness and alacrity of soul, in consenting that it should be so, if it were most for the glory of God; so that there was no hesitation, doubt or darkness in my mind, attending the thoughts of it, but my resignation seemed to be clear, like a light that shone through my soul. I continued saying, "Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen, Lord Jesus! glorify thyself in me, in my body and my soul,"—with a calm and sweetness of soul, which banished all reluctance. The glory of God seemed to overcome me and swallow me up, and every conceivable suffering, and every thing that was terrible to my nature, seemed to shrink to nothing before it. This resignation continued in its clearness and brightness the rest of the night, and all the next day, and the night following, and on Monday in the forenoon, without interruption or abatement. All this while, whenever I thought of it, the language of my soul was,

with the greatest fullness and alacrity, "Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen, Lord Jesus!" In the afternoon of Monday, it was not quite so perceptible and lively, but my mind remained so much in a similar frame, for more than a week, that I could never think of it without an inexpressible sweetness in my soul.

"After I had felt this resignation on Saturday night, for some time as I lay in bed, I felt such a disposition to rejoice in God, that I wished to have the world join me in praising him; and was ready to wonder how the world of mankind could lie and sleep, when there was such a God to praise, and rejoice in, and could scarcely forbear calling out to those who were asleep in the house, to arise, and rejoice, and praise God. When I arose on the morning of the Sabbath, I felt a love to all mankind, wholly peculiar in its strength and sweetness, far beyond all that I had ever felt before. The power of that love seemed to be inexpressible. I thought, if I were surrounded by enemies, who were venting their malice and cruelty upon me, in tormenting me, it would still be impossible that I should cherish any feelings towards them but those of love, and pity and ardent desires for their happiness. At the same time I thought, if I were cast off by my nearest and dearest friends, and if the feelings and conduct of my husband were to be changed from tenderness and affection, to extreme hatred and cruelty, and that every day, I could so rest in God, that it would not touch my heart, or diminish my happiness. I could still go on with alacrity in the performance of every act of duty, and my happiness remain undiminished and entire.

"I never before felt so far from a disposition to judge and censure others, with respect to the state of their hearts, their sincerity, or their attainments in holiness, as I did that morning. To do this, seemed abhorrent to every feeling of my heart. I realized also, in an unusual and very lively manner, how great a part of christianity lies in the performance of our social and relative duties to one another. The same lively and joyful sense of spiritual and divine things continued throughout the day—a sweet love to God and all mankind, and such an entire rest of soul in God, that it seemed as if nothing that could be said of me, or done to me, could touch my heart, or disturb my enjoyment. The road between heaven and my soul seemed open and wide, all the day long; and the consciousness I had of the reality and excellence of heavenly things was so clear, and the affections they excited so intense, that it overcame my strength, and kept my body weak and faint, the great part of the day, so that I could not stand or go without help. The night also was comforting and refreshing.

"This delightful frame of mind was continued on Monday. About noon, one of the neigbours, who was conversing with me, expressed himself thus, "One smile from Christ is worth a thousand million pounds," and the words affected me exceedingly, and

in a manner which I cannot express. I had a strong sense of the infinite worth of Christ's approbation and love, and at the same time of the grossness of the comparison; and it only astonished me, that any one could compare a smile of Christ to any earthly treasure.—Towards night, I had a deep sense of the awful greatness of God, and felt with what humility and reverence we ought to behave ourselves before him. Just then Mr. W—— came in, and spoke with a somewhat light, smiling air, of the flourishing state of religion in the town; which I could scarcely bear to see. It seemed to me, that we ought greatly to revere the presence of God, and to behave ourselves with the utmost solemnity and humility, when so great and holy a God was so remarkably present, and to rejoice before him with trembling.—In the evening, these words, in the Penitential Cries,—"THE COMFORTER IS COME!"—were accompanied to my soul with such conscious certainty, and such intense joy, that immediately it took away my strength, and I was falling to the floor; when some of those who were near me caught me and held me up. And when I repeated the words to the by-standers, the strength of my feelings was increased. The name—"THE COMFORTER"—seemed to denote that the Holy Spirit was the only and infinite Fountain of comfort and joy, and this seemed real and certain to my mind. These words—"THE COMFORTER"—seemed as it were immensely great, enough to fill heaven and earth.

"On Tuesday after dinner, Mr. Buell, as he sat at table, began to discourse about the glories of the upper world; which greatly affected me, so as to take away my strength. The views and feelings of the preceding evening, respecting the Great Comforter, were renewed in the most lively and joyful manner; so that my limbs grew cold, and I continued to a considerable degree overcome for about an hour, earnestly expressing to those around me, my deep and joyful sense of the presence and divine excellence of the Comforter, and of the glories of heaven.

"It was either on Tuesday, or Wednesday, that Mr. W—— came to the house, and informed what account Mr. Lyman, who was just then come from Leicester, on his way from Boston, gave of Mr. Edwards' success, in making peace and promoting religion at Leicester. The intelligence inspired me with such an admiring sense of the great goodness of God, in using Mr. Edwards as the instrument of doing good, and promoting the work of salvation, that it immediately overcame me, and took away my strength, so that I could no longer stand on my feet. On Wednesday night, Mr. Clark, coming in with Mr. Buell and some of the people, asked me how I felt. I told him that I did not feel at all times alike, but this I thought I could say, that I had given up all to God, and there is nothing like it, nothing like giving up all to him, esteeming all to be his, and resigning all at his call. I told him that, many a time within a twelvemonth, I had asked myself when I lay

down, How I should feel, if our house and all our property in it should be burnt up, and we should that night be turned out naked; whether I could cheerfully resign all to God; and whether I so saw that all was his, that I could fully consent to his will, in being deprived of it? and that I found, so far as I could judge, an entire resignation to his will, and felt that, if he should thus strip me of every thing, I had nothing to say, but should, I thought, have an entire calm and rest in God, for it was his own, and not mine. After this, Mr. Phelps gave us an account of his own feelings, during a journey from which he had just returned; and then Mr. Pomeroy broke forth in the language of joy, and thankfulness and praise, and continued speaking to us nearly an hour, leading us all the time to rejoice in the visible presence of God, and to adore his infinite goodness and condescension. He concluded by saying, "I would say more, if I could; but words were not made to express these things." This reminded me of the words of Mrs. Rowe:

> "More I would speak, but all my words are faint:
> "Celestial Love, what eloquence can paint?
> "No more, by mortal words, can be expressed;
> "But vast Eternity shall tell the rest;"

and my former impressions of heavenly and divine things were renewed with so much power, and life and joy, that my strength all failed me, and I remained for some time faint and exhausted. After the people had retired, I had a still more lively and joyful sense of the goodness and all-sufficiency of God, of the pleasure of loving him, and of being alive and active in his service, so that, I could not sit still, but walked the room for some time, in a kind of transport. The contemplation was so refreshing and delightful, so much like a heavenly feast within the soul, that I felt an absolute indifference as to any external circumstances; and, according to my best remembrance, this enlivening of my spirit continued so, that I slept but little that night.

"The next day, being Thursday, between ten and eleven o'clock, and a room full of people being collected, I heard two persons give a minute account of the enlivening and joyful influences of the Holy Spirit on their own hearts. It was sweet to me, to see others before me in their divine attainments, and to follow after them to heaven. I thought I should rejoice to follow the negro servants in the town to heaven. While I was thus listening, the consideration of the blessed appearances there were of God's being there with us, affected me so powerfully, that the joy and transport of the preceding night were again renewed. After this, they sang an hymn, which greatly moved me, especially the latter part of it, which speaks of the ungratefulness of not having the praises of Christ always on our tongues. Those last words of the hymn seemed to fasten on my mind, and as I repeated them over, I felt such intense love to Christ, and so much delight in praising him,

that I could hardly forbear leaping from my chair, and singing aloud for joy and exultation. I continued thus extraordinarily moved until about one o'clock, when the people went away."

I am well aware, that very different views will be formed of the preceding narrative, by different individuals. Those, who have no conception of what is meant by the religion of the heart, will doubtless pronounce it the offspring of a diseased body, or a distempered brain. Others, who profess the religion of Christ, but whose minds usually come in contact with nothing which is not merely *palpable*—with nothing but what they can either see, or hear, or feel, or taste,—will probably regard it as the effect of mere enthusiasm. While others, who are both more intellectual and more spiritual in their objects of contemplation, will at once perceive, that the state of mind therein described, is one to which they themselves are chiefly or wholly strangers; and will therefore very naturally, and rationally wish to learn, somewhat more minutely, the circumstances of the individual, who was the subject of these spiritual discoveries, as well as their actual effect upon her character. On these points, the testimony of Mr. Edwards is full and explicit; and from his authority, we state the following facts.

At this time, Mrs. Edwards had been long, in an uncommon manner, growing in grace, and rising, by very sensible degrees, to higher love to God, weanedness from the world, and mastery over sin and temptation, through great trials and conflicts, and long continued struggling and fighting with sin, and earnest and constant prayer and labour in religion, and engagedness of mind in the use of all means, attended with a great exactness of life; and this growth had been attended, not only with a great increase of religious affections, but with a most visible alteration of outward behaviour; particularly in living above the world, and in a greater degree of steadfastness and strength in the way of duty and self-denial; maintaining the christian conflict against temptations, and conquering from time to time under great trials; persisting in an unmoved, untouched calm and rest, under the changes and accidents of time, such as seasons of extreme pain, and apparent hazard of immediate death. These transports did not arise from bodily weakness, but were greatest in the best state of health. They were accompanied with a lively sense of the greatness of God, and her own littleness and vileness; and had abiding effects, in the increase of the sweetness, rest and humility, which they left upon the soul, and in a new engagedness of heart to live to the honour of God, and to watch and fight against sin. They were attended with no enthusiastical disposition to follow impulses, or supposed revelations, nor with any appearance of spiritual pride; but on the contrary, with a very great increase of meekness, and humility, and a

disposition in honour to prefer others, as well as with a great aversion to judging others, and a strong sense of the importance of moral, social duties. They were accompanied with an extraordinary sense of the awful majesty of God, so as frequently to take away the bodily strength; with a sense of the holiness of God, as of a flame infinitely pure and bright, so as oftentimes to overwhelm soul and body; with an extraordinary view of the infinite terribleness of his wrath, of the exceeding sinfulness of her own heart, and of a desert of that wrath forever; with an intense sorrow for sin, so as entirely to prostrate the strength of the body; with a clear certainty of the truth of the great things revealed in the Gospel; with an overwhelming sense of the glory of the work of redemption, and the way of salvation by Jesus Christ, of the glorious harmony of the Divine attributes appearing therein, as that wherein mercy and truth are met together, and righteousness and peace have kissed each other; with a sight of the glorious sufficiency of Christ, a constant immoveable trust in God, an overwhelming sense of his glorious unsearchable wisdom, a sweet rejoicing at his being infinitely and unchangeably happy, independent and all-sufficient, at his reigning over all, and doing his own will with uncontrollable power and sovereignty; with a delightful sense of the glory of the Holy Spirit, as the great Comforter; with intense desires for the honour and glory of God's name, a clear and constant preference of it, not only to her own temporal interests, but to her spiritual comfort; with a willingness to live and die in spiritual darkness, if the honour of God required it, a great lamenting of ingratitude, intense longings and faintings after higher love to Christ, and greater conformity to him—particularly to be more perfect in humility and adoration; with great delight in singing praises to God and Jesus Christ, a desire that this present life might be one continued song of praise, and an overcoming pleasure at the thought of spending eternity in that exercise; with a living by faith in a very unusual manner; with an uniform distrust of her own strength, and a great dependence on God for help; with intense longings that all christians might be fervent in love, and active in the service of God; with taking pleasure in watchfulness and toil, self-denial and bearing the cross; with a melting compassion for those who were in a state of nature, and for christians under darkness, an universal benevolence to all mankind, a willingness to endure any suffering for the conversion of the impenitent—her compassion for them being often to that degree, that she could find no support nor rest, but in going to God and pouring out her soul in prayer for them; with earnest desires that the then existing work of Divine grace might be carried on with greater purity, and freedom from all bitter zeal, censoriousness, spiritual pride and angry controversy, and that the kingdom of Christ might be established through the earth, as a kingdom of holiness, peace and joy; with unspeakable delight in the thoughts of

heaven, as a world of love, where love shall be the saints' eternal food, where they shall dwell in the light of love, and where the very air and breath will be nothing but love; with intense love to the people of God, as to those who will soon wear his perfect image; with earnest desires that others might love God better than herself, and attain to higher degrees of holiness; with a delight in conversing on the most spiritual and heavenly things in religion, often engaging in such conversation, with a degree of feeling too intense to be long endured; and with a lively sense of the importance of charity to the poor, as well as of the need which ministers have of the influences of the Holy Spirit, and earnest longings and wrestlings with God for them in prayer. She had also, according to Mr. Edwards, the greatest, fullest, longest continued, and most constant Assurance of the favour of God, and of a title to future glory, that he ever saw any appearance of, in any person;—enjoying, especially near the time in which he made this statement, to use her own expression, THE RICHES OF FULL ASSURANCE; as well as an uninterrupted, entire resignation to God, with respect to health or sickness, ease or pain, life or death, and an entire resignation of the lives of her nearest earthly friends. These things were attended with a constant, sweet peace and serenity of soul, without a cloud to interrupt it, a continual rejoicing in all the works of nature and providence, a wonderful access to God by prayer, sensibly conversing with him, as much as if Christ were here on earth; frequent, plain, sensible and immediate, answers of prayer, all tears wiped away, all former troubles and sorrows of life forgotten, excepting sorrow for sin, doing every thing for God and his glory, doing it as the service of love, with a continual, uninterrupted cheerfulness, peace and joy. "O how good," she once observed, "is it to work for God in the day time, and at night to lie down under his smiles." Instead of slighting the means of grace in consequence of these discoveries, she was never more sensible of her need of instruction; instead of regarding herself as free from sin, she was led by her clearer sight of the Divine holiness, to perceive more fully the sinfulness of her own heart; instead of neglecting the business of life, she performed it with greater alacrity, as a part of the service of God—declaring that, when thus done, it was as delightful as prayer itself. At the same time, she discovered an extreme anxiety to avoid every sin, and to discharge every moral obligation, was most exemplary in the performance of every social and relative duty, exhibited great inoffensiveness of life and conversation, great meekness, gentleness and benevolence of spirit, and avoided, with remarkable conscientiousness, all those things, which she regarded as failings in her own character.

To those, who, after reading this statement of facts, still regard the preceding narrative as the offspring of enthusiam, we shall draw our reply from Mr. Edwards himself: "Now if such things

are enthusiasm, and the offspring of a distempered brain; let my brain be possessed evermore of that happy distemper! If this be distraction; I pray God that the world of mankind may all be seized with this benign, meek, beneficent, beatific, glorious distraction! What notion have they of true religion, who reject what has here been described? What shall we find to correspond with these expressions of Scripture, *The peace of God, that passeth all understanding: Rejoicing with joy unspeakable, and full of glory: God's shining into our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ: With open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of God, and being changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord: Being called out of darkness into marvellous light: and having the day-star arise in our hearts:* What, let me ask, if these things that have been mentioned do not correspond with these expressions; what else can we find that does correspond with them?"

Mr. Edwards adds, that he had witnessed many instances, in Northampton and elsewhere, of other persons, which were in general, of the same kind with these, though not so high in degree, in any instance; and, in many of them, not so pure and unmixed, or so well regulated. In some individuals, who discovered very intense religious affections, there was obviously a great mixture of nature with grace, and in some a sad degenerating of religious affections; yet, in most instances, they were uniform in their character, and obviously the result of fervent piety.

That such full and clear discoveries of the Divine excellency and glory, as those recited in the preceding narrative, are uncommon, is unhappily too true: still they are far from being singular; for accounts of a similar nature may be found in the private diaries of men of distinguished piety, in almost every age of the church.* They are not however probably more uncommon, than are great attainments in piety; and, when enjoyed by those, who have made such attainments, ought, in no respect, to be regarded as surprising. There is certainly in God, a goodness and a glory, infinitely surpassing the comprehension of the highest created beings. This goodness and glory, which constitutes the Divine beauty and loveliness, God is able to reveal to the mind of every intelligent creature, as far as his faculties extend. If the mind, to which this revelation is made, has a supreme relish for holiness; the discovery of this spiritual beauty of the Divine mind, will communicate to it an enjoyment, which is pure and heavenly in its nature; and the degree of this enjoyment, in every case, will be proportioned to the measure of the faculties, and to the fulness of the discovery. This is obviously true in the heavenly world. God there reveals his glory—

* As examples of this nature, the reader is referred to the writings of Flavel L. Baxter, and Brainerd, and of Mr. Edwards himself.

not in all its infinite brightness: this, he cannot do to a created intelligence: he reveals it—in as strong an effulgence as the minds of saints and angels can endure. Were a revelation, equally clear and full, to be made to one of us here on earth, it would obviously overwhelm and destroy the life of the body; for John, even when he beheld the glorified body of Christ, fell at his feet as dead. In proportion as an individual is possessed of holiness, so much more near does he come to God, and so much more clear and distinct is his perception of his true character. "If a man love me," says Christ, "he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." Such discoveries of the Divine beauty and glory, are therefore the *promised reward*, as well as the natural consequence, of distinguished holiness; and a well authenticated narrative, of the manner in which they were made, in a given instance, even if they were unusual in degree, instead of exciting our distrust or surprise, should lead us, with a noble emulation, to "press forward towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

CHAPTER XV.

Extent of the Revival of 1740, '41, '42.—*Auspicious opening.—Opposed by its enemies; and injured by its friends.—"Thoughts on the Revival in New England."—Attestations of numerous ministers.—Causes of its decline.—Influence of Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Tennent, and others.—Influence of Mr. Edwards' Publications in Scotland.—Great Revival of Religion there.—His correspondents in that country.—Letter to Mr M'Culloch.—Answer to Do.—Letter from Mr. Robe.*

The reader can scarcely need to be informed, that the Revival of religion, of which we have been speaking, was not confined to Northampton. It began there, and at Boston, and at many other places, in 1740, and in that, and the three following years, prevailed, to a greater or less degree, in more than one hundred and fifty congregations in New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; as well as in a considerable number more, in Maryland and Virginia, in 1744. At its commencement, it appears to have been, to an unusual degree, a silent, powerful and glorious, work of the Spirit of God—the simple effect of Truth applied to the conscience, and accompanied by his converting grace. So auspicious indeed was the opening of this memorable work of God, and so rapid its progress, that the promised reign of Christ on the Earth was believed, by many, to be actually begun. Had it continued of this unmixed character, so extensive was its prevalence, and so powerful its operation, it would seem that in no great length of time, it would have pervaded this western world. As is usual in such cases, it was opposed by the enemies of vital religion, and with a violence proportioned to its prevalence and power. But its worst enemies were found among its most zealous friends: and Mr, Edwards appears to have been early aware, that the measures too generally resorted to, by many of them, to extend its influence over the whole country, as well as throughout every town and village where it was actually begun, were only adapted to introduce confusion and disorder, as far as they prevailed. To check these commencing evils, if possible, and to bear his own testimony to the Work as a genuine work of the Holy Spirit, he prepared and published his "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England, in 1740." In this Treatise, after presenting evidence most clear and convincing that the attention to religion, of which he speaks, was a glorious work of God, and showing the obligations which all

were under, to acknowledge and promote it, as well as the danger of the contrary conduct: he points out various particulars in which its friends had been injuriously blamed, then exhibits the errors and mistakes into which they had actually fallen, and concludes by showing positively, what ought to be done to promote it. This work, which was published in 1742, excited a very deep interest in the American churches, and was immediately republished in Scotland. The author, from his uncommon acquaintance with the Scriptures, the soundness of his theological views, his intuitive discernment of the operations of the mind, his knowledge of the human heart both before and after its renovation by the Spirit of God, his familiarity with revivals of religion, his freedom from enthusiasm, and his utter aversion to extravagance and disorder, was admirably qualified to execute it in the happiest manner: and, from the time of its first publication, it has been, to a very wide extent, the common Text-book of evangelical divines, on the subject of which it treats. If the reader will examine the various accounts of revivals of religion, he will find that no one of them, anterior to this, furnishes an explanation of the subject, in accordance with the acknowledged principles of mental philosophy.

In 1743, about one hundred and sixty ministers published their attestations to this work, as in their own view a genuine work of the Spirit of God, and as having been extraordinary and remarkable, on account of the numbers who discovered a deep anxiety for their salvation; on account of its rapid progress from place to place; and on account of the power with which it was carried on. Yet, while they bear witness to the great numbers who appeared to have become real christians, to the extensive reformation of morals which it occasioned, and to a greater prevalence of religion than they had before witnessed; many of them also regret the extravagancies and irregularities, which in some places had been permitted to accompany it. Among these, they particularly point out—a disposition to make secret impulses on the mind, a rule of duty—laymen invading the ministerial office, and under a pretence of exhorting, setting up preaching—ministers invading each other's provinces—indiscreet young men rushing into particular places, and preaching on all occasions—unscriptural separations of churches, and of ministers from their churches—a rash judging of the religious state of others—and a controversial, uncharitable and censorious, spirit.

There can be no doubt, that both parts of this statement are true. Although this most extensive work of grace opened on New England, in 1740 and 1741, in a manner eminently auspicious; yet in the two following years, it assumed, in various places, a somewhat different aspect, and was unhappily marked with irregularity and disorder. This was doubtless owing, in some degree, to the fact, that many ministers of wisdom and sound discretion,

not adverting sufficiently to the extent and importance of the Apostolic exhortation, "Let all things be done decently and in order," either encouraged, or did not effectually suppress, outcries, falling down and swooning, in the time of public and social worship, the speaking and praying of women in the church and in mixed assemblies, the meeting of children by themselves for religious worship, and singing and praying aloud in the streets; but far more to the unrestrained zeal of a considerable number of misguided men;—some of them, preachers of the gospel, and others, lay-exhorters;—who, intending to take Mr. Whitefield as their model, travelled from place to place, preaching and exhorting wherever they could collect an audience; pronounced definitively and unhesitatingly with respect to the piety of individuals, both ministers and private christians; and, whenever they judged a minister, or a majority of his church, destitute of piety;—which they usually did, not on account of their false principles or their irreligious life, but for their want of an ardour and zeal equal to their own;—advised, in the one case, the whole church to withdraw from the minister; and, in the other, a minority to separate themselves from the majority, and to form a distinct church and congregation. This indiscreet advice, had, at times, too much influence, and occasioned in some places the sundering of churches and congregations, in others the removal of ministers, and in others the separation of individuals from the communion of their brethren. It thus introduced contentions and quarrels into churches and families, alienated ministers from each other, and from their people, and produced, in the places where these consequences were most discernible, a wide-spread and rivetted prejudice against revivals of religion. It is deserving perhaps of enquiry, Whether the subsequent slumber of the American Church, for nearly seventy years, may not be ascribed, in an important degree, to the fatal re-action of these unhappy measures.

There can be no doubt that on Mr. Whitefield, (although by his multiplied and successful labours he was the means of incalculable good to the churches of America, as well as to those of England and Scotland,) these evils are, to a considerable degree, to be charged, as having first led the way in this career of irregularity and disorder. He did not go as far as some of his followers; but he opened a wide door, and went great lengths in these forbidden paths; and his imitators, having less discretion and experience, ventured, under the cover of his example, even beyond the limits which he himself was afraid to pass. His published journals show, that he was accustomed to decide too authoritatively, whether others, particularly ministers, were converted; as well as to insist that churches ought to remove those, whom they regarded as unconverted ministers; and that individual christians or minorities of churches, where a majority refused to do this, were bound to separate themselves. Mr. Edwards, wholly disapproving of this con-

duct, conversed with Mr. Whitefield freely, in the presence of others, about his practice of pronouncing ministers, and other members of the christian church, unconverted; and declares that he supposed him to be of the opinion, that unconverted ministers ought not to be continued in the ministry; and that he supposed that he endeavoured to propagate this opinion, and a practice agreeable thereto. The same may be said, in substance, of Mr. G. Tennent, Mr. Finley, and Mr. Davenport, all of whom became early convinced of their error, and with christian sincerity openly acknowledged it. At the same time, while these things were to be regretted in themselves, and still more so in their unhappy consequences, the evidence is clear that, in far the greater number of places, these irregularities and disorders, if in any degree prevalent, were never predominant; and that the attention to religion in these places, while it continued, was most obviously a great and powerful work of the Spirit of God. The testimony of the ministers of those places, on these points, is explicit. It is given with great caution, and with the utmost candour; it acknowledges frankly the evils then experienced; and it details the actual moral change wrought in individuals and in society at large, in such a manner, that no one, who believes in regeneration as the work of the Holy Spirit, can doubt that this change was effected by the finger of God.

Though the attention to religion, at this period, was more powerful and more universal at Northampton, than in almost any other congregation, there was yet scarcely one in which so few of these evils were experienced. The reason was, that their spiritual guide had already formed, in his own mind, settled principles respecting a genuine Revival of religion—as to its cause, its nature, and in the most important points, as to the manner in which it was to be treated. He regarded it as caused—not by Appeals to the feelings or the passions, but—by the Truth of God brought home to the mind, in a subordinate sense by the preaching of the Gospel, but in a far higher sense by the immediate agency of the Holy Spirit. He considered such an event, so far as man is concerned, as the simple effect of a practical attention to Truth, on the conscience and the heart. He felt it to be his great, and in a sense his only, duty therefore, to urge Divine Truth on the feelings and consciences of his hearers, with all possible solemnity and power. How he in fact urged it, his published sermons will show.

Yet even in Northampton, many things occurred, which not only were deviations from decorum and good sense, but were directly calculated, as far as they prevailed, to change that, which, in its commencement, was, to an uncommon degree, a silent and powerful work of divine grace, into a scene of confusion and disorder. This was owing chiefly to contagion from without. "The former part of the revival of religion, in 1740 and 1741, seemed to be

much more pure, having less of a corrupt mixture than in that of 1735 and 1736.—But in 1742, it was otherwise: the work continued more pure till we were infected from abroad. Our people hearing of, and some of them seeing, the work in other places, where there was a greater visible commotion than here, and the outward appearances were more extraordinary, their eyes were dazzled with the high professions and great show that some made, who came in hither from other places. That these people went so far before them in raptures and violent emotions of the affections, and a vehement zeal, and what they called *boldness for Christ*, our people were ready to think was owing to far greater attainments in grace and intimacy with heaven. These things had a strange influence on the people, and gave many of them a deep and unhappy tincture, from which it was a hard and long labour to deliver them, and from which some of them are not fully delivered, to this day."

In many parishes, where the attention to religion commenced in 17 2, it was extensively, if not chiefly, of this unhappy character. This was particularly true in the eastern part of Connecticut, and in the eastern and south eastern part, and some of the more central parishes, of Massachusetts. Churches and congregations were torn asunder, many ministers were dismissed, churches of a separatical character were formed, the peace of society was permanently broken up, and a revival of religion became extensively, in the view of the community, another name for the prevalence of fanaticism, disorder and misrule. This unhappy and surprising change should prove an everlasting beacon to the Church of God.

I HAVE already had occasion to remark, that the "Narrative of Surprising Conversions" was repeatedly published, and extensively circulated, throughout England and Scotland. The same was true of Mr. Edwards' Five Sermons preached during the revival of religion in 1734—5, and of his Discourse on "the Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God." The effect of these publications, particularly of the first, was in the latter country great and salutary. The eyes both of ministers and christians were extensively opened to the fact, that an effusion of the Spirit, resembling in some good degree those recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, might take place, and might rationally be expected to take place, in modern times, in consequence of the direct and powerful application of similar means. Scotland was at that time favoured with the labours of many clergymen, greatly respected for their piety and talents; among whom were the Rev. WILLIAM M'CULLOCH of Cambuslang, the Rev. JOHN ROBE of Kilsyth, the Rev. JOHN M'LAURIN of Glasgow, the Rev. THOMAS GILLESPIE of Carnoch, the Rev. JOHN WILLISON of Dundee, and the Rev. JOHN ERSKINE of Kirkintilloch, afterwards Dr. ERSKINE of Edinburgh. These gentlemen, and many of their associates in the ministry, appear, at the time of which we are speaking, to have

preached, not only with great plainness and fervency, but with the strongest confidence of immediate and great success; and, as a natural consequence, the Church of Scotland soon witnessed a state of things, to which she had long been a stranger.

In February, 1742, a revival of religion began at Cambuslang, the parish of Mr. M'Culloch, four miles from Glasgow, resembling in its power and rapidity, and the number of conversions, that in Northampton, in 1734—5; and in the course of that year, scenes of a similar nature were witnessed in Kilsyth, Glasgow, Dundee, Carnock, Kirkintilloch, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and upwards of thirty towns and villages, in various parts of that kingdom. Thus the darkness which covers the earth, was dispersed, for a season, from over these two countries, and the clear light of heaven shone down upon them, with no intervening cloud. In such circumstances, it might naturally be expected, that the prominent clergymen in both, feeling a common interest, and being engaged in similar labours, would soon open a mutual correspondence.

The first of Mr. Edwards' correspondents in Scotland, was the Rev. Mr. M'Laurin of Glasgow; but, unfortunately, I have been able to procure none of the letters which passed between them. That gentleman, in the early part of 1743, having informed Mr. Edwards that his friend, Mr. M'Culloch of Cambuslang, had intended to write to him with the view of offering a correspondence, but had failed of the expected opportunity; Mr. Edwards addressed to the latter the following letter.

"To the Rev. William M'Culloch, Cambuslang.

"*Northampton, May* 12, 1743.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"Mr. M'Laurin of Glasgow, in a letter he has lately sent me, informs me of your proposing to write a letter to me, and of your being prevented by the failing of the expected opportunity. I thank you, Rev. Sir, that you had such a thing in your heart. We were informed last year, by the printed and well attested narrative, of the glorious work of God in your parish; which we have since understood has spread into many other towns and parishes in that part of Scotland: especially are we informed of this by Mr. Robes' Narrative, and I perceive by some papers of the Weekly History, sent me by Mr. M'Laurin of Glasgow, that the work has continued to make glorious progress at Cambuslang, even till it has prevailed to a wonderful degree indeed. God has highly favoured and honoured you, dear Sir, which may justly render your name precious to all that love our Lord Jesus Christ. We live in a day wherein God is doing marvellous things: in that respect, we are distinguished from former generations. God has wrought great things in New-England, which, though exceedingly glorious, have all

along been attended with some threatening clouds; which, from the beginning, caused me to apprehend some great stop or check to be put to the work, before it should be begun and carried on in its genuine purity and beauty, to subdue all before it, and to prevail with an irresistible and continual progress and triumph; and it is come to pass according to my apprehensions. But yet I cannot think otherwise, than that what has now been doing, is the forerunner of something vastly greater, more pure, and more extensive. I can't think that God has come down from heaven, and done such great things before our eyes, and gone so much beside and beyond his usual way of working, and wrought so wonderfully, and that he has gone away with a design to leave things thus. Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen such things? And will God, when he has wrought so wonderfully, and made the earth to bring forth in one day, bring to the birth and not cause to bring forth? And shall he cause to bring forth, and shut the womb? Isaiah lxvi. 8, 9. I live upon the brink of the grave, in great infirmity of body, and nothing is more uncertain, than whether I shall live to see it: but, I believe God will revive his work again before long, and that it will not wholly cease till it has subdued the whole earth. But God is now going and returning to his place, till we acknowledge our offence, and I hope to humble his church in New-England, and purify it, and so fit it for yet greater comfort, that he designs in due time to bestow upon it. God may deal with his church, as he deals with a particular saint; commonly, after his first comfort, the clouds return, and there is a season of remarkable darkness, and hiding of God's face, and buffetings of Satan; but all to fit for greater mercy; and as it was with Christ himself, who, presently after the heavens were opened above his head, and the Spirit was poured out upon him, and God wonderfully testified his love to him, was driven into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil forty days. I hope God will show us our errors, and teach us wisdom by his present withdrawings. Now in the day of adversity, we have time and cause to consider, and begin now to have opportunity to see the consequences of our conduct. I wish that God's ministers and people, every where, would take warning by our errors, and the calamities that are the issue of them. I have mentioned several things, in my letters to Mr. M'Laurin and Mr. Robe; another I might have mentioned, that most evidently proves of ill consequence, that is, we have run from one extreme to another, with respect to talking of experiences; that whereas formerly there was too great a reservedness in this matter, of late many have gone to an unbounded openness, frequency and constancy, in talking of their experiences, declaring almost every thing that passes between God and their own souls, every where, and before every body. Among other ill consequences of such a practice, this is one, that religion runs all into

that channel; and religion is placed very much in it, so that the strength of it seems to be spent in it; that other duties, that are of vastly greater importance, have been looked upon as light in comparison of this, so that other parts of religion have been really much injured thereby; as when we see a tree excessively full of leaves, we find so much less fruit; and when a cloud arises with an excessive degree of wind, we have the less rain. How much, dear Sir, does God's church at such a day, need the constant gracious care and guidance of our good Shepherd; and especially, we that are ministers.

"I should be glad, dear Sir, of a remembrance in your prayers, and also of your help, by informations and instructions, by what you find in your experience in Scotland. I believe it to be the duty of one part of the church of God, thus to help another.

"I am, dear Sir, your affectionate

"Brother and servant in Jesus Christ,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

The following is the answer of Mr. M'Culloch, to the preceding letter.

"*Cambuslang, Aug.* 13, 1743.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"The happy period in which we live, and the times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, wherewith you first were visited, in Northampton, in the year 1734: and then, more generally, in New England, in 1740, and 1741; and then we, in several places in Scotland, in 1742, and 1743; and the strong opposition made to this work, with you and with us, checked by an infinitely superior Power; often brings to my mind that prophecy, Isaiah lix. 19; "So shall they fear the name of the Lord from the West; and his glory from the Rising of the sun; When the enemy shall come in as a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him." I cannot help thinking that this prophecy, eminently points at our times; and begins to be fulfilled in the multitudes of souls that are bringing in to fear the Lord, to worship God in Christ, in whom his name is, and to see his glory in his sanctuary. And it is, to me, pretty remarkable, that the prophet here foretells they should do so, in the period he points at, not from East to West, but from West to East; mentioning the West before the East, contrary to the usual way of speaking in other prophecies, as where Malachi foretells, that the name of the Lord should be great among the Gentiles, from the Rising of the sun to the West, (Mal. i. 11.) And our Lord Jesus, that many should come from the East and West, &c. (Matthew viii. 11.) And in this order it was, that the light of the gospel came to dawn on the several na-

tions, in the propagation of it through the world. But the prophet here, under the conduct of the Holy Spirit, who chooses all his words in infinite wisdom, puts the West before the East; intending, as I conceive, thereby to signify, that the glorious revival of religion, and the wide and diffusive spread of vital christianity, in the latter times of the gospel, should begin in the more *westerly* parts, and proceed to these more *easterly*. And while it should be doing so, or shortly after, great oppositon should arise, *the enemy should come in as a flood:* Satan should, with great violence, assault particular believing souls; and stir up men to malign and reproach the work of God; and, it's likely also, raise a terrible persecution against the church. But while the enemy might seem, for a time, to be thus carrying all before him, *the Spirit of the Lord should lift up a standard against him;* give a banner to them that fear Him, and animate them to display it for the truth, and make his word mightily to prevail, and bear down all opposing power. For on what side soever the Almighty and Eternal Spirit of Jehovah lifts up a standard, there the victory is certain; and we may be sure he will lift it up in defence of his own work. The Chaldee paraphrase makes the words in the latter part of this verse, to allude to the river Euphrates, when it breaks over all ts banks, and overflows the adjacent plains; thus, when persecutors shall come in, as the inundation of the river Euphrates, they shall be broke in pieces by the word of the Lord.

"The whole o this verse seems to me, to have an aspect to the present and past times, for some years. The Sun of Righteousness, has been making his course from West to East, and shedding his benign and quickening influences, on poor forlorn and benighted souls in places vastly distant from one another. But clouds have arisen and intercepted his reviving beams. The enemy of salvation has broke in, as an overflowing flood, almost overwhelmed poor souls, newly come into the spiritual world, after they had got some glimpse of the glory of Christ, with a deluge of temptations: floods of ungodly men, stirred up by Satan, and their natural enmity at religion, have affrighted them: mistaken and prejudiced friends have disowned them. Many such things have already befallen the subjects of this glorious work of God of late years. But I apprehend more general and formidable trials are yet to come: and that the enemy's coming in as a flood, may relate to a flood of errors or persecutions of fierce enemies, rushing in upon the church, and threatening to swallow her up. But our comfort is, that the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts will lift up a standard, against all the combined powers of earth and hell, and put them to flight: and Christ having begun to conquer, so remarkably, will go on from conquering to conquer, till the whole earth be filled with his glory. Rev. xii. 15; Isaiah xvii. 12, 13.

"I mention these things, dear Sir, not for your information, for

I know that I can add nothing to you; but to show my agreement with you, in what you express as your sentiments, that what has now been a doing is the fore-runner of something vastly greater, more pure, and more extensive, and that God will revive his work again, ere long, and that it will not wholly cease, till it has subdued the whole earth: and, without pretending to prophecy, to hint a little at the ground of my expectations. Only I'm afraid, (which is a thing you do not hint at) that before these glorious times, some dreadful stroke or trial may yet be abiding us. May the Lord prepare us for it. But as to this, I cannot and dare not peremptorily determine. All things I give up to farther light, without pretending to fix the times and seasons for God's great and wonderful works, which he has reserved in his own power, and the certain knowledge of which he has locked up in his own breast."

The same conveyance brought Mr. Edwards the following Letter, from the Rev. Mr. Robe, of Kilsyth.

"*Kilsyth, Aug.* 16, 1743.

"Rev. Sir, and very dear Brother,

"We acknowledge, with praise and thanks, the Lord's keeping his work hitherto, *with us*, free from those errors and disorders, which, through the subtilty of the serpent, and corruptions even of good men, were mixed with it in New England. As this was no more just ground of objection against what was among you, being a real work of the Holy Spirit, than the same things were against the work of God in Corinth, and other places, at the first conversion of the Pagans, and afterwards at the Reformation from Popery; so the many adversaries to this blessed work here, have as fully made use of all those errors, disorders, and blemishes, against it *there*, as objections, as if they had really been *here*. The most unseasonable accounts from America, the most scurrilous and bitter pamphlets, and representations from mistaking brethren, were much and zealously propagated. Only it was over-ruled by Providence, that those letters and papers dropped what was a real testimony to the goodness of the work, they designed to defame and render odious. Many thinking persons concluded, from the gross calumnies forged and spread against the Lord's work here, within a few miles of them, that such stories from America, could not be much depended upon.

"What you write about the trial of extraordinary joys and raptures, by their concomitants and effects, is most solid; and our practice, by all I know, hath been conformable to it. It hath been in the strongest manner declared, that no degree of such rapturous joys evidenced them to be from God, unless they led to God, and carried with them those things which accompany salvation. Such

conditional applications of the promises of grace and glory as you justly recommend, hath been all along our manner. A holy fear of caution and watchfulness, hath been much pressed upon the subjects of this work, who appeared to believe through grace. And what is greatly comfortable, and reason of great praise to our God, is, that there is, as is yet known to any one in these bounds, no certain instance of what can be called apostacy; and not above four instances of any who have fallen into any gross sin.

"As to the state and progress of this blessed work here, and in other places, it is as followeth. Since the account given in the several prints of my narrative, which I understand is or will be at Boston; the awakening of secure sinners hath and doth continue in this congregation; but not in such multitudes as last year, neither can it be reasonably expected. What is ground of joy and praise is, that there scarce hath been two or three weeks, but wherein I have some instance of persons newly awakened, besides several come to my knowledge who have been awakened, and appear in a most hopeful state, before they were known to me. Of which I had an instance yesterday, of a girl awakened, as she saith, in October last. I have, at writing this, an instance of a woman who appears to have obtained a good issue of her awakening last year: though I supposed it had come to nothing, through her intermitting to come to me of a long time. There is this difference in this parish betwixt the awakening last year and now; that some of their bodies have been affected by their fears, in a convulsive or hysteric way; and yet the inward distress of some of them hath been very sharp. I have seen two or three, who have fainted under apprehension of the hiding of God's face, or of their having received the Lord's supper unworthily. In some of the neighbouring congregations, where this blessed work was last year, there are instances of discernible awakenings, this summer. In the large parish of St. Ninians, to the north of this, I was witness to the awakening of some, and conversed with others awakened, the middle of July last. In the parish of Sintrie to the west of St. Ninians there were several newly awakened at the giving the Lord's supper, about the end of July. In Gargunnock, Kippen, Killern farther north and west, the Lord's work is yet discernible. At Muthel, which is about twenty miles north from this, the minister wrote me about the middle of July, that this blessed work, which hath appeared there since last summer as at Cambuslang, yet continued; and hath spread into other parishes, and reacheth even to the Highlands bordering upon that parish.

"I am not without hopes of having good accounts of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the shires of Rosse and Nairn among the northernmost parts of Scotland. There was more than ordinary seriousness, in some parishes, in hearing the word, and in a concern about their souls, in the spring, when I saw some godly minis-

ters from those bounds. This more than ordinary seriousness in hearing, and about communion times, is observable in several parts in Scotland, this summer. Societies for prayer setting up where there were none, and in other places increasing. A concern among the young are in some of the least hopeful places in Scotland, particularly in the Meuse near the English borders. There is a great likelihood of the Lord's doing good by the gospel, in this discernible way, in those bounds. Mr. M'Laurin, my dear brother, gives you an account of the progress of this work to the west of Glasgow, and other places. There have been very extraordinary manifestations of the love of God, in Christ Jesus, unto his people, in the use of the holy supper, and in the dispensation of the word about that time, this summer: Which hath made the Lord's people desire it a second time in these congregations during the summer season. It was given here upon the first Sabbath of July, and is to be given here next Lord's day, a second time, upon such a desire.

"Your affectionate brother and servant
"In our dearest Lord,
"James Robe."

CHAPTER XVI.

First Interview with David Brainerd.—Separations from Churches.—Letter to Rev. Mr. Whitman.—Correspondence with Mr. Clap.—Character of that gentleman.—Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. Abercrombie.—Letter to Mr. M'Culloch.—Views of the Prophecies, relative to the Church.—Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. Buell.

In September, 1743, Mr. Edwards, while attending the public commencement at New Haven, first became acquainted with David Brainerd, then a Missionary at Kaunaumeek. Brainerd, when a sophomore in college, in consequence of some indiscreet remarks, uttered in the ardour of his religious zeal, respecting the opposition of two of the Faculty to the preaching of Mr. Whitefield, but which a generous mind would have wholly disregarded, had been expelled from the college. As this was the commencement, at which his class were to receive the degree of A. B., he came to New Haven to attempt a reconciliation with the Faculty, and made to them a truly humble and christian acknowledgment of his fault. "I was witness," says Mr. Edwards, "to the very christian spirit which Brainerd showed at that time; being then at New Haven, and one whom he thought fit to consult on that occasion. There truly appeared in him a great degree of calmness and humility; without the least appearance of rising of spirit for any ill-treatment which he supposed he had suffered, or the least backwardness to abase himself before those, who, as he thought, had wronged him. What he did was without any objection or appearance of reluctance, even in private to his friends, to whom he freely opened himself. Earnest application was made on his behalf, that he might have his degree then given him; and particularly by the Rev. Mr. Burr of Newark, one of the Correspondents of the Honourable Society, in Scotland; he being sent from New Jersey to New Haven, by the rest of the Commissioners, for that end; and many arguments were used, but without success. He desired his degree, as he thought it would tend to his being more extensively useful; but still, when he was denied it, he manifested no disappointment nor resentment."

I have already alluded to the numerous separations of individual members, from the churches to which they belonged, which occur-

red about this period, and usually for the alleged want of piety, either of the minister or of the church. As these commonly took place without a regular dismission, it became a practical question of some interest, how the withdrawing members should be treated. Mr. Edwards, having been consulted on this subject, with reference to some of the members of the second church in Hartford, who had thus withdrawn, addressed the following letter to the minister of that church.

"To the Rev. Elnathan Whitman, of Hartford, Connecticut.

"*Northampton, Feb.* 9, 1744.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"Mr. P—— was here this week, and requested my opinion, with respect to the proper treatment of a number of persons, who have absented themselves from your meeting, and have since attended public worship in W——. I declined giving any opinion, except a very general one, to him; but, on reflexion, have concluded to express my thoughts to you, as a friend, leaving you to attach to them such weight, as you may see cause.

"As to differences, among professing christians, of opinion and practice, about things that appertain to religion, and the worship of God, I am ready to think that you and I are agreed, as to the general principles of liberty of conscience; and that men's using methods with their neighbours, to oblige them to a conformity to their sentiments or way, is in nothing so unreasonable, as in the worship of God; because that is a business, in which each person acts for himself, with his Creator and Supreme Judge, as one concerned for his own acceptance with him; and on which depends his own, and not his neighbour's, eternal happiness, and salvation from everlasting ruin. And it is an affair, wherein every man is infinitely more concerned with his Creator, than he is with his neighbour. And so I suppose, that it will be allowed, that every man ought to be left to his own conscience, in what he judges will be most acceptable to God, or what he supposes is the will of God, as to the kind, or manner, or means of worship, or the society of worshippers he should join with in worship. Not but that a great abuse, may be made of this doctrine of liberty of conscience, in the worship of God. I know that many are ready to justify every thing in their own conduct, from this doctrine, and I do not suppose that men's pretence of conscience, is always to be regarded, when made use of to justify their charging the society of worshippers they unite with, or the means of their worship, or indeed the kind or manner of their worship. Men may make this pretence at times under such circumstances, that they may, obviously, be worthy of no credit in what they pretend. It may be manifest from the nature and circumstances of the case, and their own manner of be-

haviour, that it is not conscience, but petulancy, and malice, and wilfulness, and obstinacy, that influence them. And, therefore, it seems to me evident, that, when such pleas are made, those that are especially concerned with them as persons that are peculiarly obliged to take care of their souls, have no other way to do, but to consider the nature and circumstances of the case, and from thence to judge whether the case be such as will admit of such a plea, or whether the nature of things will admit of such a supposition, that the men act conscientiously in what they do, considering all things that appertain to the case. And in this, I conceive, many things are to be considered and laid together, as—the nature of that thing that is the subject of controversy,—or wherein they differ from others, or have changed their own practice—the degree in which it is disputable, or how it may be supposed liable to diversity of opinion, one way or the other, as to its agreeableness to the word of God, and as to the importance of it, with regard to men's salvation or the good of their souls—the degree of knowledge or ignorance of the persons, the advantages they had for information, or the disadvantages they have been under, and what has been in their circumstances that might mislead the judgment—the principles that have been instilled into them—the instructions they have received from those, of whose piety and wisdom they have had an high opinion, which might misguide the judgment of persons of real honesty, and sincerity, and tender conscience—the example of others—the diversity of opinion among ministers—the general state of things in the land—the character of the persons themselves—and the manner of their behaviour in the particular affair in debate.

"Now, Sir, with regard to those persons that have gone from you, to W——, however you may look upon their behaviour herein as very disorderly, yet, if you suppose (the case being considered with all its circumstances) that there was any room for charity, that it might be through infirmity, ignorance and error of judgment, so that they might be truly conscientious in it; that is, might really believe it to be their duty, and what God required of them, to do as they have done; you would, I imagine, by no means think, that they ought to be proceeded with, in the use of such means as are proper to be used with contumacious offenders, or those that are stubborn and obstinate in scandalous vice and wilful wickedness; or that you would think it proper to proceed with persons, towards whom there is this room left for charity, that possibly they may be honest and truly conscientious, acting as persons afraid to offend God, so as to cut them off from the communion of the Lord, and cast them forth into the visible kingdom of Satan, to be as harlots and publicans.

"Now, it may be well to examine, whether it can positively be determined, when all things are taken into consideration with respect to these persons, who have absented themselves from your

assembly, that it is not possible in their case, that this might really be their honest judgment, that it was their duty to do so, and that God required it of them, and that they should greatly expose the welfare of their own souls, in attending no other public worship but that in your congregation. I suppose these persons are not much versed in casuistical divinity. They are of the common people, whose judgments, in all nations and ages, are exceedingly led and swayed. They are not very capable of viewing things in the extent of their consequences, and of estimating things in their true weight and importance. And you know, dear Sir, the state that things have been in, in the country. You know what opinions have lately prevailed, and have been maintained and propagated by those that have been lifted up to heaven, in their reputation for piety and great knowledge in spiritual things, with a great part of the people of New-England. I do not pretend to know what has influenced these people, in particular; but I think, under these circumstances, it would be no strange thing, if great numbers of the common people in the country, who are really conscientious, and concerned to be accepted with God, and to take the best course for the good of their souls, should really think in their hearts that God requires them to attend the ministry of those that are called *New Light Ministers*, and that it would be dangerous to their souls, and what God approved not of, ordinarily to attend the ministry of others; yea, I should think it strange if it were otherwise. It ought to be considered, how public controversy, and a great and general cry in matters of religion, strongly influences the conduct of multitudes of the common people, how it blinds their minds, and wonderfully misleads their judgments. And the rules of the Gospel, and the example of the Apostles, most certainly require that great allowances be made in such cases. And particularly the example of the Apostle Paul, with regard to great numbers of professing christians, in the church of Corinth; who, in a time of great and general confusion in that church, through the evil instructions of teachers whom they admired, who misled and blinded their judgments, ran into many and great disorders in their worship, and woful schisms and divisions among themselves—particularly with regard to ministers, and even with regard to the Apostle Paul himself, whom many of them seem for a time to have forsaken, to follow others who set up themselves in opposition to him; though, as he says, he had been their father who begat them through the Gospel. Yet with how much gentleness does the Apostle treat them, still acknowledging them as brethren; and though he required church censures to be used with regard to the incestuous person, yet there is no intimation of the Apostle taking any such course, with those that had been misled by these false teachers, or with any that had been guilty of these disorders, except with the false teachers themselves. But as soon as they are brought off

from following these false apostles any longer, he embraces them without further ado, with all the love and tenderness of a father; burying all their censoriousness, and schisms, and disorders, at the Lord's Supper, as well as their ill treatment of him, the extraordinary messenger of Christ to them. And indeed, the Apostle never so much as gave any direction for the suspension of any one member from the Lord's Supper, on account of these disorders, or from any other part of the public worship of God; but instead of this, gives them directions how they shall go on to attend the Lord's Supper, and other parts of worship, in a better manner. And he himself, without suspension or interruption, goes on to call and treat them as beloved brethren, christians, sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints; and praises God in their behalf, for the grace that is given to them by Christ Jesus; and often and abundantly exhibits his charity towards them, in innumerable expressions which I might mention. And nothing is more apparent, than that he does not treat them as persons, with respect to whom, there lies a bar in the way of others treating them, with the charity that belongs to saints, and good and honest members of the christian church, until the bar be removed by a church process. And indeed, the insisting on a church process with every member that has behaved disorderly, in such a state of general confusion, is not a way to build up the church of God, (which is the end of church discipline,) but to pull it down. It will not be the way to cure a diseased member, but to bring a disease on the whole body.

"I am not alone in these sentiments; but I have reason to think that Col. Stoddard, from the conversation I have had with him, is in the like way of thinking. There came hither, the last fall, two young men belonging to the church at New-Haven, who had been members of Mr. Noyes's church, but had left it and joined the separate church, and entered into covenant with it, when that church was embodied. This was looked upon as a crime, that ought not to be passed over, by Mr. Noyes and the Rector. They declared themselves willing to return to Mr. Noyes's meeting; but a particular confession was required of them in the meeting-house. Accordingly, each of them had offered a confession, but it was not thought sufficient; but it was required that they should add some things, of which they thought hard; and they consulting me about it, I acquainted Col. Stoddard with the affair, and desired his thoughts. He said he looked upon it unreasonable, to require any confession at all; and that, considering the general state of confusion that had existed, and the instructions and examples these young men had had, it might well be looked upon enough, that they were now willing to change their practice, and return again to Mr. Noyes's meeting. Not that you, Rev. Sir, are obliged to think as Col. Stoddard does; yet I think, considering his character and relation, his judgment may well be of so much weight,

as to engage you the more to attend to and weigh the reasons he gives.

"The objections, that these persons may have had against ordinarily attending your meeting, may be very trivial; but yet I suppose that, through infirmity, the case may be so with truly honest christians, that trivial things may have great weight in their consciences, so as to have fast hold of them, until they are better enlightened: As in the former times of the country, it was with respect to the controversy between Presbyterians and Congregationalists. It was, as I have heard in those days, real matter of question with some, whether a Presbyterian, living and dying such, could be saved. Some Presbyterians, that have lived with us, have desired baptism for their children, who yet lived in neglect of the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ, because of a difference in some trivial circumstances of the administration, from the method of the church of Scotland. This matter being discoursed of, it was thought by Col. Stoddard in particular, that their neglect ought to be borne with, and they ought to be looked upon as christians, and their children received to baptism; because, however trivial the foundation of their scruples were, yet through ignorance they might be honest and conscientious in them.

"As to the church covenant, that these persons have entered into, wherein they have obliged themselves ordinarily to join in the worship of that church; I suppose none interpret the promises of a church covenant in such a sense, as to exclude all reserves of liberty, in case of an alteration of the judgment, in the affairs of conscience and religion, in one respect or another. As if a person, after incorporating with a Congregational church, should become a conscientious Episcopalian, or Anabaptist, or should, by any change of judgment, come to think the means or manner of worship unlawful; and so in other respects that might be mentioned.

"And if it be so that these persons, in some of their conversation and behaviour, have manifested a contentious, froward spirit, at the time of their withdrawing from your church; I confess this gives greater ground of suspicion of the sincerity of their plea of conscience; yet, as to this, I humbly conceive allowances must be made. It must be considered, that it is possible that persons, in an affair of this nature, may, in the thing itself, be conscientious, and yet, in the course of the management of it, may be guilty of very corrupt mixtures of passion and every evil disposition; as indeed is commonly the case with men, in long controversies of whatever nature, and even with conscientious men. And therefore, it appears to me, that if persons in such a case are not obstinate, in what is amiss in them in this respect, and don't attempt to justify their frowardness and unchristian speeches, they notwithstanding may deserve credit, when they profess themselves conscientious in the affair in general.

"Thus, dear Sir, I have freely communicated to you some of my thoughts, with regard to some of the concerns of this difficult day, which prove a trouble to you; not however with any aim at directing your conduct, but merely to comply with the request to which I have alluded. I am fully sensible, that I am not the Pastor of the second church of Hartford; and I only desire you would impartially consider the reasons I have offered. Begging of Christ, our common Lord, that he would direct you in your theory and practice, to that which will be acceptable in his sight,

"I remain, Rev. Sir,

"Your friend and brother,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

IN May, 1743, Mr. Edwards went, as he often did, to Boston, to attend the convention of the clergy, which is held the day after the General Election. He was on horseback, and had his eldest daughter on a pillion behind him. At Brookfield, they fell in company with the Rev. Mr. Clap, Rector of Yale College, his wife and son-in-law, also on horseback, with several others, all travelling in the same direction; and Mr. Edwards, joining the company, rode side by side with Mr. Clap, during a considerable part of the journey. At the Commencement of Harvard College in the following year, 1744, Mr. Clap stated, before a large number of gentlemen, both at Boston and Cambridge, that, while riding through Leicester, in May of the year preceding, he was informed by Mr. Edwards, that Mr. Whitefield *told him*, "that he had the design of turning out of their places the greater part of the clergy of New-England, and of supplying their pulpits with ministers from England, Scotland and Ireland." This statement surprized those who heard it; yet, coming from such a source, it was believed, and extensively circulated. Mr. Edwards heard of it with astonishment, and without hesitation denied that he had said so. Mr. Clap, hearing of this denial, addressed a letter to Mr. Edwards, dated Oct. 12, 1744, in which he stated anew the alleged conversation, in the same terms; but before the latter received it, he had forwarded a letter to Mr. Clap, dated Oct. 18, 1744, showing him his mistake, and calling on him to correct it. On Oct. 29th, he wrote a reply to Mr. Clap's letter of the 12th; and receiving another, dated Oct. 28th, before he sent it, he replied to that also in the Postscript, under date of Nov. 3d. Mr. Clap, finding that Mr. Edwards' contradiction of his statement was believed; and having heard, though incorrectly, that Mr. Edwards was about to publish such a contradiction; incautiously published a letter to his friend in Boston, in which he not only re-asserted his former statement, but declared that Mr. Edwards, in his private correspondence with him on the subject, had made a declaration, *equally full and strong*, to the same point. Mr. Edwards published a reply, in a letter to his friend in Boston, dated Feb. 4, 1745; in which he gave his

two letters of Oct. 18, and Oct. 29, with the Postscript of Nov. 3; from which it appears that, instead of admitting the truth of Mr. Clap's statement, he had most explicitly and solemnly denied it; and, in order to show how Mr. Clap might have been led into the mistake, acknowledged that he himself *supposed* that Mr. Whitefield was formerly of the opinion, that unconverted ministers ought not to be continued in the ministry; and that he himself *supposed* that Mr. Whitefield endeavoured to propagate this opinion, and a practice agreeable to it; and that all he had ever stated to any one was, his *own opinion* merely, and not any *declared design* of Mr. Whitefield. He also admitted, that Mr. Whitefield told him he intended to bring over a number of young men, to be ordained by the Messrs. Tennents, in New-Jersey. He then asks, whether this is the same thing as Mr. Clap asserted, and suggests a variety of arguments, which seem absolutely conclusive, that he could never have made such a statement.

Mr. Clap, in reply to this, in a letter to Mr. Edwards, dated April 1, 1745, enters seriously upon the task of showing that Mr. Edwards' assertion—"that Mr. Whitefield *told* him, that he intended to bring over a number of young men, to be ordained by the Messrs. Tennents, in New-Jersey"—connected with the assertion —that Mr. Edwards himself *supposed*, that Mr. Whitefield was formerly of the opinion, that unconverted ministers ought not to be continued in the ministry, and that Mr. Edwards himself *supposed* that Mr. Whitefield endeavoured to propagate this opinion, and a practice agreeable to it:—was equivalent to Mr. Edwards' saying, that Mr. Whitefield *told him*, "that he had the design of turning out of their places the greater part of the clergy of New-England, and of supplying their places with ministers from England, Scotland and Ireland."

Mr. Edwards, in a letter to Mr. Clap, of May 20, 1745, after exposing in a few words, the desperate absurdity of this attempt, enters on the discussion of the question—Whether he ever made such a statement to Mr. Clap?—with as much calmness as he afterwards exhibited, in examining the question of a self-determining power; and with such logical precision of argument, that probably no one of his readers ever had a doubt left upon his mind, with regard to it:—no, not even his antagonist himself; for he never thought proper to attempt a reply; and in the public protest of the Faculty of Yale College, against Mr. Whitefield, he and his associates in office say, in alluding to this very conversation, "You told the Rev. Mr. Edwards of Northampton, that you intended to bring over a number of young men from England, to be ordained by the Tennents." Those, who have an opportunity of reading these communications, will find, in those of Mr. Edwards, an example of a personal controversy, conducted throughout, and to a very uncommon degree, in the spirit of the gentleman and the christian.

This occurred at a period of great excitement, when many ministers had been removed, and many churches rent asunder; and when the minds of men were of course prepared beforehand to believe every thing, that favoured their own side of the question. Mr. Clap was, in this case, obviously mistaken: still he was truly a man of respectability and worth. He had a powerful mind, rich in invention, and stored with knowledge, was profoundly versed in Mathematics, Physics and Astronomy, as well as the principles of Law, and proved an able instructer and governor of the institution, over which he presided. He was elected by a Board of Trustees, exclusively Arminian in sentiment, and all his associates in office held the same tenets. At the same time, though he entered warmly into the controversy relative to Mr. Whitefield, from a full conviction that it was his design to occasion the separation of churches, and to procure, as far as possible, the ejectment of all whom he regarded as unconverted ministers; and was doubtless happy in supposing himself able to prove that such was his avowed design, on the testimony of one of his warmest friends; yet he was far from taking the low ground of orthodoxy assumed by many on the same side, but always adhered to the doctrines of grace, and ultimately became their champion. Sometime after this, he showed his magnanimity, by introducing the Essay on the Freedom of the Will, as a classic in the college.

In August, 1744, Mr. Edwards preached the Sermon entitled "The True Excellency of a Gospel Minister," at the ordination of Mr. Robert Abercrombie, to the ministry of the Gospel, at Pelham. This gentleman was from Scotland, having been made known to Mr. Edwards by his correspondents in that country; and through his kind offices was introduced to the people at Pelham. The Sermon was immediately published.

The reader will probably recollect, that Mr. M'Culloch, in his Letter of August 13, 1743, had expressed the opinion, that the Church of God, previous to her ultimate extension and triumph, was destined to meet with "more extensive and formidable trials," than she had ever before experienced. Mr. Edwards, from a minute investigation of the Scriptural Prophecies, having been convinced that this, which was at that time the commonly received opinion of the church, was erroneous; expresses his dissent from it in the following answer.

"*Northampton, March* 5, 1744.

"To the Rev. Mr. M'Culloch.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"I return you thanks for your most obliging, entertaining and instructive, Letter, dated Aug. 13, 1743, which I received about

the latter end of October; my answering which has been unhappily delayed, by reason of my distance from Boston, and not being able to find any opportunity to send thither, till the ship was gone that brought your letter; which I much regretted. My delaying to answer has been far from arising from any indifference with respect to this correspondence, by which I am sensible I am highly honoured and privileged.

"'Tis probable that you have been informed, by other correspondents, before now, what the present state of things in New England is: it is indeed, on many accounts, very melancholy: there is a vast alteration within these two years; for about so long I think it is, since the Spirit of God began to withdraw, and this great work has been on the decline. Great numbers in the land, about two years ago, were raised to an exceedingly great height, in joy and elevation of mind; and through want of watchfulness, and sensibleness of the danger and temptation that there is in such circumstances, many were greatly exposed, and the devil taking the advantage, multitudes were soon, and to themselves insensibly, led far away from God and their duty; God was provoked that he was not sanctified in this height of advancement, as he ought to have been, he saw our spiritual pride and self-confidence, and the polluted flames that arose of intemperate, unhallowed zeal; and he soon, in a great measure, withdrew from us; and the consequence has been, that the Enemy has come in like a flood, in various respects, until the deluge has overwhelmed the whole land. There had, from the beginning, been a great mixture, especially in some places, of false experiences, and false Religion with true; but from about this time, the mixture became much greater, many were led away with sad delusions; and this opened the door for the Enemy to come in like a flood in another respect, it gave great advantages to these enemies and opposers of this work, furnished them with weapons and gave them new courage, and has laid the friends of the work under such disadvantage, that nothing that they could do would avail any thing to withstand their violence. And now it is come to that, that the work is put to a stop every where, and it is a day of the Enemy's triumph: but I believe also a day of God's People's Humiliation, which will be better to them in the end than their elevations and raptures. The time has been amongst us when the sower went forth to sow, and we have seen the spring, wherein the seed sprang up in different sorts of ground, appearing then fair and flourishing; but this spring is past, and we now see the summer, wherein the sun is up with a burning heat, that tries the sorts of ground; and now appears the difference, the seed in stony ground, where there was only a thin layer of earth on a rock, withers away, the moisture being dried out; and the hidden seeds and roots of thorns, in unsubdued ground, now springs up and chokes the seed of the word. Many high professors are fallen, some into

gross immoralities, some into a rooted spiritual pride, enthusiasm, and an incorrigible wildness of behaviour, some into a cold frame of mind, showing a great indifference to the things of Religion. But there are many, and I hope those the greater part of those that were professed Converts, who appear hitherto like the good ground, and notwithstanding the thick and dark clouds, that so soon follow that blessed sunshine that we have had; yet I cannot but stedfastly maintain a hope and persuasion that God will revive his work, and that what has been so great and very extraordinary, is a forerunner of a yet more glorious and extensive work.—It has been slanderously reported and printed concerning me, that I have often said, that the Millennium was already begun, and that it began at Northampton. A doctor of divinity in New England, has ventured to publish this report to the world, from a single person, who is concealed and kept behind the curtain: but the report is very diverse from what I have ever said. Indeed I have often said, as I say now, that I looked upon the late wonderful revivals of Religion as forerunners of those glorious times so often prophesied of in the Scripture, and that this was the first dawning of that light, and beginning of that work, which, in the progress and issue of it, would at last bring on the Church's latter day glory; but there are many that know that I have from time to time added, that there would probably be many sore conflicts and terrible convulsions, and many changes, revivings and intermissions, and returns of dark clouds, and threatening appearances, before this work shall have subdued the world, and Christ's kingdom shall be every where established and settled in peace, which will be the lengthening of the Millennium or day of the Church's peace, rejoicing and triumph on earth, so often spoken of. I was much entertained and delighted, dear Sir, with your thoughts on that text in Isai. lix. 19, which you signify in your letter, and so have many others been to whom I have communicated them; and as to what you say of some dreadful stroke or trial yet abiding, before the happy days of the promised peace and prosperity of the church, I so far agree with you, that I believe that, before the church of God shall have obtained the conquest, and the visible kingdom of Satan on earth shall receive its overthrow, and Christ's kingdom of grace be every where established on its ruins, there shall be a great and mighty struggle between the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of Satan, attended with the greatest and most extensive convulsions and commotion, that ever were upon the face of the earth, wherein doubtless many particular christians will suffer, and perhaps some parts of the Church.

"But that the enemies of the Church of God, should ever gain such advantages against her any more, as they have done in times past, that the victory should ever any more be on their side, or that it shall ever be given to the Beast again to make war with the saints, and to prevail against them, and overcome them; (as in Rev. xiii.

7; and xi. 7; and Dan. vii. 21,) to such a degree as has been heretofore, is otherwise than I hope. Though in this I would be far from setting up my own judgment, in opposition to others, who are more skill'd in the prophecies of Scripture, than I am. I think that what has mainly induced many divines to be of that opinion, is what is said in Revelation, chap. xi. concerning the slaying of the witnesses, v. 7, 8. And when they shall have finished their testimony, the Beast, that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them and kill them; and their dead bodies shall be in the street of the great city, &c.

"The event here spoken of, seems evidently to be that, wherein the enemies of the church gain the greatest advantage against her, that ever they have, and have the greatest conquest of her, that ever they obtained, and bring the church nearest to a total extinction. For a long time the church is very small, represented by two witnesses, and they had been long in a very low state, prophecying in sackcloth; but now they are dead and their enemies triumph over them, as having gotten a complete victory, and look upon it that they are now past all possibility of recovery, there being less prospect of the church's restoration than ever there was before. But are we to expect this, dear Sir, that Satan will ever find means to bring things to pass, that after all the increase of light that has been in the world, since the Reformation, there shall be a return of a more dark time than in the depth of the darkness of Popery, before the Reformation, when the church of God shall be nearer to a total extinction, and have less of visibility, all true religion and light be more blotted out of the memories of mankind, Satan's kingdom of darkness be more firmly established, all monuments of true religion be more abolished, and that the state of the world should be such, that it should appear further from any hope of a revival of true religion than it ever has done; is this conceivable, or possible, as the state of things now is all over the world, even among Papists themselves, without a miracle, a greater than any power short of divine can effect, without a long tract of time, gradually to bring it to pass, to introduce the grossest ignorance and extinguish all memory and monuments of truth; which was the case in that great extinction of true religion that was before the Reformation. And besides, if we suppose this War of the Beast that ascends out of the bottomless pit with the witnesses, wherein he overcomes them and kills them, to be that last war which the church shall have with the Beast, that great and mighty conflict that shall be just before the final overthrow of Antichrist, that we read of in the 16th chap. the 13th and following verses, and in the 19th chapter; how shall we make them consist together? In the 11th chapter the church conflicts in sorrow, clothed in sackcloth, and in blood; in the 19th chap. the saints are not represented as fighting in sorrow and blood, though the battle be exceedingly great, but in strength,

glory, and triumph. Their Captain goes forth to this battle, in great pomp and magnificence, on a white horse, and on his head many crowns, and on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS; and the saints follow him, not in sackcloth, but coming forth on white horses, clothed in pure linen, clean and white, the raiment of triumph, the same raiment that the saints appear in, Rev. vii. 14, when they appear with palms in their hands, after they had washed their robes, that had been stained with their own blood, and made themselves white in the blood of the Lamb. In the conflict spoken of in chap. xi., the Beast makes war with the witnesses, and overcomes them, and kills them: the same is foretold, Dan. vii. 21, and Rev. xiii. 7. But in that last great battle, just before the fall of Antichrist, we find the reverse of this, the church shall obtain a glorious victory over the Beast, and the Beast is taken and cast into the lake of fire. Rev. xvii. 14, These shall make war with the Lamb; and the Lamb shall overcome them; for he is Lord of Lords and King of Kings; and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful; compared with chap. xix. 16, to the end, and chap. xvi. 16, 17. In that conflict, chap. xi., the Beast has war with the witnesses, and kills them, and their dead bodies lie unburied, as if it were to be meat for the beasts of the earth, and fowls of heaven; but in that last conflict, Christ and his church shall slay their enemies, and give their dead bodies to be meat for the beasts of the earth and fowls of heaven, chap. xix. 17, etc. There is no manner of appearance in the descriptions that are given of that great battle, of any great advantages gained in it against the church, before the enemy is overcome, but all appearance of the contrary. The descriptions in the 16th and 19th chapters of Rev. will by no means allow of such an advantage, as that of the overcoming and slaying of the church, or people of God, and their lying for some time unburied, that their dead bodies may be for their enemies to abuse and trample on, and make sport with. In the 16th chap. we have an account of their being gathered together into the place called Armageddon; and then the first thing we hear of after that, is the pouring out of the seventh vial of God's wrath, and a voice saying it is done; and so in chap. xix. we read of the Beast, and the Kings of the earth, and their armies being gathered together, to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army; and then the next thing we hear of is the Beast's being taken, etc. The event of the conflict of the Beast with the church, chap. xi. is the triumph of the church's enemies, when they of the people, and kindred, and tongues, and nations, and they that dwell on the earth, shall see the dead bodies of the saints lying in the streets, and shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and send gifts one to another. But the event of that great and last battle, before the fall of Antichrist, is quite the reverse of this, even the church's triumphing

over their enemies, as being utterly destroyed. Those events, that are consequent on the issue of the war with the witnesses, chap. xi. do in no wise answer to those, that are represented as consequent on that last conflict of Antichrist with the church! 'Tis said that when the witnesses ascended into heaven, the same hour there was an earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell; and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand! but this don't seem at all to answer what is described, chap. xvi. and xix. The great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell! and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath; and every island fled away, and the mountains were not found. And it had been said before, that there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, and so great. And in chap. xix. instead of slaying seven thousand men, it seems as if there was a general slaughter of all the enemies of the church, through the world. And besides if we read this 11th chapter through, we shall see that the falling of the tenth part of the city and the rising of the witnesses, and their standing on their feet and ascending into heaven, are represented there as entirely distinct from the accomplishment of the church's glory, after the fall of Antichrist, and God's judging and destroying the enemies of the church. The judgment here spoken of, as executed on God's enemies, are under another *Woe*, and the benefits bestowed on the church, are under another *Trumpet:* For immediately after the account of the rising and ascending of the witnesses, and its consequences, follow these words, v. 14, 15, "The second woe is past, and behold the third woe cometh quickly. And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever." And in the following verses, we have an account of the praises sung to God on the occasion; and in the last verse we have a brief hint of that same great earthquake, and the great hail, and those thunders, and lightnings, and voices, that we have an account of in the latter part of chap. xvi. so that the earthquake mentioned in the last verse of chap. xi. seems to be the great earthquake, that attends the last great conflict of the church and her enemies, rather than that mentioned, v. 13.

"The grand objection against all this is, that it is said, that the witnesses should prophecy one thousand two hundred and sixty days, clothed in sackcloth; and when they have finished their testimony, the beast should make war against them, and kill them, etc. and that it seems manifest that after this they are no longer in sackcloth; for henceforward they are in an exalted state in heaven: and that therefore seeing the time of their wearing sackcloth is one thousand two hundred and sixty days, i. e. during the time of the

continuance of antichrist; hence their being slain, and their rising again must be at the conclusion of this period, at the end of antichrist's reign.

"In answer to which I would say, with submission to better judgments, that I humbly conceive that we can justly infer no more from this prophecy than this, viz. that the one thousand two hundred and sixty days is the proper time (as it were) of the Church's trouble and bondage, or being clothed in sackcloth, because it is the appointed time of the reign of antichrist; but this don't hinder but that God, out of great compassion to his Church, should, in some respect, shorten the days, and grant that his Church should, in some measure, anticipate the appointed great deliverance that should be at the end of these days, as he has in fact done in the Reformation; whereby his Church has had a great degree of restoration granted her, from the darkness power and dominion of antichrist, before their proper time of restoration, which is at the end of the one thousand two hundred and sixty days; and so the Church through the compassion of her Father and Redeemer, anticipates her deliverance from her sorrows; and has, in some respects, an end put to her testifying in sackcloth, as many parts of the Church are henceforward brought out from under the dominion of the antichristian powers, into a state of liberty; though in other respects, the Church may be said still to continue in her sackcloth, and in the wilderness, (as Chap. xii. 14,) till the end of the days. And as to the witnesses standing on their feet, and ascending into heaven; I would propose that it may be considered, Whether any more can be understood by it, than the Protestant Church's being now (at least as to many parts of it) able to stand on her own legs, and in her own defence, and being raised to such a state, that she henceforward is out of the reach of the Romish powers; that, let them do what they will, they shall never any more be able to get the Church under their power, as they had before; as oftentimes in the scriptures God's People's dwelling in safety, out of the reach of their enemies, is represented by their dwelling on high, or being set on high; Ps. lix. 1. Isai. xxxiii. 16. Ps. lxix 29, and xci. 14, and cvii. 41. Prov. xxix. 25; and the children of Israel, when brought out of Egypt, were said to be carried on eagle's wings, that is lofty in its flight, flies away towards heaven where none of her enemies can reach her.

"I might here observe, that we have other instances of God's shortening the days of his Church's captivity and bondage, either at the beginning or latter end, in some measure parallel with this. Thus the proper time of the bondage of the posterity of Abraham, in a strange land, was four hundred years, Gen. xv. 13: but yet God in mercy, delayed their bondage, whereby the time was much shortened at the beginning. So the time wherein it was foretold, that the whole land of Israel should be a desolation and an astonish-

ment, and the land should not enjoy her sabbaths, was seventy years, Jer. xxv, 11, 12; and these seventy years are dated in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 21, from Zedekiah's captivity; and yet from that captivity to Cyrus's decree was but about fifty-two years, though it was indeed about seventy years before the temple was finished. So the proper time of the oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes, wherein both the Sanctuary and the Host should be trodden under foot by him, was two thousand and three hundred days, Dan. vii. 13, 14, and yet God gave Israel a degree of deliverance by the Maccabees, and they were holpen with a little help, and the Host ceased to be trodden under foot before that time was expired. Dan. xi. 32, 34.

"But in these things, dear Sir, I am by no means dogmatical; I do but humbly offer my thoughts on what you suggested in your letter, submitting them to your censure. 'Tis pity that we should expect such a terrible devastation of the Church, before her last and most glorious deliverance, if there be no such thing to be expected. It may be a temptation to some of the people of God, the less earnestly to wish and pray for the near approach of the Church's glorious day, and the less to rejoice in the signs of its approach.

"But, let us go on what scheme we will, it is most apparent from the Scriptures, that there are mighty strugglings to be expected, between the Church of God and her Enemies, before her great victory; and there may be many lesser strugglings before that last, and greatest, and universal conflict. Experience seems to show that the Church of God, according to God's method of dealing with her, needs a great deal gradually to prepare her for that prosperity and glory that he has promised her on earth: as the growth of the earth, after winter, needs gradually to be prepared for the summer heat: I have known instances, wherein by the heat's coming on suddenly in the spring, without intermissions of cold to check the growth, the branches many of them, by a too hasty growth, have afterwards died. And perhaps God may bring on a spiritual spring as he does the natural, with now and then a pleasant sunshiny season, and then an interruption by clouds and stormy winds, till at length, by the sun more and more approaching, and the light increasing, the strength of the winter is broken. We are extremely apt to get out of the right way. A very great increase of comfort that is sudden, without time and experience, in many instances has appeared to wound the soul, in some respects, though it seems to profit it in others. Sometimes, at the same time that the soul seems wonderfully delivered from those lusts, that are more carnal and earthly, there is an insensible increase of those that are more spiritual; as God told the children of Israel, that he would put out the former inhabitants of the land of Canaan, by little and little, and would not consume them at once, least the beasts of the field should

increase upon them.—We need much experience, to teach us the innumerable ways that we are liable to err, and to show us the evil and pernicious consequences of those errors. If it should please God, before many years, to grant another great Revival of religion in New England, we should perhaps be much upon our guard against such errors as we have run into, and which have undone us this time, but yet might run insensibly into other errors that now we think not of.

"You enquire of me, Rev. Sir, whether I reject all those for counterfeits that speak of visions and trances. I am far from doing of it: I am, and always have been, in that matter, of the same opinion that Mr. Robe expresses, in some of those pamphlets Mr. McLaurin sent me, that persons are neither to be rejected, nor approved on such a foundation. I have expressed the same thing in my discourse on the Marks of a work of the true Spirit, and have not changed my mind.

"I am afraid, Dear Sir, that I have been too bold with you, in being so lengthy and tedious, and have been too impertinent and forward to express my opinion upon this and that; but I consider myself as writing to a candid, christian friend and brother, with whom I may be free and bold, and from whom I may promise myself excuse and forgiveness. Dear Brother, asking your earnest prayers for me and for New England, I am your affectionate brother, and engaged friend and servant,

"Jonathan Edwards."

The opinion here expressed by Mr. Edwards, was not the result of a slight and cursory examination of the subject in discussion. He had a considerable time before examined, at great length, the prophecies of Daniel and John, with regard to this very point; and, as we shall soon have occasion to remark, had been convinced that the opinion, then commonly received, *that the severest trials of the Church were yet future, was erroneous.*

The Rev. Samuel Buell, whom I have already mentioned, as having preached at Northampton, during the absence of Mr. Edwards, in January 1742, with uncommon fervour and success, continued his labours, as an evangelist among the churches, upwards of four years; and at length accepted of an invitation from the people of East Hampton, a village in the S. E. corner of Long Island, to become their minister. At his request, Mr. Edwards went to East Hampton, and there preached his Installation Sermon, on the 19th of September, 1746, from Isaiah, lxii. 4, 5.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mistakes extensively prevalent at this time, as to the nature and evidences of True Godliness,—"Treatise on Religious Affections."—Design and Character of the Work.—Republished abroad.—Letter from Mr. Gillespie concerning it.—Letter from Mr. Edwards to Mr. M'Culloch.—Reply to Mr. Gillespie.—Proposal made in Scotland, for United Extraordinary Prayer.—Efforts of Mr. Edwards to promote it.—Letter to Mr. M'Culloch.—"Humble Attempt to promote Extraordinary Prayer."

From the facts already recited, it will be obvious to the reader, that few clergymen, even in the course of a long ministry, have as full an opportunity of learning, from their own observation, the true nature of a Revival of religion, and the differences between imaginary and saving Conversion, as Mr. Edwards had now enjoyed. He had early discovered, that there was a radical difficulty attending not only every revival of religion, but, in a greater or less degree also, every instance of supposed conversion:—a difficulty arising from erroneous conceptions, so generally entertained, respecting the question, *What is the nature of True Religion?* or, *What are the distinguishing marks of that Holiness, which is acceptable in the sight of God?*—Perceiving, at an early period of his christian life, that no other subject was equally important to man, that no other was more frequently or variously illustrated by the Scriptural writers, and yet, that on no other had professing christians been less agreed; his attention, as he himself informs us, had been particularly directed to it, from his first commencement of the study of Theology, and he was led to examine it with all the diligence, and care, and exactness of search and enquiry, of which his mind was capable. In addition to this, he had not only witnessed, in two successive instances, a solemn and universal attention to religion, among the young as well as among grown persons in his own congregation, and in both, almost all of the latter, as well as very many of the former, gathered into the church; but he had been the spiritual counsellor and guide of multitudes in other congregations, where he had occasionally laboured, as well as of great numbers who visited him for this purpose, at Northampton. These advantages of observation, it may easily be believed, were not lost on a mind like his.

This subject, at the time of which we are speaking, had become, also, a subject of warm and extended controversy. The advo-

cates of revivals of religion, had too generally been accustomed to attach to the mere circumstances of conversion—to the time, place, manner and means, in and by which it was supposed to be effected—an importance, no where given them in the Scriptures; as well as to conclude, that all affections which were high in degree, and accompanied with great apparent zeal and ardour, were of course gracious in their nature; while their opposers insisted, that true religion did not consist at all in the affections, but wholly in the external conduct. The latter class attributed the uncommon Attention to religion, which they could not deny had existed for four years in New-England, to artificial excitement merely; while the former saw nothing in it, or in the measures taken to promote it, to condemn, but every thing to approve. Mr. Edwards, in his views of the subject, differed materially from both classes. As he knew from his own experience, that sin and the saving grace of God might dwell in the same heart; so he had learned, both from observation and testimony, that much false religion might prevail during a powerful revival of true religion, and that at such a time, multitudes of hypocrites might spring up among real christians. Thus it was in the revival of religion in the time of Josiah, in that which attended the preaching of John the Baptist, in those which occurred under the preaching of Christ, in the remarkable outpouring of the Spirit in the days of the Apostles, and in that which existed in the time of the Reformation. He clearly saw, that it was this mixture of counterfeit religion with true, which in all ages had given the devil his chief advantage against the kingdom of Christ. "By this," observes Mr. Edwards, "he hurt the cause of christianity, in and after the apostolic age, much more, than by all the persecutions of both Jews and Heathens. By this he prevailed against the Reformation, to put a stop to its progress, more than by all the bloody persecutions of the church of Rome. By this he prevailed against the revivals of religion, that have occurred since the Reformation. By this he prevailed against New-England, to quench the love of her espousals, about a hundred years ago. And I think I have had opportunity enough to see plainly, that by this the devil has prevailed against the late great revival of religion in New-England, so happy and promising in its beginning. I have seen the devil prevail in this way, against two great revivings of religion in this country. By perverting us from the simplicity that is in Christ, he hath suddenly prevailed to deprive us of that fair prospect we had a little while ago, of a kind of paradisaic state of the Church of God in New-England."

These evils, it was obvious, must exist in the church, until their cause was removed, and men had learned to distinguish accurately between true and false religion. To contribute his own best endeavours for the accomplishment of this end, Mr. Edwards prepared and published his "Treatise on Religious Affections."

The great design of this Treatise is, to show, In what True Religion consists, and what are its Distinguishing Marks and Evidences; and thus to enable every man, who will be honest and faithful with himself, to decide whether he is, or is not, a real christian. Similar attempts had been made, by many earlier writers; but it may, I believe, safely be asserted, that no one of their efforts, taken as a whole, and viewed as an investigation of the entire subject, would now be regarded as in any high degree important or valuable. The subject itself is one of the most difficult, which Theology presents; and demands for its full investigation, not only ardent piety, and a most intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures, but an exact and metaphysical inspection of the faculties and operations of the human mind; which unfortunately few, very few, writers on experimental religion, have hitherto discovered. The work of Mr. Edwards is at once a scriptural, and a philosophical, view of the subject; —as truly scientific in its arrangement, and logical in its deductions, as any work on the Exact sciences. That it is also a thorough and complete view of it, we have this decisive evidence—that no work of the kind, of any value, has appeared since, for which the author has not been indebted, *substantially*, to the Treatise on the Affections; or which has not been that very Treatise, in part, or in whole, *diluted* to the capacity of weaker understandings. The trial, to which the mind of the honest, attentive and prayerful, reader of its pages is subjected, is the very trial of the Final Day. He, who can endure the trial of the Treatise on the Affections, will stand unhurt amidst a dissolving universe; and he who cannot, will assuredly perish in its ruins. It ought to be the *Vade mecum*, not only of every clergyman, and every christian, but of every man, who has sobriety of thought enough to realize, that he has any interest in a coming Eternity. Every minister should take effectual care, that it is well dispersed among the people of his own charge, and that none of them is admitted to a profession of religion, until, after a thorough study of this Treatise, he can satisfy both himself, and his spiritual guide, not only that he does not rely upon the mere *negative signs* of holiness, but that he finds within himself those distinguishing marks and evidences of its *positive* existence, which the Divine Author of holiness has pronounced sure and unerring. It is indeed said, that anxious enquirers will often be discouraged by this course—particularly by a perusal of the Second Part of the Treatise—from making a profession of religion, and led to renounce the hope of their own conversion; and the answer is, that he, who, on finding himself discouraged from a profession of religion, by the Second Part, is not encouraged to make it by a perusal of the Third Part, should of course, unless his views are perverted by disease or melancholy, consider the call *to repent and believe the Gospel*, as still addressed immediately to himself; and that he, who, on the perusal of this Treatise, is led to renounce the

hope which he had cherished of his own piety, while he has the best reason to regard it as a false hope, will find almost of course, that that hope is soon succeeded by one which will endure the strictest scrutiny. It is also said, that many persons cannot understand this Treatise; and the answer is, that he, who is too young to understand it in its *substance*, is too young to make a profession of religion; and that he, whose mind is too feeble to receive it substantially, when communicated by a kind and faithful pastor, cannot understandingly make such a profession. Pre-eminently is this Treatise necessary to every congregation, during a Revival of religion. It was especially designed by its author, to be used on every such occasion; and the minister, who then uses it as he ought, will find it like a fan in his hand, winnowing the chaff from the wheat. And until ministers, laying aside the miserable vanity which leads them, in the mere number of those, whom they denominate their "spiritual children," to find an occasion of boasting, and of course to swell that number as much as they can, shall be willing thus faithfully and honestly to make a separation among their enquirers; every revival of religion will open a great and effectual door, through which the enemies, as well as the friends of religion, will gain an admission into the house of God. And when they are thus admitted, and the ardour of animal feeling has once subsided, the minister will generally find, not only that he has wounded Christ in the house of his friends, but that he has destroyed his own peace, and that of his church, and prepared the way for his own speedy separation from his people.

To prevent this miserable system of deception, on the part of ministers and churches, as well as of candidates for a profession of religion, Mr. Edwards wrote the Treatise in question. As at first prepared, it was a series of sermons, which he preached from his own desk, from the text still prefixed to it, 1 Peter i. 8, "*Whom having not seen ye love: in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice, with joy unspeakable and full of glory.*" It was thus written and preached, probably, in the years 1742, and 1743. Being afterwards thrown into the form of a Treatise by the author, it was published early in 1746. In its style, it is the least correct of any of the works of Mr. Edwards, published in his life time; but, as a work exhibiting genuine christianity, in distinction from all its counterfeits, it possesses such singular excellence, that, were the books on earth destined to a destruction so nearly universal, that only one beside the Bible could be saved; the church of Christ, if aiming to preserve the volume of the greatest value to man, that which would best unfold to a bereaved posterity, the real nature of true religion, would unquestionably select for preservation, the Treatise on the Affections.

This Treatise was immediately republished in England and Scotland, and was cordially welcomed by all the friends of evan-

gelical religion in those countries, as well as in America. Its appearance in Scotland gave rise to an interesting correspondence, between Mr. Edwards and the Rev. Thomas Gillespie of Carnock near Edinburg; which was commenced by the latter gentleman with the following letter.

Letter from Mr. Gillespie.

"*Carnock, Nov.* 24, 1746.

"VERY DEAR SIR,

"I have ever honoured you for your work's sake, and what the great Shepherd made you the instrument of, from the time you published the then very extraordinary account of the Revival of Religion at Northampton, I think in the year 1735. The two performances you published on the subject of the late glorious work in New England, well adapted to that in Scotland, gave me great satisfaction, especially the last of them, for peculiar reasons. This much I think myself bound to say. I have many a time, for some years, designed to claim humbly the privilege of correspondence with you. What has made me defer doing it so long, when some of my brethren and good acquaintances have been favoured with it, for a considerable time, it is needless now to mention. I shall only say, I have blamed myself for neglect in that matter. I do now earnestly desire a room in your prayers and friendship, and a letter from you sometimes, when you have occasion to write to Scotland; and I shall wish to be as regular as I can, in making a return. With your permission, I propose to trouble you now and then with the proposal of doubts and difficulties that I meet with, and am exercised by; as for other reasons, so because some solutions in the two mentioned performances were peculiarly agreeable to me, and I find from these discourses, that wherein I have differed in some things from many others, my sentiments have harmonized with Mr. Edwards. This especially was the case in some things contained in your "*Thoughts concerning the Revival of Religion in New England.*" All the apology I make for using such freedom, though altogether unacquainted, is that you will find from my short attestation in Mr. Robe's Narrative, I am no enemy to you, or to the work you have been engaged in, and which you have defended in a way I could not but much approve of. Also my friend and countryman, the Rev. Mr. Robert Abercrombie, will inform you about me, if you have occasion to see him or hear from him.

"I longed to see somewhat about impressions respecting facts and future events, etc. whether by Scripture-texts or otherwise, made on the minds of good people, and supposed to be from the Lord; for I have had too good occasion to know the hurtful, yea,

pernicious tendency of this principle, as commonly managed, upon many persons in manifold instances and various respects. It has indeed surprised me much, that wise, holy and learned divines, as well as others, have supposed this a spiritual experience, an answer of prayers, an evidence of being highly favoured by the Lord, etc. and I was exceeding glad, that the Lord had directed you to give so seasonable a caveat against what I am assured you had the best reason to term, "A handle in the hand of the devil, etc." I was only sorry your then design had not permitted you to say more on that point. It merits a volume; and the proper full discussion of it would be one of the most seasonable and effectual services done the church of Christ, and interest of vital religion through the world, that I know of. I rejoice to find there is a good deal more on that subject interspersed in your "*Treatise of Religious Affections*," which I have got, but could not as yet regularly peruse. I humbly think the Lord calls you, dear Sir, to consider every part of that point in the most critical manner, and to represent fully the consequences resulting from the several principles in that matter, which good people, as well as others, have been so fond of. And as (if I do not mistake) Providence has already put that in your hand as a part of your generation-work, so it will give me, as well as others, vast satisfaction to find more said on the subject by you, if you do not find what is in the mentioned treatises sufficient, as to which I can form no judgment, because, for myself, I have not as yet considered it. If any other author has treated that subject, I do not remember to have met with it, and I believe hell has been no less delighted than surprised, that a regular attack has not been made on them on that side before now. I doubt not they dread the consequences of such assault with exquisite horror. The neglect or oversight, if not the mistakes of so many learned authors, who have insisted on doctrines that bear similitude or relation to this matter, while it was passed over, I humbly think should teach us humility, and some other useful lessons I need not name to Mr. Edwards.

"I hope, dear Sir, it will not offend you, that I humbly offer some remarks, with all due deference, upon what I have observed in looking into your "*Treatise on Religious Affections:*" and, upon farther perusal, shall frankly represent what I may find difficulty about, if any such passage should cast up; expecting you will be so good as to set me right, if I shall mistake or not perceive your meaning.

"Pages 78, 79,* there are several passages I do not well understand. Page 78, line 6, *ad finem*, you say, "That they should confidently believe and trust, while they yet remain without spiritual light or sight, is an antiscriptural and absurd doctrine you are refuting." But this doctrine, as it is understood by many, is,

*See Vol, V. pp. 78, 79, 80.

that christians ought firmly to believe and trust in Christ without light or sight, and though they are in a dark, dead frame, and for the present having no spiritual experiences and discoveries. Had you said they could not, or would not believe or trust without spiritual light or sight, this is what could not be doubted: but I humbly apprehend, the position will not hold as you have laid it, whether it is applied to a sinner or a saint, as I suppose you understand it; for though the sinner never will believe on the Lord Jesus, till he has received a saving manifestation of his glory by the work of the Spirit, yet every sinner, we know, is indispensably bound, at all seasons, by the divine authority, to believe instantly on the Lord Jesus. The command of the Lord, 1 John iii. 23, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, no less binds the sinner to immediate performance, than the command not to kill, to keep the Sabbath day, or any other duty, as to the present performance of which, in way of duty, all agree, the sinner is bound. I suppose none of us think we are authorised, or will adventure to preach, that the sinner, should delay to attempt to believe in the Saviour, till he finds light from heaven shining into his mind, or has got a saving sight or discovery of the Lord Jesus, though it is certain he cannot believe, nor will do it eventually, till favoured with such light or sight; because we should, in that event, put in a qualification where the apostle Paul and Silas did put none; such is their exhortation to the jailor, Acts xvi. 31. Also, as it may be the last call the sinner is to receive, in the dispensation of the word, we are bound to require him *instantly* to believe, whatever he does, or does not feel in himself. If you did intend not the sinner, but the saint, in the before mentioned positions, as I am apt to think your scope plainly intimates, still I apprehend these your assertions are not tenable; for I humbly suppose the Christian is bound to trust the divine faithfulness plighted in the promise for needful blessings, be his case with respect to light or darkness, sight, etc. what it will; and that no situation the saint can be in, looses him from obligation to glorify the Lord on all occasions, by trusting in him and expecting the fulfilment of his word suiting his case. Also I would imagine in Is. l. 10, the saint is required to believe, in the precise circumstances mentioned in your assertion above mentioned. Pardon my freedom. You do indeed say, "It is truly the duty of those who are thus in darkness to come out of darkness into light and believe," page 78, line 5; but how to reconcile that with the mentioned assertion that immediately follows, or with Is. l. 10, or other Scriptures, or said assertions, and the other, of which before, I am indeed at a loss. Sometimes I think it is not believing the promise, or trusting the Lord, and trusting in him, you mean in the positions I have cited; but the belief of the goodness of one's state that he is a saint. If that was what you intended, I heartily wish you had said so much in the book; but as this is not ordinarily

what is meant by believing in Scripture, I must suppose it was not the idea affixed to your words; and an expression of yours seems to make it evident. Had you plainly stated the distinction, betwixt the impossibility of one's actually believing, and its yet being his duty to believe, in the circumstances you mentioned; danger of mistake and a handle for cavil had been cut off.

"Page 78, line 20, etc., you say, "To press and urge them to believe, without any spiritual light or sight, tends greatly to help forward the delusions of the prince of darkness." Had you said, to press them to believe that the Lord was their God, when going on a course of sin, or when sinning presumptuously, was of such tendency, which probably was in part what you designed, it would in my humble apprehension, have been much more safe, for the reasons given. Also, as it is ordinarily and justly observed, that they who are most humbled think they are least so, when under a saving work of the Spirit, perhaps in like manner, spiritual light and sight may, in some instances, be mistaken or not duly apprehended; in which case, the person, upon admitting and proceeding upon your suppositions, may perhaps be apt to give way to unbelief, and to say, If I am not to be urged by the Lord's servants to believe in my present circumstances, it would surely be presumptuous in me, to entertain thoughts of attempting it. Or, it may be, he shall think he has not that degree of spiritual light or sight, that is absolutely necessary in order to his believing, and thus the evil heart of unbelief shall make him depart from the living God, and neglect to set to his seal that he is true, perhaps from the apprehension that it is his duty to remain as he is, or at least in the persuasion it would be in vain to essay to believe, till matters be otherwise with him. If I have deduced consequences from your words and manner of reasoning, which you think they do not justly bear, I will be glad to be rectified by you, dear Sir, and would be satisfied to know from you, how the practice you remark upon in the fore-mentioned passage, tends to help forward the delusions of Satan. I am apt to believe the grounds upon which you proceed, in the whole paragraph I have mentioned, is, that you have with you, real Antinomians, who teach things about faith and believing, subversive of new obedience and gospel holiness, and inconsistent with the Scripture doctrines concerning them. But as we have few, if any such at all, (I believe I might say more,) in this country, and at the same time have numbers who would have the most accurate and judicious evangelical preachers to insist a great deal more upon *doing*, and less upon *believing*, Mark x. 17—23, for what reasons you will perceive, I am afraid your words will be misrepresented by them, and a sense put upon your expressions, which you were far from intending. I expect a mighty clamour by the Seceders, if the book shall fall into their hands. All I shall say about what is expressed by you, page 78, line 32, etc. is, that I have frequently

heard it taught by those accounted the most orthodox, that the believer was bound to trust in the Lord, in the very worst frame he could be in, and that the exercise of faith was the way to be delivered from darkness, deadness, backsliding, etc. It is impossible one should err, who follows the course prescribed by the Lord in his word. I suppose no person is bound or allowed to defer believing one single moment, because he finds himself in a bad situation, because the Spirit breathes not on him, or he finds not actual influence from heaven communicated to him at that season, rendering him capable or meet for it; for this reason, that not our ability or fitness, but the Lord's command, is the rule of duty, etc. It merits consideration, whether the believer should ever doubt of his state, on any account whatever; because doubting, as opposed to believing, is absolutely sinful. I know the opposite has been prescribed, when the saint is plunged in prevailing iniquity; but does not doubting strengthen corruption? is not unbelief the leading sin, as faith is the leading grace?

"Page 258, (Note,) you cite as an authority Mr. Stoddard, affirming, "One way of sin is exception enough against men's salvation, though their temptations be great." I well remember the singularly judicious Dr. Owen somewhere says to this effect, "Prevalence of a particular sin over a person for a considerable time, shews him to be no saint, except when under the power of a strong temptation." I would suppose such texts as Isaiah lxiv. 6, page 65, 3, etc. warranted the Doctor to assert as he did. It is, I own, no small difficulty to steer the middle course, betwixt affording hypocrites ground unwarrantably to presume on the one hand, and wounding the Lord's dear children on the other; and all the little knowledge of the Scriptures I would hope the Lord has given me, makes me think Mr. Shepherd, good and great man as he was, verged not a little to the last extreme, with whom, if I mistake not, Mr. Stoddard symbolizes in the above assertion; for such as I have mentioned, I apprehend is the drift and tendency of Mr. Shepherd's principles. In some instances, daily experience and observation confirm me still more, that we should be very cautious and modest when asserting on that head, and should take care to go no farther in the matter, than we have plain Scripture to bear us out. The consideration, that indwelling sin sometimes certainly gets such ascendant, that the new creature is, for the time the Lord sees meet, as fire buried under ashes, undiscerned and inactive, lays foundation, in my humble apprehension, for saying somewhat stronger on that point, than I would choose to utter in public teaching, and how long a saint may have been in the case now hinted, I suppose it belongs not to us precisely to determine.

"Page 259, you say, "Nor can a true saint ever fall away, so that it shall come to this, that ordinarily there shall be no remark-

able difference in his walk and behaviour since his conversion, from what was before." I do not remember that the Scripture any where mentions, that David or Solomon were sanctified from the womb. I think the contrary may be presumed; and it is evident for a considerable time, with the first ordinarily, and for a long time, in the case of the latter ordinarily, there was a remarkable difference for the worse, in the walk and behaviour of both of them, when we are sure they were saints, from what it appears it had been in their younger years. Besides, let us suppose a person of a good natural disposition, bred up in aversion to all vicious practices, by a religious education and example, and virtuous inclination thus cultivated in him, 2 Peter ii. 20, and he is converted when come to maturity, and afterwards corruption in him meets with peculiar temptations; I doubt much if there would be a remarkable difference betwixt his then conversation and walk, and that in unregeneracy. The contrary I think is found in experience, and the principles laid down leave room to suppose it.

"I own in what I have above said I have perhaps gone farther than becomes a man of my standing in writing to one of Mr. Edwards's experience, and am heartily sorry my first letter to you is in such a strain, and on such a subject. But love to you, dear Sir, and concern lest you should be thought to patronize what I am sure you do not, and to oppose what are your real sentiments, made me write with such freedom and break over restraints, which modesty, decency, etc., should otherwise have laid me under, that you might have an opportunity to know in what light these things I mention to you appear to some who are your real friends in this country. A valuable minister, in looking into what is noticed in pages 78 and 79, said to me, it would be right some should write you about it, and I take this first opportunity, that you may have access to judge of the matter, and what it may be proper for you to do, or not to do in it.

"I will expect an answer with your convenience. I hope you will deal freely with me; for I can say, I would sit down and learn at your feet, dear Sir, accounting myself as a child in knowledge of the Scriptures, when compared with others I will not name, and the longer I live I see the greater advantage in improvements of that kind. Conceal nothing that you think will tend to put me right if you find my views are not just. I proposed in the beginning of this letter to trouble you with some questions or doubts, and shall mention one or two at present. What should one do who is incessantly harrassed by Satan; can by no means keep him out of his mind; has used all means prescribed in Scripture and suggested by divines for resistance known to him, in vain; it may be for a long time has cried to Christ, but he hears not, seems not to regard him; all his efforts are swallowed up in the deluge of the foe; do what he will, seems to gain no ground against

the powers of darkness; is apt to dread he shall sink under the load, and never shall be delivered in this world? What would you advise such a person to do? What construction, think you, should be put on the sovereign conduct and dispensation of Heaven toward him? I have occasion to be conversant about this case practically demonstrated, of many years continuance, without interruption; and will therefore be glad to have your mind about it in a particular manner, and as much at large as you conveniently can. It is said, all things work for good, etc. As degrees of glory will be in proportion to those of grace, how can it be made appear it is for one's good what sometimes happens to saints, their being permitted to fall under backslidings and spiritual decays, and to die in that state, perhaps after continuing in it a considerable while, and when their situation has been attended with the melancholy circumstances and consequences that sometimes have place in that state of matters? The solution of this I would gladly receive from you.

"Are the works of the great Mr. Boston known in your country, viz. the Fourfold State of Man, View of the Covenant of Grace, and a Discourse on Afflictions, and Church communion, etc. If not inform me by your letter. I have now need to own my fault in troubling you with so long a letter, and so I shall end, etc.

Letter from Mr. Edwards to Mr. M'Culloch, of Cambuslang.

"*Northampton, Jan.* 21, 1747.

"To the Rev. Mr. M'Culloch.

"Rev. and dear Brother,

"The time seems long to me, since I have received a letter from you; I have had two letters from each of my other correspondents in Scotland, since I have had any from you. Our correspondence has been to me very pleasant; and I am very loth it should fail.

"Great changes have been, dear Sir, since I have had a letter from you; and God has done great things, both in Scotland and America: Though not of the same nature, with those that were wrought some years ago, by the out-pourings of his Spirit: Yet those wherein his Providence is on many accounts exceedingly remarkable: In Scotland, in the suppression of the late rebellion; and in America, in our preservation from the great French Armada, from Brest, and their utter disappointment and confusion, by the immediate and wonderful Hand of Heaven against them, without any interposition of any arm of flesh: The nearest akin to God's wonderful works of old, in the defence of his people, in Moses', Joshua's, and Hezekiah's time, perhaps of any that have been in these latter ages of the world. I have been writing some account of it to Mr. McLaurin: But since then, I have seen a thanksgiving sermon of Mr. Prince's, preached on that occasion:

in which is a much more distinct, particular, and (I suppose) exact account of the matter, (which sermon you will doubtless see.) Though there is something, that I observed in my letter to Mr. McLaurin, of the coming of that fleet, its being overruled for our preservation, in this part of the land where I dwell, when eminently exposed, and when we have all reason to think our enemies in Canada had formed designs against us, that Mr. Prince does not mention.

"In my last letter to you, I wrote you some thoughts and notions I had entertained, concerning the pouring out of the sixth vial on the river Euphrates, and the approach of the happy day of the Church's prosperity and glory, and the utter destruction of Antichrist, and other enemies of the Church, so often spoken of in the Holy Scriptures: I signified it as what appeared to me probable, that one main thing intended by the drying up the river Euphrates, was the drying up the temporal supplies and income of the Antichristian church and kingdom; and suggested it to consideration whether God, appearing so wonderfully for the taking Cape Breton, and the American Fishery, thereon depending, out of the hands of the French, and thereby drying up so great a fountain of the wealth of the kingdom of France, might not be looked upon as one effect of the sixth vial. I would now also propose it to be considered, whether God's so extraordinarily appearing to baffle the great attempt of the French nation, to re-possess themselves of this place, be not some confirmation of it; and whether or no the almost ruining the French East India Trade, by the dreadful hand of heaven, in burying their stores at Port L'Orient, and the taking so many of their ships by Commodore Barnet, and also the taking so many of their South Sea ships, vastly rich, and several other things of like nature, that might be mentioned, may not probably be further effects of this vial. But whatever he thought of these particular events, and the application of the prophecies to them; yet it appears to me, that God's late dealings, both with Great Britain and the American Plantations, if they be duly considered, as they are in themselves and circumstances, afford just reason to hope that a day is approaching for the peculiar triumphs of divine mercy and sovereign grace, over all the unworthiness, and most aggravated provocations of men. If it be considered what God's past dealings have been with England and Scotland, for two centuries past, what obligations he has laid those nations under, and particularly the mercies bestowed more lately; and we then well consider the kind, manner, and degree, of the provocations and wickedness of those nations, and yet that God so spares them, and has of late so remarkably delivered them, when so exposed to deserved destruction: and if it be also considered what God's dealings have been with this land, on its first settlement, and from its beginning hitherto, and how long we have been revolting and growing worse, and what great mercy he has lately granted us, on the late remark-

able striving of his Spirit with us, and how his Spirit has been treated, his mercy and grace despised, and bitterly opposed, how greatly we have backslidden, what a degree of stupidity we are sunk into, and how full the land has been of such kinds of wickedness, as have approached so near to the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost, and how obstinate we are still in our wickedness, without the least appearances of repentance or reformation; and it be then considered how God has of late made his arm bare, in almost miraculous dispensations of his Providence, in our behalf, to succeed us against our enemies, and defend us from them :—I say if these things be considered, it appears evident to me, not only that God's mercies are infinitely above the mercies of men; but also that he has in these things, gone quite out of the usual course of his Providence and manner of dealings with his professing people, and I confess, it gives me great hope that God's appointed time is approaching, for the triumphs and displays of his infinite, sovereign grace, beyond all that ever has been before, from the beginning of the world; at least I think there is much in these things, considered together with other remarkable things God has lately done, to encourage and animate God's people unitedly to cry to God, that he would appear for the bringing on those glorious effects of his mercy, so often foretold to be in the latter days; and particularly to continue that Concert for Prayer, set on foot in Scotland, and which it is now proposed to continue seven years longer. My wife and children join with me in respectful, cordial salutations to you and yours.

"That we may be remembered in your prayers, is the request, dear Sir, of your affectionate Brother,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

To the letter from Mr. Gillespie, Mr. Edwards returned the following answer.

"*Northampton, Sept.* 4, 1747.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"I received your letter of Nov. 24, 1746, though very long after it was written. I thank you for it, and for your proposing a correspondence. Such an offer I shall gladly embrace, and esteem it a great privilege, more especially from the character I have received of you from Mr. Abercrombie, who I perceive was intimately acquainted with you.

As to the objections you make against some things contained in my work *on Religious Affections*, I am sorry you did not read the book through, before you made them; if you had, perhaps the difficulties would not have appeared quite so great. As to what is contained in the 78th and 79th pages, I suppose there is not the

least difference of opinion between you and me, unless it be concerning the signification and propriety of expressions. I am fully of your mind, and always was without the least doubt of it; "That every one, both saint and sinner, is indispensably bound, at all seasons, by the divine authority, to believe instantly on the Lord Jesus, and that the command of the Lord, 1 John iii. 23, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, as it is a prescription of the moral law, no less binds the sinner to immediate performance, than the commandment not to kill, to keep the Sabbath day, or any other duty, as to the *present* performance of which, in way of duty, all agree the sinner is bound; and that men are bound to trust the divine faithfulness, be their case with respect to light and darkness, sight, etc. what it will; and that no situation they can be in, looses them from obligation to glorify the Lord at all seasons, and to expect the fulfilment of his words; and that the sinner who is without spiritual light or sight is bound to believe, and that it is a duty *at that very time* incumbent on him to believe." But I conceive that there is a great deal of difference between these two things, viz. its being the duty of a man, who is without spiritual light or sight, to believe, and its being his duty to believe without spiritual light or sight, or to believe while he yet remains without spiritual light or sight. Just the same difference, which there is between these two things, viz. its being *his* duty who has no faith to believe, and its being his duty to believe without faith, or to believe without believing. I trust none will assert the latter, because of the contradiction which it implies. As it is not proper to say, it is a man's duty to believe without faith, because it implies a contradiction; so I think it equally improper to say, it is a man's duty to believe without those things which are essentially implied in faith, because that also implies a contradiction. But a spiritual sight of Christ, or knowledge of Christ, is essentially implied in the very nature and notion of faith; and therefore it is absurd to talk of believing on Christ, without spiritual light or sight. It is the duty of a man, who is without those things which essentially belong to faith, to believe; and it is the duty of a man, who is without those things which essentially belong to love, to love God; because it is an indispensable obligation that lies on all men at all times, and in all circumstances, to love God: but yet it is not a duty to love God without loving him, or continuing without those things which essentially belong to his love. It is the duty of those who have no sense of the loveliness of God and have no esteem of him, to love him, and they are not in the least excused, by the want of this sense and esteem in not loving him one moment; but yet it would be properly nonsense to say it is their duty to love him, without any sense of his loveliness, or esteem of him. It is indeed their duty this moment to come out of their disesteem, and stupid wicked insensibility of his loveliness, and to love him. I made the distinction, (I thought)

very plainly, in the midst of those sentences you quote as exceptionable. I say expressly, p. 74, "It is truly the *duty* of those, who are in darkness, to *come out* of darkness into light and *believe;* but, that they should confidently believe and trust, while they yet remain *without* spiritual light or sight, is an anti-scriptural and absurd doctrine." The misunderstanding between us, dear Sir, I suppose to be in the different application of the particle *without*, in my use of it, and your understanding of it, or what we understand as spoken of and supposed in the expression, *without spiritual light or sight.* As I use it, I apply it to the *act* of believing, and I suppose it to be very absurd to talk of an act of faith *without* spiritual light or sight, wherein I suppose you will allow me to be in the right. As you understand it, it is applied to *duty* or *obligation*, and you suppose it to be not at all absurd, to talk of an obligation to believe without spiritual light or sight, but that the obligation remains full, where there is no spiritual light or sight, wherein I allow you are in the right. I think, Sir, if you read what I have said in my book on this head again, it will be exceedingly apparent to you, that it is thus that I apply the preposition *without*, and not as you before understood it. I thought I had very plainly manifested, that what I meant by *being in darkness* was *being in spiritual blindness*, and so in a dead, stupid, and unchristian frame, and not what is commonly called being without the light of God's countenance, under the hidings of his face. Great numbers in this country proceed on the supposition, in their opinions and practice, that there really is such a manner of believing, such a kind of faith as this, viz. a confident believing and firm trusting in God in the dark, in the sense just mentioned, which is the subject matter of divine prescription, and which many actually have. Indeed there are innumerable instances of such as are apparently in a most negligent, apostate, and every way unchristian and wicked frame; who yet, encouraged by this principle, retain a strong confidence of their piety, and imagine that herein they do their duty and glorify God, under the notion of trusting God in the dark, and hoping against hope, and not relying on their own righteousness; and they suppose it would show a legal spirit to do otherwise. I thought it would be manifest to every reader that I was arguing against such persons as these.

"You say, "It merits consideration, whether the believer should ever doubt of his state, on any account whatever, because doubting, as opposed to believing, is absolutely sinful." Here, Sir, you seem to suppose that a person's *doubting of his own good estate*, is the proper opposite of *faith*, and these and some other expressions in your letter seem to suppose that *doubting of one's good estate*, and *unbelief*, are the same thing; and so, that *confidence in one's good estate*, and *faith*, are the same thing. This, I acknowledge, I do not understand; I do not suppose *faith*, and *a person's believing that he has faith*, to be the same thing. Nor do I take *unbe-*

lief, or being without faith, and *doubting whether he has it*, to be the same thing, but entirely different. I should have been glad either that you had taken a little more notice of what I say on this head, p. 79, 80, or that you had said something to convince me that I am wrong in this point. *The exercise of faith is doubtless the way to be delivered from darkness, deadness, backsliding, etc.* or rather is the deliverance; as forsaking sin is the way to deliverance from sin, and is the deliverance itself. The exercise of grace is doubtless the way to deliverance from a graceless frame, which consists in the want of the exercise of grace. But as to what you say, or seem to intimate, that a person's being confident of his own good estate, is the way to be delivered from darkness, deadness, backsliding and prevailing iniquity; I think, whoever supposes this to be God's method of delivering his saints, when sunk into an evil, careless carnal and unchristian frame, first to assure them of their good estate and his favour, while they yet remain in such a frame, and to make *that* the means of their deliverance, does surely mistake God's method of dealing with such persons. Among all the multitudes I have had opportunity to observe, I never knew one dealt with after this manner. I have known many brought back from great declension, who appeared to me to be real saints; but it was in a way very different from this. *In the first place*, conscience has been awakened, and they have been brought into distressing fears of the wrath of God. Thus they have become the subjects of a new work of humiliation, and have been led deeply to feel that they deserve his wrath, even while they have feared it, before God has delivered them from their apprehensions, and comforted them with a renewed sense of his favour.

"As to what I say of the necessity of *universal obedience*, or of *one way of known sin*, (i. e. so as properly to be said to be the way and manner of the man,) being exception enough against a man's salvation; I should have known better what to have said further about it, if you had briefly shown how the passages of Scripture which I mention, and the arguments which I deduce from them, are insufficient for the proof of this point. I confess they appear to me to prove it as fully, as any thing concerning the necessary qualifications of a christian can be proved from Scripture.

"You object against my saying p. 259, "Nor can a true saint ever fall away to such a degree, that ordinarily there shall be no remarkable difference between his behaviour, after his conversion, and before." This, I think, implies no more than that his behaviour, in similar circumstances, and under similar trials, will have a remarkable difference. As to the instances of David and Solomon, I am not aware that the Scriptures give us any where so full a history of their behaviour before their conversion, as to enable us to compare it with their subsequent life. These examples are uncertain. But I think those doctrines of the Scriptures are not un-

certain, which I mention in the passage you cite, to prove that converts are new men, new creatures, that they are renewed not only within but without, that old things are passed away and all things become new, that they walk in newness of life, that the members of their bodies are new, that whereas they before were the servants of sin, and yielded their members servants of iniquity, now they yield them servants of righteousness unto holiness.

"As to the doubts and cases of difficulty you mention, I think it needless for a divine of your character, to apply for the solution of them to one, who ought rather to take the attitude of a learner. However, since you are pleased to insist on my giving my mind upon them, I would observe, with regard to the first case you mention, that of a person incessantly harrassed by Satan, etc. you do not point out the nature of the temptations with which he is harrassed; and without this, I think it impossible to give proper advice and directions concerning it. Satan is to be resisted in a very different manner, in different kinds of onsets. When persons are harrassed with those strange, horrid impressions, to which persons afflicted with hypochondria are often subject; he is to be resisted in a very different manner, from what is proper in cases of violent temptation to gratify some worldly lust. In the former case, I should by no means advise men to resist the devil by entering the lists with him, and engaging in a violent struggle with the grand adversary; but rather by diverting the mind from his frightful suggestions, by going on stedfastly and diligently in the ordinary course of duty, without allowing themselves time and leisure to attend to his sophistry, and by committing themselves to God in prayer. That is the best way of resisting the devil, which crosses his design most; and he more effectually disappoints him in such cases, who treats him with neglect, than he who engages in a direct conflict, and tries his strength and skill with him, in a violent dispute or combat. The latter course rather gives him an advantage; and if he can get persons thus engaged in a violent struggle, he gains a great point. He knows that hypochondrical persons are not qualified to maintain it. By this he diverts him from the ordinary course of duty; and having gained his attention to what he says, he has opportunity to use all his craft and subtlety. By such a struggle he raises a deeper melancholy, weakens the mind still more, gets the unhappy man faster and faster in his snares, and increases his anxiety of mind; which is the very thing by which he mainly accomplishes all his purposes with such persons.

"As to the difficulty of verifying Rom. viii. 20. *All things shall work together for good to them that love God*, in the case of a christian who falls under backsliding and spiritual decays; it is not perfectly obvious how this is to be interpreted, and how far it may hence be inferred, that the temptations of christians from Satan and an evil world, and their declensions and sins, shall surely work for

their good. However, since you desire my thoughts, I will endeavour to express them.

"Two things may be laid down, as certain and indubitable, concerning this doctrine of the apostle.

"*First.* The meaning cannot be that God's actual dispensations towards each christian are the best for him *of all that are possible:* or that all things which are ordered for him, or done with respect to him, are in all respects better for him than any thing which God could have ordered or done, issuing in the highest good and happiness to which he can possibly be brought; for that implies that God will confer on every one of his elect, as much happiness as he can confer, in the utmost exercise of his omnipotence, and this sets aside all those different degrees of grace and holiness here, and glory hereafter, which he bestows according to his sovereign pleasure.

"All things work together for good to the saints; all may have a concurring tendency to their happiness, and may finally issue in it, and yet not tend to, or issue in, the highest possible degree of happiness. There is a certain measure of holiness and happiness, to which each one of the elect is eternally appointed, and all things that relate to him, work together to bring to pass *this appointed measure of good.* The text and context speak of God's *eternal purpose* of good to the elect, predestinating them to a conformity to his Son in holiness and happiness; and the implicit reasoning of the apostle leads us to suppose that all things will purely concur to bring to effect God's eternal purpose. Hence from his reasoning it may be inferred, that all things will tend to, and work together to accomplish that degree of good which God has purposed to bestow upon them, and not any more. Indeed it would be in itself unreasonable to suppose any thing else; for as God is the supreme orderer of all things, doubtless all things shall be so ordered, that with one consent, they shall help to bring to pass his ends and purposes; but surely not to bring to pass what he does not aim at, and never intended. God, in his government of the world, is carrying on his own designs in every thing; but he is not carrying on that which is not his design, and therefore there is no need of supposing, that all the circumstances, means and advantages of every saint, are the best in every respect that God could have ordered for him, or that there could have been no circumstances or means of which he could have been the subject, which would with God's usual blessing have issued in his greater good. Every christian is a living stone, that in this present state of preparation, is fitting for the place appointed for him in the heavenly temple. In this sense all things undoubtedly work together for good to every one who is called according to God's purpose. He is, all the while he lives in this world, by all the dispensations of Providence towards him, fitting

for the particular mansion in glory, which is appointed and prepared for him.

Secondly. When it is said, that "all things work together for good, to them that love God," it cannot be intended that all things, *both positive and negative, are best for them;* in other words, that not only every positive thing, of which christians are the subjects, or in which they are concerned, will work for their good, but also, that, when any thing is absent or withheld from them by God in his providence, that absence or withholding is also for their good, in such a sense, as to be better for them than the presence or bestowment would have been: For this would have the same absurd consequence which was mentioned before, viz. That God makes every christian as happy as he possibly can make him. And if so, it would follow that God's withholding from his people greater degrees of the sanctifying influences of his Spirit, is for their good, and that it is best for them to live and die with so small a measure of piety as they actually possess, which is the same as to say, that it is for their good to have no more good, or that it is for their happiness to have no more happiness here and hereafter. If we carefully examine the Apostle's discourse in Rom. viii. it will be apparent that his words imply no such thing. All God's creatures, and all that he does in disposing of them, is for the good of the christian; but it will not thence follow, that all God's forbearing to do is also for his good, or that it is best for him, that God does no more for him.

Hence, with regard to the position, that the sins and temptations of christians are for their good; I suppose the following things to be true:

1. That all things, whatsoever, are for their good, things negative as well as positive, in this sense, that *God intends that some benefit to them shall arise from every thing*, so that somewhat of the grace and love of God, will hereafter be seen to have been exercised towards them in every thing. At the same time, the sovereignty of God will also be seen, with regard to the measure of the good or benefit aimed at, in that some other things, if God had seen cause to order them, would have produced an higher benefit. And with regard to negative disposals—consisting, not in God's doing, but forbearing to do, not in giving, but withholding—some benefit, in some respect or other, will ever accrue to them, even from these; though sometimes the benefit will not be equal to the benefit withheld, if it had been bestowed. As for instance, when a christian lives and dies comparatively low in grace; some good improvement shall be made even of this, in his eternal state, whereby he shall receive a real benefit, though the benefit shall not be equal to the benefit of an higher degree of holiness, if God had bestowed it.

"2. God carries on a design of love to his people, and to each individual christian, not only in all things of which they are the

subjects while they live, but also in all his works and dispensations, and in all his acts from eternity to eternity.

"3. That the sin in general, of Christians, is for their good, in this respect, viz. that through the sovereign grace and infinite wisdom of God, the fact that they have been sinful fallen creatures, and not from the beginning perfectly innocent and holy as the elect angels, will issue in a high advancement of their eternal happiness; and that they shall obtain some additional good, on occasion of all the sin of which they have been the subjects, or have committed, beyond what they would have had, if they never had been fallen creatures.

"4. The sin of christians cannot in this sense be for their good, that it should finally be best for them, that while they lived in this world, their restoration and recovery from the corruption to which they became subject by the fall, was no greater, that the mortification of sin, and spiritual vivification of the soul, was carried on to no higher degree, that they were so deficient, in love to God, love to men, humility, and heavenly-mindedness, that they did so few good works, and consequently, that in general, they had so much sin, and so little holiness; for in proportion as one of these is more, the other will be less, as infallibly, as darkness is more or less, in proportion to the diminution or increase of light. It cannot finally be better for christians, that in general, while they live, they had so much sin of heart and life, rather than more holiness of heart and life; because the reward of all at last, will be *according to their works*. He that sowed sparingly, shall reap sparingly, and he that sowed bountifully, shall reap also bountifully, and he that builds wood, hay and stubble, shall finally suffer loss, and have a less reward, than if he had built gold, silver and precious stones, though he himself shall be saved. But notwithstanding this,

"5. The sins and falls of christians, may be for their good, and for the better, in this respect, that the issue may be better than if the temptation had not *happened*, and so the occasion not given, either for the sin of yielding to the temptation, or the virtue of overcoming it: And yet not in this respect, (with regard to their sins or falls in general,) that it should be better for them in the issue, that they have *yielded* to the temptation offered, than if they had *overcome*. For the fewer victories they obtain over temptation, the fewer are their good works, and particularly of that kind of good works to which a distinguished reward is promised in Rev. ii. and iii. and in many other parts of Scripture. The word of God represents the work of a christian in this world as a warfare, and it is evident in the Scriptures, that he who acquits himself as the best soldier, shall win the greatest prize. Therefore, when christians are brought into backslidings and decays, by being overcome by temptations, the issue of their backslidings may be some good to them, beyond what they would have received if the temptations

had never existed; and yet their backslidings in general may be a great loss to them in this respect, that they shall have much less reward, than if the temptations had been *overcome*, and they had persevered in spiritual vigour and diligence. But yet this don't hinder, but that,

"6. It may be so ordered by a sovereign and all-wise God, that the falls and backslidings of christians, through their being overcome by temptations in some particular instances, may prove best for them, not only because the issue may be greater good to them, than they would have received if the temptation had not *happened*, but even greater in that instance, than if the temptation had been *overcome*. It may be so ordered, that their being overcome by that temptation, shall be the occasion of their having greater strength, and on the whole, obtaining more and greater victories, than if they had not fallen in that instance. But this is no where promised, nor can it be so, that, in the general, it should prove better for them that they were foiled so much, and did overcome so little, in the course of their lives, and that finally their decay is so great, or their progress so small. From these things it appears,

"7. That the saying of the Apostle, *all things work together for good to them that love God*, though it be fulfilled in some respects to all christians, at all times and in all circumstances, yet it is fulfilled more especially and eminently to christians *continuing in the exercise of love to God*, not falling from the exercises, or failing in the fruits of divine love in times of trial. Then it is, that temptations, enemies and suffering, will be best for them, working that which is most for their good every way, and they shall be more than conquerors over tribulation, distress, persecution, famine, nakedness, peril and sword, Rom. viii. 35—37.

"8. As God is carrying on a design of love to each individual christian, in all his works and dispensations whatsoever, so the particular design of love to them which he is carrying on, is to fit them for, and bring them to their appointed place in the heavenly temple, or to that identical degree of happiness and glory in heaven, which his eternal love designed for them, and no other. For God's design of love or of happiness to them, is only just what it is, and is not different from itself; and to fulfil this particular design of love, every thing which God does, or in any respect disposes, whether it be positive, privative or negative, contributes; because, doubtless, every thing which God does, or in any respect offers, tends to fulfil his aims and designs. Therefore, undoubtedly,

"9. All the while the christian lives in the world, he is preparing for his appointed mansion in glory, and fitting for his place in the heavenly building. All his temptations, though they may occasion, for the present, great spiritual injuries, yet at last shall be

an occasion of his being more fitted for his place in glory. Hence we may determine, that however the christian may die in some respects under the decay of spiritual comfort, and of some religious affections, yet every christian dies at that time when his habitual fitness for his place in the heavenly temple is most complete, because otherwise, all things which happen to him while he lives, would not work together to fit him for that place.

"10. God brings his people, at the end of their lives, to this greatest fitness for their place in heaven, not by diminishing holiness in their hearts, but by increasing it, and carrying on the work of grace in their souls. If it be not so, that cannot be true, that where God *has begun a good work he will perform it, or carry it on to the day of Christ;* for if they die with a less degree of holiness than they had before, then it ceases to be carried on before the day of Christ comes. If holiness finally decreases, then Satan so far finally obtains the victory. He finally prevails to diminish the fire in the smoking flax, and then how is that promise verified, that God *will not quench the smoking flax, till he bring forth judgment unto victory?* So that it must needs be, that although christians may die under decay, *in some respects*, yet they never die under a real habitual decay of the work of grace *in general*. If they fall, they shall rise again before they die, and rise higher than before, if not in joy, and some other affections, yet in greater degrees of spiritual knowledge, self-abasement, trust in God, and solidity and ripeness of grace.

"If these things which have been observed are true, then we may infer from them these corollaries.

"1. That notwithstanding the truth of the apostle's declaration in Rom. viii. 28, christians have cause to lament their leanness and unfruitfulness, and the fact that they are guilty of so much sin, not only as it is to the dishonour of God, but also as it is likely to redound to their own eternal loss and damage.

"2. That nothing can be inferred from this promise, which is calculated to set aside, or make void the influence of motives to earnest endeavours to avoid all sin, to increase in holiness, and abound in good works, from an aim at an high and eminent degree of glory and happiness in a future world.

"3. That though it is to the eternal damage of christians, ordinarily, when they yield to, and are overcome by temptations; yet Satan and the other enemies of christians, from whom these temptations come, are always wholly disappointed in the temptation, and baffled in their design to hurt them, inasmuch as the temptation and the sin which it occasions, are for the saint's good, and they receive a greater benefit in the issue, than if the temptation had not been, and yet less than if the temptation had been overcome.

"As to Mr. Boston's *View of the Covenant of Grace*, I have had some opportunity to examine it, and I confess I do not

understand the scheme of thought presented in that book. I have read his *Fourfold State of Man*, and liked it exceedingly well. I think in that, he shows himself to be a truly great divine.

"Hoping that you will accept my letter with candour, and remember me in your prayers, I subscribe myself

"Your affectionate and obliged

"brother and servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

IN October, 1744, a number of ministers in Scotland, among whom, I believe, were all the correspondents of Mr. Edwards in that country, thinking that the state of the church and the world called loudly for United Extraordinary Prayer to God, that he would deliver the nations from their miseries, and fill the earth with his glory; proposed that christians universally should, for the two years then next ensuing, set apart a portion of time, on Saturday evening and Sabbath morning, every week, to be spent in prayer for this purpose; and that they should still more solemnly devote the first Tuesday in the last month of each quarter of the year, to be spent either in private, social or public, prayer to God, for the bestowment of those blessings on the world. Mr. Edwards not only welcomed the proposal as soon as he received it, but did all in his power to promote its general acceptance by the American churches; and the following letter, alluding to a more particular account of the subject in one to Mr. M'Laurin, which I have not been able to procure, will in some measure apprize the reader of the efforts, which he made for this purpose.

"To the Rev. William M'Culloch.

"*Northampton, Sept.* 23, 1747.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"I thank you for your letter of March 12, 1747, which I suppose lay a long while at Mr. Prince's in Boston, before I received it, through Mr. Prince's forgetfulness. It seems he had forgotten that he had any such letter; and when I sent a messenger to his house, on purpose to enquire whether I had any letter lodged there for me from Scotland, he told him No; when I suppose this letter had been long in his house: and I should probably never have had it at last, had not one of my daughters had occasion to go toBoston, who made a visit at the house, and made a more full enquiry.

"I am sorry to hear of your affliction, through your indisposition that you speak of, and desire to be thankful to the God of all mercy for his goodness, in restoring you again to health.

"I have, in my letter to Mr. M'Laurin, given a particular account of what I know, concerning the propagation of the Concert for United Prayer, in America; which you will doubtless have op-

portunity to see. The propagation of it is but slow; but yet so many do fall in with it, and there is that prospect of its being further spread, that it is a great encouragement to me. I earnestly hope, that they, that have begun extraordinary prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit of God, and the coming of Christ's kingdom, will not fail, or grow dull and lifeless in such an affair, but rather that they will increase more and more in their fervency. I have taken a great deal of pains to promote this Concert here in America, and shall not cease to do so, if God spares my life, as I have opportunity, in all ways that I can devise. I have written largely on the subject, insisting on persuasions, and answering objections; and what I have written is gone to the press. The undertaker for the publication encourages me that it shall speedily be printed. I have sent to Mr. M'Laurin a particular account of it.

"You desire to hear how it was with the people of New-England, when we were threatened with an invasion by the French fleet, the last summer. As to the particular circumstances of that wonderful deliverance, the fullest and best account I have ever seen of it, is in Mr. Prince's Thanksgiving Sermon on that occasion; which, in all probability, you have seen long before this time. Nor need you be informed by me, of the repeated mercy of God to us, in confounding our enemies in their renewed attempt this year, by delivering up their fleet, in its way hither, into the hands of the English. In all probability, that fleet was intended for the execution of a very extensive design, against the English colonies, in conjunction with the French forces in Canada. For there was an army lay waiting at Nova Scotia, which, on the news of the sailing of their fleet, immediately left the country, and returned to Canada, over the lake Champlain, towards New-England and New-York; and they, or a part of them, attacked Fort Saratoga, in New-York government, and killed or took about fifty men that were drawn out of the Fort; but desisted from any further attempts, about the time we may suppose they received the news of the defeat of their fleet. And very soon after they received this news in Canada, the French there released most of our captives, and sent one ship loaded with them, to the number of about one hundred and seventy, to Boston, and another ship with about sixty, if I remember right, to Louisburg. The reasons, that induced them so to do, are not known, and can only be guessed at by us; but, by their doing it very soon after they received the news of the loss of their fleet, it looks as though that had great influence in the affair. New-England has had many other surprising deliverances from the French and Indians; some of which I have given a particular account of, in my letter to Mr. M'Laurin; which it would be needless for me to repeat, seeing you have such frequent opportunities with him. These deliverances are very wonderful and affecting; our enemies own that the Heavens are on our side, and

fight for us; but there are no such effects of these mercies upon us that are the subjects of them, as God requires, and most justly expects. The mercies are acknowledged in words, but we are not led to repentance by them; there appears no such thing as any reformation or Revival of religion in the land. God's so wonderfully protecting and delivering a people, whose provocations have been so great, and who do so continue in apostacy and provocation, is very marvellous; and I can think of no account that can be given of it, so probable as this, that God has a design of mercy to the rising generation, and that there are a great number of the elect among our children, born and unborn, and that for these elect's sake, God will not suffer us to be destroyed, having a design to bring forth a seed of the posterity of this people, to inherit and dwell in this land, that shall be an holy seed, and a generation of his servants. And so that those words are applicable to us, Isa. lxv. 8, 9, "*Thus saith the Lord, as the new wine is found in the cluster, and one saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it; so will I do for my servants' sakes, that I may not destroy them all. And I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountains: and mine elect shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there.*" I am full of apprehensions, that God has no design of mercy to those that were left unconverted, of the generation that were on the stage, in the time of the late extraordinary religious commotion, and striving of God's Spirit; unless it be perhaps a small gleaning from among them. But it may be, when their little ones, the generation that was then in their childhood, are brought fully on the stage of action, God will abundantly pour out his Spirit, and revive and carry on his work, here and elsewhere in the christian world.*

"I thank you for taking the pains of writing to me your thoughts of the forty-two months of the treading down of the holy City, which are new and entertaining. The chief objection against what you propose, that I can think of, is, that the forty-two months of the treading down the holy City, seems to be the same period with the one thousand two hundred and sixty days of the Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, mentioned in the very next verse, in immediate connection with this; and *that*, the same with the one thousand two hundred and sixty days of the Woman's being in the wilderness, Chap. xii. 6; and *that*, the same with the time, times and an half of the Woman's being in the wilderness, v. 14; and that the same with the time, times and an half of the reign of the Little horn, Dan. vii. 25: and with the forty-two months of the reign of the Beast, Rev. xiii. 5; and that this evidently signifies the duration of the reign of Antichrist; which is a thing entirely diverse from the sum of the times of the City of Jerusalem's being under the dominion of Pagans, Saracens, Persians and Turks, as you represent. How-

* It was postponed to the time of the children of the generation here referred to.

ever, it is possible that what you mention may be one way wherein that prophecy, Rev. xi. 2, may be fulfilled. For God's word is often times fulfilled in various ways: as one way, wherein the prophetical representation of the Beast with the seven heads is fulfilled, is in the seven successive forms of government, that idolatrous Rome is under; and another way, that it was fulfilled, was by Rome's being built on seven hills. One way, that the seventy years captivity of the Jews was fulfilled, was in its being seventy years from Jehoichim's captivity, to Cyrus's decree: and another way, that it was fulfilled, was in its being seventy years from Zedekiah's captivity to Darius's decree, Ezra 6; and another way, that it was fulfilled, was in its being seventy years from the last carrying away of all, Jer. lii. 30, to the finishing and dedication of the Temple. But I expect no certainty as to these things, or any of the various conjectures concerning the time of the calling of the Jews, and the fall of the kingdom of the Beast, till time and fulfilment shall decide the matter. However, I cannot think otherwise, than that we have a great deal of reason to suppose, that the beginning of that glorious work of God's Spirit, which, before it is finished, shall accomplish these things, is not very far off; and there is very much in the word of God, and in the present aspects of divine Providence, to encourage us greatly in our begun Concert for Extraordinary United Prayer for the coming of Christ's Kingdom. Let us therefore go on with what we have begun in that respect, and continue instant in prayer, with all perseverance, and increase more and more in faith and fervency, and not keep silence, nor give God any rest, till he establish, and make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.

"And remember in your prayers, dear Sir,

"Yours, in great esteem and affection,

"Jonathan Edwards."

The continuation of this Concert for united and extraordinary prayer was proposed, in a Memorial from Scotland, dated August 26, 1746, signed by twelve clergyman of that country, and circulated soon after in all the American colonies. To secure the general adoption of the proposed measure, Mr. Edwards first preached to his people a series of Sermons in its favour, and then published them in the form of a Treatise, with the Title, "An humble Attempt to promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union among God's People, in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion, and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, pursuant to Scripture Promises, and Prophecies concerning the Last Time." This work was immediately republished in England and Scotland, and extensively circulated in both countries, as well as in America, and had great influence in securing the general adoption of the measures proposed—a measure, which was pursued for more than half a century by many of the American churches, and only discontinued on the adoption of a more frequent Concert—the Monthly

Concert—for United and Extraordinary Prayer, for the same great object, proposed at an Association of the ministers of the Baptist Churches, in the counties of Northampton, Leicester, etc. held at Nottingham, in 1784, and observed the first Monday evening of each month; and now extensively adopted throughout the christian world.

In the course of this Treatise, Mr. Edwards was led, in answering objections, to examine an Interpretation of Prophecy, until then most generally if not universally received: viz. *That the kingdom of Christ could not come, until there had previously been a time of most extreme calamity to the Church of God, and prevalence of her Antichristian enemies against her, as represented in* Rev. xi. *by the Slaying of the Witnesses.* Some years before this, Mr. Edwards had examined the Apocalypse with great care, in connexion with the Prophecy of Daniel; in order to satisfy himself whether the *slaying of the witnesses* was to be regarded as past, or future. This he did with his pen in his hand; and a brief abstract of his views on this point, is found in the answers to the 4th and 5th objections in the Humble Attempt. The views of prophecy, here presented by Mr. Edwards, were, I believe, at the time wholly new to the christian world, and were at first regarded by many as doubtful, if not erroneous; but have since produced the general conviction, that the downfall of Popery and the ultimate extension of the kingdom of Christ, are far less distant than has been supposed—a conviction remarkably supported by the whole series of Providential dispensations. And there can be no doubt that this conviction has been a prime cause, of the present concentrated movement of the whole Church of God, to hasten forward the Reign of the Messiah. As long as it was the commonly received opinion of christians, that the Church was yet destined to experience far more severe and overwhelming calamities, than any she had hitherto known—calamities amounting to an almost total extinction—before the time of her final prosperity; the efforts and the prayers of christians for the arrival of that period of prosperity were chiefly prevented: inasmuch as it was, in effect, to labour and pray for the almost total extinction of the Church of Christ, during a period of indefinite extent, as well as to labour and pray, if speedy success should crown their efforts, for the destruction, if not of their own lives, yet of those of their children and immediate descendents. In the sections referred to, he endeavours to show, and by argumeuts which are yet unanswered, that the severest trials announced in prophecy against the Church of God were already past, that her warfare was even then almost accomplished, and that the day of her redemption was drawing nigh. By establishing this point; and by presenting the arguments in a manner so clear and convincing, as wholly to supersede the necessity of any subsequent treatise on the subject; the work in question, through the divine blessing, has exerted an influence, singularly powerful, in rousing the Church of Christ to that series of efforts, which is to result in her final victory.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival of David Brainerd at Northampton.—His sickness and death at the house of Mr. Edwrads.—His papers.—Death of Jerusha, the second daughter of Mr. E.—Her character.—Correspondence of Mr. E. with Rev. John Erskine.—Abstract of Mr. E.'s first Letter to Mr. Erskine.—Plan conceived of the Freedom of the Will.—Death of Col. Stoddard.—Kindness of Mr. Erskine.—Letter of Mr. E. to him.—Second Letter from Mr. Gillespie.—Letter to Mr. M' Culloch.—Letter to Mr. Erskine.—Letter from Mr. Willison.—Life and Diary of Brainerd.—Letters to Messers. Erskine, M' Culloch, and Robe.—Ordination of Rev. Job Strong.—Anecdote of Rev. Mr. Moody.—Letter of Mr. E. to his daughter Mary.—Second Letter to Mr. Gillespie.

The reader will recollect, that while Mr. Edwards was at New-Haven, in September 1743, he formed an acquaintance with David Brainerd, then a missionary to the Indians at *Kāunăumēek*,* and became his counsellour at a most interesting period of his life. In March 1747, Brainerd, in consequence of extreme ill health, took leave of his Indians in New-Jersey, and in April came into New

* *Kāunăumēek*, was an Indian settlement, about five miles N. W. from New Lebanon, on the main road from that village to Albany. The place is now called *Brainerd's Bridge*, and is a village of a few houses, on the *Kayaderosseras Creek*, where that road crosses it. It was thus named, not after the Missionary, but after a relative of his of the name of Brainerd, who some years since planted himself in this spot, and built the bridge across the Creek, now a toll bridge. The mountain, about a mile N. W. of the bridge, still bears the name of Kāunăumēek. The Creek winds beautifully in the valley beneath, and forms a delightful meadow. In 1823, I found an aged negro on the spot, about one hundred years of age, who had passed his life in the vicinity. He was about twenty-one years old, when Brainerd resided at Kāunăumēek, but never saw him. He told me that the house, which Brainerd built here, stood on the first little knowl, or hillock on the left of the road, and on the W. or N. W. side of the Creek, immediately after passing the bridge; and, that the Indian settlement was down in the meadow, at some distance below the bridge. On following the stream, I discovered an old Indian orchard, the trees of an Indian burying ground, and the ruins of several buildings of long standing. He also informed me, that the Indians had often told him, that Mr. Brainerd was "a very holy man," and that he resided at Kāunăumēek but a short time.

England; when he was invited by Mr. Edwards to take up his abode in his own house. He came there on the 28th of May, apparently very much improved in health, cheerful in his spirits, and free from melancholy, yet at that time probably in a confirmed consumption. Mr. Edwards had now an opportunity of becoming most intimately acquainted with him, and regarded his residence under his roof, as a peculiar blessing to himself and his family. "We enjoyed," he observes, "not only the benefit of his conversation, but had the comfort and advantage of having him pray in the family from time to time." He was at this time very feeble in health; but in consequence of the advice of his physician, he left Northampton for Boston, on the 9th of June, in company with the second daughter of Mr. Edwards. They arrived on the evening of the 12th, among the family relatives of Mr. Edwards in Boston, and for a few days the health of Brainerd appeared much amended; but a relapse on the 18th, convinced his friends that his recovery was hopeless. Contrary to their expectations however, he so far revived, that on the 20th of July they were able to leave Boston, in company with his brother, Mr. Israel Brainerd, and on the 25th they reached Northampton. Here his health continued gradually to decline, until early in October it was obvious that he would not long survive. "On the morning of Lord's day, Oct. 4," says Mr. Edwards, "as my daughter Jerusha, who chiefly attended him, came into the room, he looked on her very pleasantly, and said, "Dear Jerusha, are you willing to part with me?—I am quite willing to part with you: I am willing to part with all my friends: though if I thought I should not see you and be happy with you in another world, I could not bear to part with you. But we shall spend a happy eternity together." He died on Friday, Oct. 9, 1749, and on the Monday following, Mr. Edwards preached the Sermon at his Funeral, from 2 Cor. v. 8, entitled, "True Saints when absent from the body are present with the Lord;" which was published in the December following.

Brainerd, after destroying the early part of his Diary, left the residue in the hands of Mr. Edwards, to dispose of as he thought best. Mr. Edwards concluded to publish it, in connexion with a brief Memoir of his life.

In the ensuing February, Jerusha, the second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, was removed by death. Her father, in a Note to the Memoirs of Brainerd, thus alludes to this distressing event. "Since this, it has pleased a holy and sovereign God, to take away this my dear child by death, on the 14th of February, next following, after a short illness of five days, in the 18th year of her age. She was a person of much the same spirit with Brainerd. She had constantly taken care of, and attended him in his sickness, for nineteen weeks before his death; devoting herself to it with great delight, because she looked on him as an eminent servant of Jesus

Christ. In this time, he had much conversation with her on the things of religion; and, in his dying state, often expressed to us, her parents, his great satisfaction concerning her true piety, and his confidence that he should meet her in heaven, and his high opinion of her not only as a real christian, but as a very eminent saint: one whose soul was uncommonly fed and entertained with things which pertain to the most spiritual, experimental and distinguishing parts of religion: and one, who, by the temper of her mind, was fitted to deny herself for God, and to do good, beyond any young woman whatsoever whom he knew. She had manifested a heart uncommonly devoted to God in the course of her life, many years before her death; and said on her death-bed, that *she had not seen one minute, for several years, wherein she desired to live one minute longer, for the sake of any other good in life, but doing good, living to God, and doing what might be for his glory.*"

In the course of the year 1747, an epistolary correspondence was commenced between Mr. Edwards and the Rev. John Erskine of Kirkintilloch, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Erskine of Edinburgh, which was continued to the close of Mr. Edwards' life. This gentleman, possessing superior talents, and having every advantage of birth, fortune and education, made choice of the clerical profession, in opposition to the prevailing wishes of his family; and, in May 1744, took charge of the parish of Kirkintilloch near Glasgow. In 1753, he was translated to a parish in the borough of Culross, and, in the autumn of 1758, to one of the parishes in Edinburgh. Distinguished alike for his learning and piety, for his honourable and munificent spirit and for his firm attachment to evangelical religion, he adorned every station which he filled by a faithful and conscientious discharge of its various duties—private, social and public;—enjoyed the high respect of the wise and good, not only in Great Britain, but extensively in both continents; and died in 1803 in his 82d year, having been the correspondent, successively, of President Edwards, of his Son Dr. Edwards, President of Union College, and of his grand-son President Dwight, for the period of fifty-six years.

Mr. Erskine began the correspondence with Mr. Edwards early in 1747, through the intervention of Mr. M'Laurin of Glasgow, by sending him the "Remains of Mr. Hall"—a memoir, written by himself, of a most respectable and beloved fellow-student in Theology, a young gentleman of uncommon promise. I have none of the letters of Mr. Erskine to Mr. Edwards, and not having been able to procure the first letter of Mr. Edwards to Mr. Erskine, written in the summer of 1747, must be indebted, for the following account of it, to the "Life of Dr. Erskine," by the Hon. and Rev. Sir H. M. Wallwood—"On this occasion, Mr. Edwards expressed, with great tenderness and delicacy, his sympathy with one, who had lost his most intimate and estimable friend in the prime of life, the

companion of his youth, and, for a considerable time before his death, the delightful and affectionate associate of his studies and of his piety.

"In a postscript to this letter, he mentioned his book on Religious Affections, then just published, and at the same time sent his correspondent a copy of it in a book of which it is not too much to say, that it is not only worthy of the talents and sincerity of its author; but that while it shows, that he was neither forward nor rash, in estimating striking or sudden impressions of religion, it contains more sound instruction on its particular subject, and lays down more intelligible and definite rules to distinguish true from false religion, and to ascertain by distinct characters, the genuine spirit of vital piety, separated from all fanatical delusions, than any other book which has yet been given to the world.

"In the same postscript to Mr. Edwards' first letter to Dr. Erskine, he gave him a general sketch of a plan which he had then formed, and which he afterwards executed, with so much ability, in his book on the Freedom of the Will;—a book which, whether his opinions be questioned or adopted, has certainly given him an eminent station both among philosophers and divines. "I have thought," he says, "of writing something particularly and largely on the Arminian controversy, in distinct discourses on the various points in dispute, to be published successively, beginning first with a discourse concerning the Freedom of the Will, and Moral Agency; endeavouring fully and thoroughly to state and discuss those points of Liberty and Necessity, Moral and Physical Inability, Efficacious Grace, and the ground of virtue and vice, reward and punishment, blame and praise, with regard to the dispositions and actions of reasonable creatures."

"Such was the first idea of a work, from which Mr. Edwards afterwards derived his chief celebrity as an author; but a considerable time intervened, before he found it possible to make any progress in his design."

The death of Col. Stoddard, which occurred at Boston, on the 19th of June, this year, was a loss severely felt, not only by Mr. Edwards and the people of Northampton, but by the County and the Province at large. He was eminently distinguished for his strength of understanding and energy of character, and had for a long period, unrivalled influence in the council of the Province. He was also a man of decided piety, and a uniform friend and supporter of sound morals and evangelical religion. Mr. Edwards preached a Sermon on his death from Ezek. xix. 12; which was immediately published."

Early in the next year Mr. Edwards received from Mr. Erskine a number of books, which he valued very highly, as containing the ablest exhibition and defence of the system of doctrines usually styled *Arminianism*, which had at that time appeared before the pub-

lic. In the following letter he acknowledges the kindness of his correspondent, and at the same time alludes to the decease of his daughter.

"To the Rev. John Erskine.

"*Northampton, Aug.* 31, 1748.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"I this summer received your kind letter of Feb. 9, 1748, with your most acceptable present of *Taylor on Original Sin*, and his *Key to the Apostolic Writings*, with his *Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans;* together with your Sermons and Answer to Doct. Campbell. I had your Sermons before, sent either by you or Mr. M'Laurin. I am exceedingly glad of those two books of Taylor's. I had before borrowed and read Taylor on Original Sin; but am very glad to have one of my own; if you had not sent it, I intended to have sought opportunity to buy it. The other book, his Paraphrase, etc. I had not heard of; if I had, I should not have been easy till I had seen it, and been possessed of it. These books, if I should live, may probably be of great use to me. Such kindness from you was unexpected. I hoped to receive a letter from you, which, alone, I should have received as a special favour.

"I have for the present, been diverted from the design I hinted to you, *of publishing something against some of the Arminian Tenets*, by something else that Divine Providence unexpectedly laid in my way, and seemed to render unavoidable, viz. publishing Mr. Brainerd's Life, of which the inclosed paper of proposals gives some account.

"It might be of particular advantage to me, here in this remote part of the world, to be better informed what books there are, that are published on the other side of the Atlantic; and especially if there be any thing that comes out, that is very remarkable. I have seen many notable things, that have been written in this country against the truth, but nothing very notable on our side of the controversies of the present day, at least of the Arminian controversy. You would much oblige me, if you would inform me what are the best books that have lately been written, in defence of Calvinism.

"I have herewith sent the two books of Mr. Stoddard's you desired. The lesser of the two was my own; and though I have no other, yet you have laid me under such obligations, that I am glad I have it to send to you. The other I procured of one of my neighbours.

"I have lately heard some things, that have excited hope in me, that God was about to cause there to be a turn in England, with regard to the state of religion there, for the better; particularly what we have heard, that one Mr. West, a Clerk of the Privy Coun-

cil, has written in defence of christianity, though once a notorious Deist; and also what Mr. Littleton, a member of the House of Commons, has written. I should be glad if you would inform me more particularly in your next, concerning this affair, and what the present state of Infidelity in Great Britain is.

"It has pleased God, since I wrote my last to you, sorely to afflict this family, by taking away by death, the last February, my second daughter, in the eighteenth year of her age; a very pleasant and useful member of this family, and one that was esteemed the flower of the family. Herein we have a great loss; but the remembrance of the remarkable appearances of piety in her, from her childhood, in life, and also at her death, are very comfortable to us, and give us great reason to mingle thanksgiving with our mourning. I desire your prayers, dear Sir, that God would make up our great loss to us in himself.

"Please to accept of one of my Sermons on Mr. Brainerd's death, and also one of my Sermons on Mr. Buell's instalment. I desire that for the future, your letters to me may be directed to be left with Mr. Edward Bromfield, merchant in Boston. My wife joins with me, in respectful and affectionate salutations to you and Mrs. Erskine. Desiring that we may meet often at the throne of grace, in supplications for each other,

"I am, dear brother, your obliged friend,

"Fellow labourer and humble servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"P. S. I desired Mr. Prince to send to you one of my books on the subject of the Concert for Prayer for a general Revival of religion, the last year; and he engaged to do it; but I perceive he forgot it, and it was long neglected. But I have since taken some further care to have the book conveyed; so that I hope that ere this time you have received it.

"In the conclusion of your letter of Feb. 9, you mention a design of writing to me again, by a ship that was to sail the next month for Boston. That letter I have not received."

Mr. Gillespie, imagining that the difficulties, which he had stated in his former letter, were not satisfactorily cleared up in the answer of Mr. Edwards, addressed to him the following reply.

Letter from Mr. Gillespie.

"*Sept.* 19, 1748.

"REV. AND VERY DEAR SIR,

"I had the favour of yours in spring last, for which I heartily thank you. I did not want inclination to make you a return long ago, as I prize your correspondence, but some things concurred that effectually prevented me, which has given me concern.

"It was my desire to be informed, and my inclination to make you

understand how some passages in your book on Religious Affections did appear to me and some others, your real friends and well-wishers in this country, that determined me to presume to offer you some few remarks on the passages mentioned in my former letter; and desire of further information, engages me now, with all respect, to make some observations upon some things in your letter. I hope you will pardon my freedom, and bear with me in it, and set me right wherein you may find me to misapprehend your meaning, or to mistake in any other respect.

"You say, "You conceive that there is a great difference between these two things, viz. its being a man's duty, who is without 'spiritual light or sight, to believe; and its being his duty to believe without spiritual light or sight, or to believe while he yet remains without spiritual light or sight: it is not proper to say, it is a man's duty to believe *without* faith," etc. Now, dear Sir, the difference here, I am not able to conceive; for all are bound to believe the divine testimony and to trust in Christ, which you acknowledge; and the want of spiritual light or sight does not loose from the obligation one is laid under by the divine command to believe instantly on Christ, and at all seasons, as his circumstances shall require, nor does it excuse him in any degree for not believing. I own that a person who has no spiritual light or sight cannot eventually believe, if by light or sight is meant the influence or grace of the Spirit, by which one's mind is irradiated to take up the object and grounds of faith, so as to be made to have a spiritual sight of Christ, and to act that grace; yet still, even when one wants this, it is his duty, and he is bound to believe, for we know it is a maxim, "*ability is not the rule of duty.*" I also acknowledge, that no person who is, and always has been, without spiritual light or sight, is bound, nor is it his duty to believe, that he has actually believed, or to conclude he is really a partaker of the faith of God's elect. I have some apprehension this is all you meant by the expressions I have noticed, and the reasoning in consequence of them; or else certainly different ideas are affixed to words with you and among us. There is indeed a great deal of difference betwixt its being one's duty to believe, or to act faith, and its being his duty to believe he has believed, or has acted divine faith, i. e. you say *you* apply the particle *without*, respecting spiritual light or sight, to the act of believing, by which I suppose you intend, "all *should* believe, though none *do* really believe, *without* spiritual light or sight;" in which I entirely agree with you. The word *duty* indeed, which you use when treating that matter, is ordinarily supposed to signify the obligation the person is under by the divine authority to believe, as applied to the *matter* of faith, and not to the *act* of faith put forth in consequence of such obligation. Had I not supposed you plainly meant by the expressions I quoted from the book, the *duty* or *obligation* to believe, and not an act of faith exerted, I should have made no

remarks on them. It is indeed as absurd for one to conclude he has really believed without spiritual light or sight, as to say one should believe he had believed, without those things that are essentially implied in faith. But I must differ from you in thinking it is not very proper to say, it is a man's duty to believe *without* faith, i. e. while he yet remains without spiritual light or sight, or to put forth an act of faith on the Saviour, however void of spiritual light or sight; for if this was not the truth, the finally impenitent sinner could not be condemned for unbelief, as the Holy Ghost declares he will be, John iii. 19, 20, 24, and that notwithstanding the power of the Spirit of faith must make him believe. I should be glad to know the precise idea you affix to the words *faith* and *believing*. I do not remember a person's reflecting on his act of faith, any where in Scripture termed believing. You remark, "That I seem to suppose that a person's doubting of his good estate is the proper opposite of faith," and I own, as it is a believer's duty to expect salvation through Christ, which, in other words, is to believe his good estate, Acts xv. 11, Gal. ii. 20, Eph. ii. 4, Job xix. 25, doubting of it must be his sin, an effect of unbelief, a part of it, and thus the proper opposite of faith, considered in its full compass and latitude. Thus once doubting of his good estate by a true believer, and unbelief in one branch of it, or one part and manner of its acting, are the same thing. Faith and unbelief are opposed in Scripture, and what is the opposite of one ingredient in unbelief must be faith in one part of it,—one thing that belongs to its exercise. A person's believing that the Lord will never leave nor forsake him, who is in a gracions state, Heb. xiii. 5, is owned to be his indispensable duty, and this comprehends or supposes his being confident of his good estate, and is properly divine faith, because it has the divine testimony now cited, on which it bottoms, Jer. iii. 19. The Lord says, "*Thou shalt call me my father, and shalt not turn away from me*," which is evidently faith, and no less manifestly belief of one's good estate, or being confident of it, because the expression must denote the continued exercise of faith, in not turning away from the Lord. Crying *Abba father*, Rom. viii. 15, is faith in the Lord as one's father, which must have, a being confident of one's good estate inseparable from it, or rather enwrapped in it. I suppose what I have mentioned, is very consistent with what you say, "That faith, and persons believing that they have faith, are not the same :" for one's believing that he has faith, simply and by itself, has for its object the man's inward frame, or the actings and exercises of his spirit, and not a divine testimony. This is not divine faith; but, as I have laid the matter, a being confident of one's good estate has for its foundation the word of God, Heb. xiii. 5, etc. ultimately,—at least; to be sure this is *one* way in which faith is acted, or one thing in its exercise. I am far from thinking unbelief, or being without faith, and doubting whether they have faith, to be the same thing in an unconverted

sinner, whom your words "*being without faith*," must mean, and therein we entirely agree. But I must think, as to the believer, his doubting, whether or not he has faith, is sinful, because it is belying the Holy Ghost, denying his work in him, so there is no sin to which that doubting can so properly be reduced as unbelief. You know, dear Sir, doubting and believing are opposed in Scripture, Matt. xiv. 31, xxi. 21, Mark xi. 23, and I cannot exclude from the idea of doubting, a questioning the truth and reality of a work of grace on one's soul, for the Holy Ghost requires us to believe the reality of his work in us, in all its parts, just as it is, and never would allow us, much less call us to sin, or to believe a falsehood, that one is void of grace, when he has it, that good might come of it, i. e. that the person might be awakened from security, etc. 1 John iii. 3, "Every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, as he is pure;" I think intimates, that in proportion to the degree of one's hope, that the Lord is his father, will be his aim after sanctification, and his attainment of it; if so, to renounce this hope, to throw it up at any season, on any account, must be unlawful; whence I infer, for the believer to doubt of his gracious state, to call it in question for any reason whatever, so as to raze it, it is simply sinful, 1 John ii. 12. 15, "I write unto you, little children, because your sins are forgiven you, viz. Love not the world." Here forgiveness of sin is used as a motive or incitement not to love the world; and this reasoning of the apostle would lose all its force, were it incumbent on a believer, at some seasons, to think he was not within the bond of the new covenant,—he is bound ever to hold that conclusion fixed. The exhortation, not to cast away one's confidence, certainly comprehends a call to persevere in believing in our interest in the Lord, and to practise it at all seasons, Heb. x. 35. Job's friends endeavoured to make him question, whether the root of the matter was in him, and to conclude that he was a hypocrite. He resolved, though the Lord should slay him, he would trust in him, chap. xiii. 15, being confident of his own good estate, chap. xxvii. 3, 5, "All the while my breath is in me;" and ver. 5, "Till I die, I will not remove my integrity from me;" and we see, from the whole tenor of his book, what there he resolved, he actually did practise; he never entertained the thought of supposing the Lord was not his God, notwithstanding the grievous eruptions of iniquity in him, in quarrelling with the sovereignty of God, etc. And in the end, the Lord condemned his friends for speaking of him "the things that were not right," and pronounced that Job, his servant, had said of him the thing "that is right," Job iv. 1; from which, it is to be presumed, he was approved in guarding against razing his state.* Also, 2 Cor. i. 12, what the apostle terms there, "his rejoicing," was what supposed his being confident of his good estate, that he was participant of a principle

* This, and several other Scotticisms, I do not feel at liberty to alter.

of grace, which made him capable of acting, as he did, with godly sincerity. All which, with other considerations, do satisfy me, that a believer never should raze his state on any account whatever; and that, as has been mentioned, doubting of his gracious state is sinful, one way of unbelief, its acting in him, though not the direct and immediate opposite of that acting of faith by which a person renounces his own righteousness and closes with Christ, yet the opposite of the posterior exercise of faith *in* him, and *upon* the promise, in certain respects. Your book is now lent, and therefore I cannot take notice, as you wish and I incline, of what you say on this head, p. 80, 81, more particularly than I have done. However, I have, I think, touched the precise point in difference between us.

"You observe, I seem to intimate, "A person's being confident of his own good estate is the way to be delivered from darkness, deadness, backsliding, and prevailing iniquity." And you add, that "you think whoever supposes this to be God's method of delivering his saints, when sunk into an evil, careless, carnal, and unchristian frame, first to assure them of their good estate and his favour, while they yet remain in such a frame, and so to make *that* the means of their deliverance, does surely mistake God's method of dealing with such persons." Here I think you represent the case too strong; for the words in my letter to which you refer, were, "I have heard it taught that the believer was bound to trust in the Lord in the very worst frame he could be in, and that the exercise of faith was the way to be delivered from darkness, deadness, backsliding," etc. And afterwards, I said, when questioning whether the believer should ever doubt of his estate on any account whatever, "I know the opposite has been prescribed; when the saint is plunged in the mire of prevailing iniquity." Now, as a believer may be thus plunged, and yet sin at that instant be his grief and burden, Rom.vii. 24, and he may have the hope and expectation of being relieved from it even then, Psal. lxv. 3, I do not think my words convey the idea you affix to them. Also you will observe, I do not say that a person's being confident of his own good estate is the way to be delivered from," etc. but "that the believer was bound to trust the Lord in the worst of frame," etc. This I mention, precisely to state my words, and they are, I think, very defensible; for the believer is called "to trust in the Lord forever," Isa. xxvi. 4. If so, when in the situation mentioned; for this is a trusting in the Lord as one's God. The woman, with the issue of blood, her touching Christ, and the success, is, I suppose, a call and encouragement to touch him by faith, for having the worst soul-maladies healed, Mark v. 25. Trusting in the Lord for needful blessings, in the situation mentioned, gives him the glory of his faithfulness, and engages him to act in the believer's behalf; thus to do, it is both duty and interest. Jonah, when in a course of grievous rebellion, and under awful chastisement for it, when perhaps he had actually disclaim-

ed interest in the Lord, or was in danger of it, said, "he would look again toward the Lord's holy temple," chap. ii. 4, evidently in exercise of faith in the Lord as his God, the Lord assuring him of his good estate and his favour, by the operation of the Spirit causing him so to act, and to be conscious of it; and, verse 7, "when my soul fainted within me, I remembered the Lord, and my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy temple." Here is my assertion exemplified in practice, by a believer, I may venture to say, in an evil frame, when the Spirit breathed upon him. Though a prophet, he deliberately disobeyed the express instructions of his Lord, chap. i. 2, 3, and in a careless frame, for he slept securely in the sides of the ship, during a tempest raised for his sake, and when the heathen mariners every one called upon his god, chap. i. 5, 6. So far was he from dreading, as he had reason to do, that the Lord would plead a controversy with him for the part he acted, that dismal security, awful carelessness, and a carnal frame had seized him; for he declared to the Lord, that he said to him in his country, he would repent of the evil he had said he would do to the Ninevites, if they turned from their evil way, and assigned that for the reason why he fled to Tarshish, chap. iv. 2; and thus would rather that the Lord should want the honour, that would redound to his name by the repentance, though only outward, of the Ninevites, and that the whole city should be destroyed, one of the largest the sun shone upon, and the most populous, and that himself should lose the honour and comfort of being the instrument of its preservation, than that *he* should fall under the imputation of being a false prophet, for which there would yet have been no foundation. Horrid carnality this! for as it was dreadful selfishness, it may, in that view, be termed carnality,—astonishing pride! this "filthiness of the spirit" is worse than that of the flesh; and, all circumstances of his conduct considered, he was not only in an ungodly frame, but in an inhumane one, and he sinned presumptuously in one of the highest degrees, we may suppose, in which it is possible for a believer so to act; notwithstanding it appears the happy turn was begun in him, under the influence of the Spirit, by renewing his faith in the Lord as his God, and being confident of his good estate; upon which he prayed, as already mentioned, and was heard by his God, see verses 7, 8, was delivered out of his then dismal and dangerous circumstances, chap. ii. 12.—Thus I have done more than I was bound to do, and have proved the point, not only in the manner in which I expressed it, but in the strong light your words, a comment on mine, had set it; for one plain Scripture instance, such certainly as that I have given, is sufficient, as agreed, to prove any thing. It is so far from being a mistaking of God's method of dealing with such persons, as you suggest, (pardon me, dear Sir,) to say, that it is "the Lord's method of delivering his saints when in a backsliding condition, first to assure them of their good es-

tate and his favour, and so, to make that the means of their deliverance;" that I give you the words of the Holy Ghost for it as express and full as any thing possibly can be, Jer. iii. 12, 13, 14; verse 14, "Turn, O backsliding children, saith the Lord, for *I am married unto you.*" This was, to be sure, the Lord's intimating the new covenant relation in which he stood to the spiritual Israel among them; and, verse 22 of that chapter, the Lord says, "Return, ye backsliding *children*, and I will heal your backslidings;" and in the close of the verse, we have the Lord's thus assuring them of their good estate and his favour, shown to be the effectual mean of their backsliding being healed: "Behold, we come unto thee; for thou art *the Lord our God*," Hos. xiv. 4. "O Israel, return unto *the Lord thy God*, for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity." Here the first words of the Lord's message to his spirituul Israel, are, that "*the Lord was their God*," and the expression, "fallen by iniquity," conveys a very strong idea, when applied to a believer, perhaps as strong, as is comprehended in your words, "*evil, etc. frame;*" and I must think this verse is so expressed, to work on holy ingenuousness in them, for its revival when under the ashes of corruption. It would perhaps be no difficult matter to multiply Scripture testimonies of such kind; but these adduced are, I think, full proof of the point, for confirmation of which they are brought. The love of Christ constrains the believer to return from folly, as well as to other things in other respects, 2 Cor. v. 14. I might argue here from the efficacy of the love of God apprehended, the genius of the new creature, and nature in believers, and a variety of other topics, but choose, without expatiating, to confine myself to precise Scripture testimonies. As to what you say, that "among all the multitudes you have had opportunity to observe, you never knew one dealt with in this manner, but have known many brought back from great declensions, that appeared to be true saints, but it was in a very diverse way from this: first conscience awakened; they brought into great fear of the wrath of God; his favour hid; the subjects of a kind of new work of humiliation; brought to great sense of deserving God's wrath, while they yet feared it, before God had delivered them from apprehension of it, and comforted with a renewed sense of his favour." All I observe upon this is, that the way I have laid down, is obviously that which the Lord declares in his word, he takes, for bringing back his people from declensions, and thus that in it mercy is to be expected, whatever the Lord may be pleased to do in sovereignty, and he will not be limited; also, persons do not perceive every thing that passes within them, far less are they capable to give a full distinct account of every thing of each kind. Experiences of christians are to be brought to the touch-stone of the infallible bar, and to stand or fall by it; the Bible is not to be brought to their test, and judged of by them. I own we may mis-

take the sense of Scripture, but it is so obvious in the passages I have quoted, that I cannot see how it can be misapprehended.

"I cannot say any thing now, about the other remarks I made on your book, touched on in your letter, because I have not now the book to look into. I understand the passages about prevalence of sin, so as to denominate a person not in a gracious state, better, by what you have wrote; and, if any difficulty shall remain after comparing your book and letter, I may come to propose it to you afterwards.

"What you wrote about the case of temptation was very agreeable, and I thank you for it. I shall now state the case more plainly, because I want much your further thoughts upon it; it is precisely this. A person finds himself beset by evil angels, what if I remember right *Voetius* terms *obsessio,* and one in that situation *obsessus;* they incessantly break into his body and mind, sometimes by vain, at other seasons by vile thoughts, now by the thoughts of a business neglected, which was a seasonable thing to be done, then by a Scripture text, or an engaging thought of some spiritual truth, when entrance is not to be had another way, and by a variety of other methods. They do all they can, perpetually to teaze, defile and discourage; he is conscious of the whole transaction, and finds his spirit broken by it, and goes not about to reason with Satan, knows the expediency of this course, is aware Satan wants no better, than that he pray much and long against his temptations, and so wont pray himself out of breath, by his instigation, is convinced the remedy is to get them kept out of body and mind, trusts, in dependence on the Lord, to the use of medical, moral and religious means for that end, because experience shows all of them are expedient and advantageous in their place; but all is in vain, no relief for him, relish of divine things wore off the mind, no comfort, is rendered callous by cruel constant buffetings, he cries, but the Lord hears not. By what I understand, this is a just representation of the case, and will lead you to the knowledge of other circumstances in it. What would you advise such a person to do? How shall he recover savour of spiritual truths and objects?

"I wondered you said nothing in your letter, about what I mentioned in mine, respecting *supposed immediate revelations of facts and future events,* as special favours conferred on some special favourites of heaven. I give in to your sentiments on that point, expressed in the three treatises you have published, and greatly like what Mr. Brainerd said on the subject, as mentioned, I think by you, in the funeral sermon on him, which I perused with a great deal of pleasure, and shall now mention some things, said in favour of that principle, of which people are very tenacious, that I may have your answers to them, which will be a singular favour done me, for certain reasons; for example, John xvi. 13, is affirmed to be an express promise of such a thing;—it is urged, the thing is

not contrary to Scripture, and therefore, *may be;*—it is urged, John xiii. 24—27, is an example of it, an intimation what the Lord will do in such kind when it pleaseth him, till the end of time. It is pretended, and indeed this is the strength of the cause, that the thing is a matter of fact, has nothing to do with the Bible, therefore nothing about it is to be expected in Scripture, and simply to deny it in all cases, is daringly to limit the power of God. The Lord has not said he will *not* grant it, and how dare any say it cannot be? It is reasoned, there are numbers of well attested instances of the thing in different ages and places, facts are stubborn things, and to deny them all is shocking, an overturning of all moral evidence. It is insisted on, that the thing *has been* formerly; it is confessed, and why may it not be now? We are told, a considerable time before a thing happened, that it has been impressed on the mind in all its circumstances, which exactly happened in every point; if when asked, what one can say to this, he says, perhaps it was from Satan, to this it is answered, does *he* know future contingent events? The reply is at hand, it is not above him to figure a thing on the fancy long before, which he is resolved by some means to bring about; but to all this it is answered by advocates for immediate revelations, such reasoning tends to sap one of the main pillars of evidence of the divinity of the Scripture prophecies.

"I have, by what I remember, given you the force of the argument, to establish what has had, I too well know, very bad effects, as commonly managed, in Britain, as well as in New-England; a history of instances of them, would not be without its use, and materials for it are not wanting. I will long much to see what you say in way of reply to all this. I am sure you cannot employ time better than in framing it. I should have mentioned, that the authority of eminent divines is brought to bear upon them, whose stomachs stand at swallowing things, like additions to the Bible,—Mr. Fleming, in *the Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, Dr. Goodwin, etc. But on this, it has been pleasantly observed, that the authority of the worthies in the eleventh of the Hebrews, would have done a good deal better. I have some apprehension this is a point of truth, which the Lord is to clear up in this age.

"I have read your *Humble Attempt*, and with much satisfaction, was charmed with the Scriptures of the latter day of glory set in one point of light. I do think humbly your observations on *Lowman* have great strength of reason. The killing of the witnesses, as yet to come, has been to me a grievious temptation; for which reason, I peruse with peculiar pleasure what you say on this subject; but if you answer the objection, "It would appear that the seventh trumpet is to sound soon after the resurrection of the witnesses, and the kingdoms of the world, etc. but that has not happened, therefore the witnesses are not killed;" I say, if this you answer, I have forgot.

"I should have also mentioned, that it seems evident, the doctrine of immediate revelations must be simply denied as unscriptural, and thus well-founded in *no* case; or it must be allowed in its full compass and latitude, let the consequences of it be what they will, for if the thing is allowed *possible*, reasonings about its effects will not conclude nor avail; I can see no middle way between the two things. That principle taken for granted by almost all, in all times past, is, as I mentioned in my last letter, to me a surprizing thing.

"Mr. Whitefield arrived at Edinburgh, Wednesday last, and was to preach on Thursday evening; but as I am fifteen miles from that city, of which two miles by sea, I have not yet heard of the effects of his preaching, or the number of the audiences; I wish they may be as frequent as when he was last here. May Divine power specially attend his ministrations! We need it much, as we are generally fallen under great deadness. I believe he will find use for all his prudence and patience in dealing with us, for different reasons. With great pleasure, friends to vital religion, and to him, are informed he is to make no collections at this time! I was glad to hear you write, that he laboured with success in New-England, in rectifying mistakes he had favoured, about intimations made by the Lord to his people, etc. and heartily wish he may be directed to apply an antidote here, where it is also needed.

"I have tired you with a long epistle, and shall therefore now break off. What you was pleased to favour me with, upon the difficulty started from Rom. viii. 28. was very acceptable, and I thank you much for it. I will expect a letter from you the first opportunity after this comes to hand; and in it all the news of New-England, particularly some account of the state of religion with you. It gives me pleasure to think, I may write you my sentiments upon every thing without reserve. Please make my affectionate compliments to my friend Mr. Abercrombie, when you see him, or write to him, and tell him, I remember I am in his debt for a letter. I hope the ship I am informed of, for carrying this, is not sailed, and therefore it will not be so long in coming to your hand, after being writ, as my last.

"I am, &c."

Letter to Mr. M'Culloch.

"*Northampton, Oct.* 7, 1748.

"To the Rev. Mr. M'Culloch.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"I thank you for your letter of Feb. 19, 1748, which I received the week before last. I had also, long before that, recived the letter you speak of, which you wrote the spring before, dated, March 12, 1747, which I wrote an answer to, and sent it to Mr. Prince

of Boston and committed it to his care; and am very sorry that you never received it. I am far from being weary of our correspondence. I ever looked on myself as greatly honoured and obliged by you, in your beginning this correspondence; and have found it pleasant and profitable; and particularly your last letter, that I have but now received, has been very agreeable and entertaining; especially on account of the good news it contains. I cannot but think many things mentioned in your letter, and the letters of my other correspondents in Scotland, which came with yours, are great things, worthy to be greatly taken notice of, and to be an occasion of much rejoicing and praise to all that love Zion; viz. The remarkable change in one of the Clerks of the Privy Council; God's stirring up him and Mr. Littleton to write in defence of Christianity; the good effect of this among men of figure and character; the good disposition of the King, and the Prince and Princess of Wales; the late awakening of two of the Princesses, Amelia and Caroline, and the hopeful conversion of one or both of them; the hopeful, real piety of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his good disposition towards experimental religion and the dissenters; several of the Clergy of the Church of England, lately appearing to preach the doctrines of Grace; several of the Magistrates, in various towns in England, exerting themselves with uncommon zeal to put the laws in execution against vice; and the eminent piety of the Prince of Orange, now the Stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces. These things, (at least some of them,) are great in themselves, and are of that nature that they have a most promising aspect on the interests of Zion, and appear to be happy presages and forerunners of yet better and greater things that are coming. They look as if the tide was turning, and glorious things approaching, by the revolution of the wheel of God's Providence. I think we, and all others, who have lately united by explicit agreement in extraordinary Prayer for a general Revival of religion and the coming of Christ's kingdom, may, without presumption, be greatly encouraged and animated in the duty we have engaged in, by the appearance of such a dawning of light from such great darkness; and should be ungrateful if we did not acknowledge God's great goodness in these things, and faithfulness in fulfilling the promises of his word; such as these in particular, "If any two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing you shall ask, it shall be done of my Father which is in heaven;" and, "Before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet preaching, I will hear." I have already communicated these things to some belonging to this town, and other places; some have appeared much affected with them; and one that belongs to another town, has taken extracts of these passages. I design, God willing, to communicate these things to my congregation, before the next Quarterly day for Prayer, and

also to the neighbouring Ministers, who, according to our stated agreement, will be met together on that day, to spend the former part of the day in prayer among ourselves, and the latter part in public services in one of our congregations; and shall also probably communicate these things to some of my correspondents in New Jersey and elsewhere, and I cannot but think they will tend to do a great deal of good, in various respects; and particularly will tend to promote the Concert for Prayer, in these parts of the world. I desired Mr. Prince of Boston, to send you one of my books on the Concert, soon after it was published; who engaged to do it: but long forgot it, as I perceived afterwards to my surprise, but since that more thorough care has been taken about that matter; and I hope you, and each of my other correspondents in Scotland, have before now received one of those books.

"I thank you, dear Sir, for sending me your Thoughts on some things in the Prophecies of the Revelation of St. John, and for being at so much trouble as to send it twice (supposing the first letter had miscarried.) This I take as a particular mark of respect, for which I am obliged to you. I received, as I said before, your former letter, (which contained the same observations,) and sent an answer to it, wherein I gave you my thoughts, such as they were, on those subjects. But if you have received my book on United Prayer, etc. therein you have seen more fully my thoughts on some things in the Revelation, that have a near relation to the same matter that you write about; the substance of which I before had written to you in a large letter, desiring your opinion of what I wrote.

"The letter, I think you received, by some intimations contained in yours of March 12, 1747. But you was not pleased to favour me with any thing at all of your thoughts of what I had so largely communicated to you, to that end, that I might have your opinion. But I am not the less willing again to communicate my thoughts on your remarks.

"As to what you observe concerning the number *six hundred and sixty-six*, and that number being found in the name of the present King of France; it is indeed something remarkable, that that number should be found both in his Latin and French names, as you observe; and I do not know but that the omniscient Spirit of God, (who doubtless in his predictions has sometimes his eye on several things in which he knows they will be fulfilled,) might have some respect to his name in the Prophecy; but I can hardly think that this individual King of France or any other particular Prince in Europe, is what is chiefly intended by the Beast, so largely described in the 13th Chapter of Revelation, whose number is said to be six hundred and sixty-six. Of all the conjectures concerning the number of the Beast, that I have lit on in my small reading, that of Mr. Potter's seems to me the most *ingenious*, who supposes

the true meaning is to be found by extracting the root of the number. But after all, I have ever suspected that the thing chiefly aimed at by the Holy Spirit, was never yet found out, and that the discovery is reserved for later times. Yet one reason why Mr. Potter's conjecture does not fully satisfy me, is, the difficulty about adjusting the fractions in the root, when extracted. With respect to your very ingenious conjectures, concerning the period of *forty-two months*, or *one thousand two hundred and sixty days*, of the outer court and holy City's being trodden under foot of the Gentiles; you know, Sir, that that forty-two months, or one thousand two hundred and sixty days, spoken of Rev. xi. 2, has been universally understood, as being the very same period with the 1260 days of the Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, spoken of in the next verse; and the one thousand two hundred and sixty days of the Woman's being led in the wilderness, Chap. xiii. 6; and the time, times and half a time, of her being nourished in the wilderness from the face of the Serpent, ver. 14; and the forty-two months of the continuance of the Beast, Chap. xiii. 5. But it does not appear to me probable that these forty-two monts of the continuance of the Beast, means the sum of the diverse periods in which the *Plat of Ground*, whereon the ancient literal Jerusalem stood, was under the dominion of the Romans, Saracens, Persians and Turks; but the space of time during which the reign of Antichrist or the Popish Hierarchy continues; and as to the particular time of the downfall of Antichrist, you see my reasons in the forementioned pamphlet, why I think it certain that it will not be known till it be accomplished: I cannot but think that the Scripture is plain in that matter, and that it does, in effect, require us to rest satisfied in ignorance till *the time of the end* comes.

"However, I should be very foolish, if I were dogmatical in my thoughts concerning the interpretation of the prophecies: especially in opposition to those who have had so much more opportunity to be well acquainted with things of this nature. But since you have insisted on my thoughts, I conclude you will not be displeased, that I have mentioned them, though not altogether agreeable to yours. I am nevertheless greatly obliged to you for your condescension in communicating your thoughts to me. If we do not exactly agree in our thoughts about these things, yet in our prayers for the accomplishment of these glorious events in God's time, and for God's gracious presence with us, and his assistance in endeavours to promote his kingdom and interests, in the mean time, we may be entirely agreed and united. That we may be so, is the earnest desire of, dear Sir,

"Your affectionate brother and servant,

"in our common Lord,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

In perusing the following letter, while the reader will deeply regret the loss of that from Mr. Erskine to which it is an answer, he will feel a lively interest in the mass of religious intelligence which it contains, as well as in the interesting developement which it gives of the character of Governour Belcher.

"To the Rev. Mr. Erskine.

"*Northampton, Oct.* 14, 1748.

"Rev. and dear Sir.

"A little while ago I wrote a letter to you, wherein I acknowledged the receipt of your letter, and the books that came with it, viz. *Taylor on Original Sin;* and *on the Romans:* with your sermons, and *Answer to Mr. Campbell ;* for which most acceptable presents I would most heartily and renewedly thank you.

"I sent my letter to Boston, together with one of Mr. Stoddard's *Benefit of the Gospel to the Wounded in Spirit*, and his *Nature of Saving Conversion*, with a Sermon on Mr. Brainerd's death, and some account of a history of his life now in the press, to be sent to Scotland by the first opportunity ; whether there has been any opportunity or no, I cannot tell. I have very lately received another letter from you, dated April 4, 1748, which was indeed exceedingly acceptable, by reason of the remarkable and joyful accounts it contains of things, that have a blessed aspect on the interests of Christ's kingdom in the world: such as the good effects of the writings of Mr. West and Mr. Littleton on some at Court, and the religious concern in Mr. Randy's and Mr. Gray's parishes, the hopeful true piety of the Archbishop of Canterbury; this and the King's disposition, not only to tolerate, but comprehend the Dissenters ; and their indifference with respect to the liturgy, ceremonies and episcopal ordination ; the piety of the Prince, who is now advanced to the Stadtholdership, and has it established in his family forever ; the awakening of the Princess Caroline; and the good disposition of the Princess of Wales. I think it very fit that those, who have lately entered into an union of extraordinary prayer, for the coming of Christ's kingdom and the prosperity of Zion, should inform one another of things which they know of, that pertain to the prosperity of Zion, and whereby their prayers are in some degree answered : that they may be united in joy and thanksgiving, as well as in supplication; and that they may be encouraged and animated in their prayers for the future, and engaged to continue instant therein with all perseverance. I think these things forementioned, which you have sent me an account of, are worthy greatly to be observed by those that are united in the concert for prayer, for their comfort, praise and encouragement. I intend to communicate these things to my own people, before the next quarterly season for prayer, and to the neighbouring ministers, who are united in this affair ; and also to my correspondents in this province, and other provinces

of America. I doubt not but they will have a happy tendency and influence in many respects. I hope, dear Sir, you will continue still to give me particular information of things that appear, relative to the state of Zion and the interests of religion, in Great Britain or other parts of Europe. In so doing, you will not only inform me, but I shall industriously communicate any important informations of that kind, and spread them amongst God's people in this part of the world; and shall endeavour to my utmost to make such an use of them, as shall tend most to promote the interest of religion. And among other things I should be glad to be informed of any books that come out, remarkably tending either to the illustration, or defence of that truth, or the promoting the power of godliness or in any respect peculiarly tending to advance true religion.

"I have given an account of some things, which have a favourable aspect on the interests of religion, in these American parts of the world, in my letters to Mr. Robe, and Mr. McLaurin, sent with this; which you will have opportunity to see.

In your last letter you desired to be particularly informed of the present state of New-Jersey College, and of things remarkable of a religious nature respecting the Indians. As to the former, viz. the state of New-Jersey College: by the last accounts I had, it was in somewhat of an unsettled state. Governour Belcher had a mind to give them a new charter, that he thought would be more for the benefit of the society. Accordingly a draft of a new charter was drawn; wherein it was proposed to make considerable alteration in the Corporation of Trustees; to leave out some of the former Trustees; and that the Governour for the time being, should be a Trustee, and three or four of the Council of that Province. Those two things made considerable uneasiness, viz. leaving out some of the former Trustees, and making it a part of the Constitution that the Governour, and so many of the Council should be members of the Corporation. Some feared that this would not be for the health of the society; because the men in chief authority in that Province, have for the most part, been men of no Religion, and many of them open and profess'd contemners of it. How this matter has been settled, or whether these difficulties are got over, I have not been informed. As to Governour Belcher himself, he appears thoroughly engaged to promote virtue and vital religion in those parts, which already has had some good effects; vice and open profaneness, by the means, is become less fashionable among the great men, and virtue and religion more creditable. The disposition of Governour Belcher may in some measure be seen, by the following extract of a letter from him, in answer to one I wrote to him on a special occosion.

"*Burlington, New-Jersey, Feb.* 5, 1748.

"You will, Sir, be sure of me as a friend and father to the mis-

sionaries this way, and of all my might and encouragement for spreading the everlasting gospel of God our Saviour, in all parts and places, where God shall honour me with any power or influence.

"As to myself, Sir, it is impossible to express the warm sentiments of my heart, for the mercies without number, with which I have been loaded, by the God who has fed me all my life long to this day; and my reflection upon his goodness covers me with shame and blushing, for I know my utter unworthiness, and that I am less than the least of all his mercies. I would therefore abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes. You are sensible, my good friend, that governours stand in a glaring light, and their conduct is narrowly watched by friends and enemies: the one often unreasonably applaud them, while the other perhaps too justly censure them. Yet in this I am not anxious: but to approve myself to the Searcher of hearts, from whose mouth I must hear pronounced, at the great and general audit, those joyful words, Enter thou, etc.—or that terrible sentence, Depart from me, etc. Join with me then in thankfulness to God, for all the blessings and talents he has intrusted me with, and in prayer that I may employ them to his honour and glory, to the good of the people over whom he hath placed me, and so to the comfort of my own soul: that I may always remember that he that ruleth over men, must be just, ruling in the fear of God."

"In another letter which I have received, dated Burlington, N. J. May 31, 1748, he says as follows.

"I will prostrate myself before my God and Saviour, and on the bended knees of my soul, (abhorring myself in every view) I will beg for a measure of divine grace and wisdom; that so I may be honoured, in being an instrument of advancing the kingdom of the blessed Jesus in this world, and in that way be bringing forth fruit in old age.* I bless God, my heavenly Father, that I am not ashamed of the Cross of Christ; and I humbly ask the assistance of Sovereign Grace, that, in times of temptation, I may never be a shame to it: I mean that my conversation may always be such as becometh the gospel of Christ. And I tell you again, that all such as minister at the altar, and in the course of their ministry approve themselves faithful to the great Head of the Church, will not only find my countenance and protection, but my love and esteem.

"As to our embryo College, it is a noble design: and if God pleases, may prove an extensive blessing. I have adopted it for a daughter, and hope it may in time become an Alma Mater, to this and the neighbouring Provinces. I am getting the best advice and

* He was 66 years old, the 8th day of January last.

assistance I can in the draught of a Charter, which I intend to give to our infant College, and I thank you, Sir, for all the kind hints you have given me, for the service of this excellent undertaking: and as St. Luke says of Mary, *She kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart;* so you may depend, what you have said about the College, will not be lost with me; but, as far as God shall enable me, I shall exert and lay out myself in every way to bring it to maturity, and then to advance its future welfare and prosperity: for this I believe will be acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour: a relish for true religion and piety, being great strangers to this part of America. The accounts I receive from time to time, give me too much reason to fear that Arminianism, Arianism, and even Socinianism, in destruction to the doctrines of free grace, are daily propagated in the New England Colleges. How horribly and how wickedly, are these poisonous notions rooting out those noble pious principles, on which our excellent ancestors founded those seminaries! and how base a return is it of the present generation, to that God, who is constantly surrounding them with goodness and mercy! and how offensive is it in the eyes of that God, who is jealous of his glory, and will take vengeance on his adversaries, and reserveth wrath for his enemies! And from these things I am led to thank you for your book, wrote in consequence of the Memorial from Scotland, for promoting a concert in prayer. I am much pleased with this proposal and imitation to all good christians, and with your arguments to encourage and corroborate the design. The two missionaries you mention, Messrs. Spencer and Strong, I am told are at present at Boston, I have once and again desired Mr. Brainerd to assure them of my kindness and respect. But their affairs have not yet led them this way. I rejoice in their being appointed to carry the gospel, in its purity, to the Six Nations; and when Mr. Brainerd and they proceed to Susquehannah, they shall have all my assistance and encouragement; by letters to the King's Governours where they may pass, and my letters to the Sachem or Chief of those Indians."

"With regard to the missionaries, Governour Belcher mentions: "The Commissioners in Boston, of the Corporation in London, for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians in New England and parts adjacent, a little before Mr. David Brainerd went to Boston, the summer before his death, had received a sum of money from the estate left by the famous Dr. Williams, for the maintenance of two missionaries among the Six Nations: and having entertained a very great esteem of Mr. Brainerd, from the opportunity they had of acquaintance with him while in Boston, the committee entrusted to him the affair of finding and recommending the persons proper to be employed in this business." Accordingly he, after much deliberation, recommended one Mr.

Spencer, belonging to Haddam, his native town; and Mr. Strong, belonging to this town, Northampton; who are undoubtedly well qualified persons, of good abilities and learning, and of pious dispositions. The Commissioners, on his recommendation, accepted these persons; and after Mr. Brainerd's death, sent to them; and they went down to Boston, and accepted the mission. But the Commissioners did not think proper immediately to send them forth among the Six Nations: but ordered them to go and live, during the winter, in New Jersey with Mr. John Brainerd, among the Christian Indians, there to follow their studies, and get acquaintance with the manners and customs of Indians; and in the spring to go with Mr. Brainerd, to Susquehannah, to instruct the Indians on that river, before they went to the Six Nations. Accordingly they went and lived in New Jersey; but were discouraged as to their intended journey to Susquehannah; for they understood that the Susquehannah Indians greatly objected against entertaining missionaries, without the consent of the Six Nations, (to whom they are subject, and of whom they stand it seems in great fear;) and insisted that the missionaries should go to the Six Nations first. Therefore, in the spring, Messrs. Spencer and Strong returned to Boston, for new orders from the commissioners: who saw cause to order them to come and live at my house, till the time of an appointed interview of the Governours of Boston and New York with the Chiefs of the Six Nations, at Albany, in the latter part of the summer; when it was proposed that some, that should go to Albany with Gov. Shirley, should, on the behalf of the Commissioners, treat with the Six Nations concerning their receiving missionaries. Messrs. Spencer and Strong did accordingly; they lived with me in the summer, and went to Albany at the time of the treaty; and the nation of the Oneidas in particular, were dealt with concerning receiving these missionaries; who appeared free and forward in the matter. Messrs. Spencer and Strong, at that time, got some acquaintance with the Chiefs of the tribe; who appeared fond of them, and very desirous of their going with them. But the grand difficulty then in the way, was the want of an Interpreter; which occasioned their not going with the Indians at that time, but returning again to New-England. Mr. Strong, also, was taken much out of health, which discouraged him from entertaining any thoughts of throwing himself into the fatigues and hardships of their undertaking, till the next spring. But the difficulty of the want of an interpreter, is now got over; a very good one has been found; and Mr. Spencer was ordained on the 14th of the last month, and is gone with the interpreter, to go to the country of the Oneidas, about 170 miles beyond Albany, and about 130 miles distant from all settlements of the white people.

"It is a thing, that has a favourable aspect on the design of propagating the Gospel among the Indians, that many of late have

been remarkably spirited to promote it, and liberally to open their hands in order to it. Mr. Brainerd's going to Boston before his death, and people there having some acquaintance with him, and with his labours and success among the Indians, gave occasion to a considerable number in Boston, men of good substance and of the best character, and some of them principal men in the town, to form themselves into a Charitable Society, that by their joint endeavours and contributions, they might promote the instruction and spiritual good of the Indians; who have done some very liberal things for the Indians in New-Jersey, and also for the Six Nations. The people of Northampton have also had their hearts remarkably opened, to contribute to the maintenance of Mr. Spencer's Interpreter; and one individual at Springfield, has been moved to devote a considerable part of his estate, to promote the propagation of the Gospel among the Six Nations.

"As to my writing against Arminianism; I have hitherto been remarkably hindered; so that probably it will be a considerable time before I shall have any thing ready for the press; but do intend, God allowing and assisting, to prosecute that design: and I desire your prayers for the Divine assistance in it. The books you sent me, will be a great help to me; I would on no account have been without them.

"I condole with you and Mrs. Erskine, on the loss of your noble and excellent father; which is doubtless a great loss to the Church of God. But the glorious King of Zion, who was dead, is alive, and lives forevermore, and can raise up others in exalted stations to favour Zion; and seems to be so doing at this day, by things you give an account of in your letter. I have been the subject of an afflictive dispensation of late, tending to teach me how to sympathize with the afflicted; which I think I mentioned in my last letter to you, viz. the death of my second daughter, the last February.

"Please to present my most affectionate and respectful salutations to your dear consort. That I and mine may be remembered in your and her prayers, is the request of

"Your affectionate and obliged

"Friend and brother,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

Letter from Mr. Willison to Mr. Edwards.

"To the Rev. Mr. Edwards.

"*Dundee, March* 17, 1749.

"REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,

"I thank you for yours of October last, with your two Sermons, which Mr. M'Laurin sent me; which two Sermons give me cause to sing of mercy as well as of judgment, that as one shining and

successful youth is laid aside from labouring in the Gospel, another is sent forth to it. Indeed, worthy Mr. Brainerd was one among a thousand, for carrying the Gospel among the heathen, as appears by the account you give of him in your Sermon, and by his Journals which have been published here, and prefaced by Dr. Doddridge, and dedicated by him to the Society at Edinburgh. We must be silent; seeing He who hath removed him is holy, just and wise. We must also lay our hands on our mouths, with respect to the loss of our great and eminent men, such as Dr. Watts, Dr. Colman, Mr. Cowper, and others. But O, it is no loss to be absent from the body, to them who are present with the Lord. Great need have we to cry to the Lord of the vineyard, to send forth others in their room; it is easy for him to do it, from places we little expect. These are hopeful and promising accounts, which you have from your correspondents in Scotland, mentioned in your letter. May they all hold true, and be the forerunners of greater things, and the dawnings of the glory of the latter days. I may add to them, the rising of a burning and shining light of a Church of England minister, in Dr. Doddridge's neighbourhood, viz. Mr. Hervey; for he dates his writings from Weston Flavel, near Northampton. He has lately published two volumes of Meditations on all kinds of subjects, in a most orthodox, calvinistic and evangelical strain, in which he takes all kinds of occasions of exalting and commending his glorious Master, Christ, in a most rhetorical way, and in a style I think inimitable, and in the most moving expressions, so that it is not easy to read him without tears. He freely taxes his brethren of that church, for departing from the doctrines of grace, and of justification by imputed righteousness, etc. which were taught by the Reformers, and their own articles and homily. And notwithstanding this uncommon freedom, which he uses with his brethren, great men, etc. never had any books such a run in England, as his; for in a year and an half's time, or thereabouts, there are five editions of them published at London, and still they are greedily bought and read, especially by persons of distinction; the style being a little too high and poetical for the vulgar. His name is James Hervey, A. B. Some say he is of noble descent, from the Earl of Bristol; but I am not sure of this. It is thought he is the man that Dr. Doddridge points at, in the life of Col. Gardiner, pages 37, 38. It looks well, that so many in England should become fond of sound evangelical writings. No doubt the books may have reached Boston by this time. Let us therefore still wait and pray in hope. I should be glad to do any thing in my power, for promoting the Concert for United Prayer, and Oh that it were spread both far and near; it would be a token of a general Revival of religion to be fast approaching. I know nothing that hath a greater tendency to promote the aforesaid happy Concert, than the book you lately published about it, (a copy

whereof you sent me, for which I humbly thank you.) I wish it were universally spread, for I both love and admire the performance upon subjects so uncommon. I approve your remarks on Mr. Lowman. His reason for beginning Antichrist's reign so late as the year 756, is weak, viz. because then King Pepin invested the Pope in his temporal dominion over that province in Italy, called St. Peter's Patrimony—when it is evident that the Pope had usurped his tyrannical dominion over Christ's church, long before, which is the main ground of his being called Antichrist; yea, the Pope's usurped power was greater before King Pepin's time, than it is at this day—as for instance, in Pope Symmachus' time, anno 501; in Pope Hormisdas' time, anno 516; in Pope Boniface 3d's time, anno 606; in Pope Constantine's time, anno 713. Yea, Mr. Lowman himself gives a dreadful instance of the Pope's tyranny and usurpation, both over the church and the Emperor, in page 97 of his book, which happened anno 726, thirty years before he begins Antichrist's reign; when Pope Gregory 2d excommunicated the Emperor Leo, for ordering images to be removed out of the churches, and forbad obedience or paying of taxes to him. Was not Antichrist's reign far advanced by that time? And we have several instances of the Pope's tyranny, similar to this, recorded by historians, before that which Mr. Lowman mentions; which more directly denominate him Antichrist, than his temporal doings in Italy. We see how easy it is for the best of writers, to slip into mistakes and wrong schemes. I agree with you, that Antichrist's fall will be gradual, in the way you explain it.

"I am sorry to hear of Arminianism growing in New England. But I rejoice to hear of Gov. Belcher's zeal for religion in New Jersey; may the Lord spare him and bless him. As also I am glad to hear of the hopeful prospect of the Gospel's growing among the Six Nations of Indians; and of such a youth as Mr. Spencer being sent among them; may the Lord prosper him as he did Mr. Brainerd. I sympathise with you under that affliction of your daughter's death; but it is comfortable she was helped so to live and die, as to afford such grounds of hope concerning her. And though she was the flower of your family, yet the remembering of the gracious hand, that *painted the flower*, will engage your worthy spouse and you to a becoming silence, like Aaron. As he will do what he will, let us join and say always, *Let his will be done.* I would fain be at this in my own case, may the Lord help me to more of christian submission and resignation. I am now entered into the 69th year of my age, and fallen under several distresses, whereby I have been shaken over the grave these many months past, and am laid aside from preaching. May the Lord assist me in my preparation for the dissolution of this tabernacle. I find it no easy matter to die, and to die in faith, and to die like Simeon with Jesus in his arms. I very much need your prayers for me

I am glad to hear, dear brother, that your parents are both alive, and that they hold the abilities of both body and mind so remarkably at so great an age, and particularly that your father, at seventy-nine years of age and now near eighty, performs the whole of his ministerial work so constantly, without feeling it burdensome, and was able to travel forty miles to see you; he is indeed a wonder of his age, and would be reckoned so in this country, where few ministers come near to that age and vigour. May the Lord still spare him, with your mother, and make them still flourishing in old age; may they be blessed with much of God's gracious presence; and with the consolations and fruits of the Spirit, in their aged and declining days. I still kindly remember your worthy spouse and children remaining, and pray they may long be continued for comforts to you, and you continued for a blessing to them, to your flock, and to many others, as you already have been.

"I remain, Rev. and dear brother,

"Your most affectionate brother, and serv't,

"In our Lord,

"J. Willison."

"P. S. The Rev. Mr. Whitefield came to Scotland in September last, and preached about two months in and about Edinburgh and Glasgow. But some brethren who employed him, being challenged for it in Synods and Presbyteries, and debates arising thereupon, Mr. Whitefield returned to London. To give a view of the substance of these debates, and what passed thereupon in the Synod of Glasgow, I have sent you herewith a printed pamphlet containing the same with two other books, as a small acknowledgment of your favours."

The three following letters went in the same packet to Scotland. The religious intelligence, which they communicated, will be found highly interesting at the present day. In the first of the three, is the earliest allusion, on the part of Mr. Edwards, which I have met with, to a most painful subject; the mention of which I have purposely forborne, that all which relates to it may be presented together.

Letter to Mr. Erskine.

"*Northampton, May* 20, 1749.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"The day before yesterday, I received your letter of February 14th, with the pacquet, containing the pamphlets you mention in your letter: for which I am greatly obliged to you. I have not yet had opportunity to read these books, but promise myself much

entertainment by them, from the occasions on which they were written, and the subject they are upon. The last letter I received from you before this, was dated April 6, 1748, so that I suppose the two letters you say you wrote to me, since those which I acknowledge the receipt of, have miscarried, which I much regret, as I much value what comes from your hand.

"In one of your last letters which came to hand, you desire to be particularly informed concerning the state of religion, in these parts of the world, and particularly concerning the Mission to the Indians, and the infant College in New Jersey. As to the affair of preaching the gospel to the Indians, Mr. Spencer went, the last fall, far into the western wilderness; to the Oneidas, one of the tribes of Indians called the Six Nations, living on Susquehannah River, towards the head of the river; to a place called by the Indians *Onohohquauga*, about 180 miles south-west from Albany on Hudson's River, where he continued through the winter; and went through many difficulties and hardships, with little or no success, through the failing of his Interpreter; who was a woman that had formerly been a captive among the Caghnawauga Indians in Canada, who speak the same language with those Oneidas, excepting some small variation of dialect. She went with her husband, an Englishman, and is one of the people we here call *Separatists:* who showed the spirit he was of there in that wilderness, beyond what was known before. He differed with and opposed Mr. Spencer in his measures, and had an ill influence on his wife; who I fear was very unfaithful, refusing to interpret for Mr. Spencer more than one discourse in a week, a sermon upon the Sabbath; and utterly declined assisting him in discoursing and conversing with the Indians in the week time. And her interpretations on the Sabbath were performed very unfaithfully, as at last appeared. So that Mr. Spencer came away in discouragement in the spring, and returned to Boston, and gave the Corporation there, who employed him, an account of his unexpected difficulties and disappointments; and became obliged to them to wait three months, to see if they could procure a fellow missionary, and another interpreter, to go with him to the Indians; which I believe is not much expected. If these are not obtained within the limited time, Mr. Spencer is free from any farther engagements to them. Mr. Spencer is now preaching at Elizabethtown in New Jersey, in the pulpit of the late Mr. Dickinson; and I believe is likely to settle there. He is a person of very promising qualifications: and will hopefully in some measure make up the great loss, that people have sustained by the death of their former pastor.

"As to the mission in New Jersey, we have from time to time had comfortable accounts of it; and Mr. John Brainerd, who has the care of the congregation of Christian Indians there, was about three weeks ago, at my house; and informed me of the increase

of his congregation, and of their being added to, from time to time, by the coming of Indians from distant places, and settling in the Indian town at *Cranberry*, for the sake of hearing the gospel; and of something of a work of awakening being all along carried on, among the Indians to this day; and of some of the new comers being awakened; and of there being instances, from time to time, of hopeful conversion among them; and of a general good and pious behaviour of the professing Indians. But he gave an account also, of some trouble the Indians meet with, from some of the white people; and particularly from Mr. Maurice, the Chief Justice of the Province, a professed Deist; who is sueing them for their lands, under pretext of a will, made by their former king; which was undoubtedly forged. However he is a man of such craft and influence, that it is not known how the matter will issue.

"I have heard nothing new, that is very remarkable concerning the College in New Jersey. It is in its infancy; there has been considerable difficulty about settling their Charter. Gov. Belcher, who gave the Charter, is willing to encourage and promote the College to his utmost; but differs in his opinion concerning the Constitution, which will tend most to its prosperity, from some of the principal ministers that have been concerned in founding the society. He insists upon it that the Governour, for the time being, and four of His Majesty's Council for the Province, should always be of the Corporation of Trustees; and that the Governour should always be the President of the Corporation. The ministers are all very willing that the present Governour, who is a religious man, should be in this standing; but their difficulty is with respect to future Governours, who they suppose are as likely to be men of no religion and Deists, as otherwise. However, so the matter is settled, to the great uneasiness of Mr. Gilbert Tennent in particular, who it is feared will have no further concern with the College on this account. Mr. Burr, the President of the College, is a man of religion and singular learning, and I hope the College will flourish under his care.

I have taken a great deal of pains in communicating to others, in various parts, the pleasing accounts you, and my other correspondents in Scotland, gave me last year of things of promising aspect on the interest of religion, on your side of the ocean: which have been very affecting to pious ministers and people in New-England, and also in the provinces of New-York and New-Jersey; and hope some considerable good has been done by such tidings; particularly in animating many in the duty of extraordinary, united prayer for a general Revival of religion, and promoting the Concert for prayer proposed from Scotland; which prevails more and more in these parts of the world, which, together with some other things in some places, are cause of thankfulness, and bode well to the in-

terests of Zion, (of which I have given a more particular account in my letters to Mr. M'Laurin, Mr. Robe and Mr. M'Culloch, sent with this,) though it be in general a very dead time as to religion, and a time of the prevailing of all manner of iniquity.

"I shall send orders to Boston, that one of my books on Mr. Brainerd's life may be sent to you with this letter; if any of them are ready, as I hope they are, or will be, very speedily.

"I have nothing very comfortable to inform you of concerning the present state of religion in this place. A very great difficulty has arisen between my people, relating to Qualifications for communion at the Lord's table. My honoured grandfather Stoddard, my predecessor in the ministry over this church, strenuously maintained the Lord's Supper to be *a converting ordinance;* and urged all to come, who were not of scandalous life, though they knew themselves to be unconverted. I formerly conformed to his practice; but I have had difficulties with respect to it, which have been long increasing; till I dared no longer to proceed in the former way; which has occasioned great uneasiness among my people, and has filled all the country with noise, which has obliged me to write something on the subject, which is now in the press. I know not but this affair will issue in a separation between me and my people. I desire your prayers, that God would guide me in every step of this affair. My wife joins with me in respectful salutations to you and your consort.

"I am, dear Sir, your obliged and affectionate

"Brother and servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

Letter to Mr. M'Culloch.

"*Northampton, May* 23, 1749.

"REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,

"The last letter I received from you was dated Feb. 10, 1748, to which I wrote an answer the latter end of last summer; which I suppose you received, because I perceive by letters sent me this spring, by some others of my correspondents, your neighbours, they had received letters I sent to them at the same time, and in the same packet. Your letters to me have been very acceptable; I should be glad to receive them oftener.

"The letter I last received from you, and others that came with it, were peculiarly agreeable, on account of the good news they contained concerning Messrs. West and Littleton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, some in the royal family, the Stadtholder, &c. These things I have taken a great deal of pains to communicate to others; and they have been very entertaining, and I hope profitable to many. I was at the pains to extract from all the let-

ters I received at that time, those things which appeared with a favourable aspect on the interest of religion in the world, and to draw various copies to send to different parts, to such as I supposed would be most likely to be entertained and improved by them, and to do good with them, and I believe they have been of great benefit, particularly to excite and encourage God's people, in the great duty of praying for the coming of Christ's kingdom, and to promote extraordinary, united prayer in the method proposed in the Memorial from Scotland. I read these articles of good news to my own congregation, and also to the association of ministers to which I belong, when met on one of the quarterly seasons for prayer; and read them occasionally to many others; and sent a copy of one of the forementioned abstracts to Connecticut, which was carried into various parts of that government, and shown to several ministers there. I sent one to Mr. Hall of Sutton, a pious minister about the middle of this province; who, according to my desire, communicated it to other ministers, and I suppose, to his people. I sent a copy to Mr. Rogers of Kittery, I suppose about seventy miles to the eastward of Boston; who in reply, wrote to me, and in his letter says as follows: "Yours of the 22d Dec. came not to my hand till the 19th of this: with which I was well pleased, and had some sweet sense of the sovereign free grace of God in the instances you mentioned, with some going forth of heart after further displays of it, in the mighty and noble of our nation, and the great ones of our own country; and, indeed, that the kingdom of our exalted Redeemer might prevail in all the world. And, dear Sir, I am full in the belief, that so many of the Lord's people agreeing upon a time to unite in prayer for the pouring out of the Holy Spirit, and the coming of the Redeemer's kingdom is from the Lord, and cannot but hope the day draws near, when he will pour out water upon the thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground; as also, that all his ministers and people, who are engaged in so delightful a work, for so noble an end, will give him no rest, till he shall make his Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a name and a praise in the earth."

"I sent another copy into New-Jersey to Mr. John Brainerd, missionary to the Indians there, with a desire that he would communicate it to others as he thought would be most serviceable.

"He writes in answer, March 4, 1748, as follows: "I received yours of Jan. 12, on Sabbath morning Feb. 5, and desire to acknowledge your kindness with much thankfulness and gratitude. It was a great rescusitant, as well as encouragement, to me; and I trust, has been so to many others, in these parts, who are concerned for the prosperity of Zion. The next Tuesday after, (as perhaps, Sir, you may remember,) was the quarterly day appointed for Extraordinary Prayer: upon which I called my people together, and gave them information of the most notable things contained

in your letter. And since I have endeavoured to communicate the same to several of my neighbouring ministers, and sundry private christians, as I had opportunity. I have also thought it my duty to send an extract, or rather a copy of it, to Gov. Belcher. I have likewise (for want of time to transcribe,) sent the original to Philadelphia by a careful hand, that the Rev. Mr. Gilbert Tennent might have the perusal of it; where a copy was taken, and the original safely returned to me again. I cannot but hope that this letter, as it contains many things wherein the power and goodness of God do appear in a most conspicuous manner, will be greatly serviceable in stirring up the people of God in these parts, and encouraging their hearts to seek his face and favour, and to cry mightily to him, for the further out-pouring of a gracious Spirit upon his Church in the world. For my part, I think the remarkable things which your letter contains, might be sufficient to put new life into any one who is not past feeling; and as a means to excite a spirit of Prayer and Praise, in all those who are not buried in ignorance, or under the power of a lethargic stupor. And it is looked upon, by those whom I have had opportunity to converse with, whether ministers or private christians, that what God has done is matter of great thankfulness and praise, and might well encourage his people to lift up the hand of Prayer, and be instant therein."

"Mr. Davenport, minister of a church in Elizabethtown in New Jersey, writes thus upon it, in a letter dated, April 1, 1749, "I thank you for sending your letter to our Brainerd open, that I might see it, which I took a copy of; and have found it again and again refreshing and animating. I read it to the ministers who met at my house for prayer, on the first Tuesday of February, and sent it afterwards to Long Island: Mr. Rivel took a copy of it and read it in his congregation on the Island."

"I hope, dear Sir, these things will encourage you to continue your correspondence, and to go on to give me information of whatever appears in your parts of the world, favourable to the interests of the kingdom of Christ. It will not only be entertaining to me; but I shall endeavour, whenever I receive such tidings, to communicate it for the entertainment and profit of God's people, as I have opportunity. I must refer you, dear Sir, to my letters to other correspondents in your neighbourhood, for other particulars relating to the state of religion in these parts of the world. And hope, when you are before the Throne of Grace, you will not forget

"Your very affectionate friend,

"And brother and servant,

"Jonathan Edwards."

Letter to Mr. Robe.

"*Northampton, May* 23, 1749.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"Mr. M'Laurin, in a letter I received from him the last week, dated March 10th, 1749, informs me of a letter you had written to me, sent to him; which he had taken care of. This letter, by some means or other, has failed, and has never reached me. I intend to make enquiry after it, to see if it has not been left at Boston, and forgotten to be sent. I have reason to hope, (though I have not received your letter,) that you and your family are well, because Mr. M'Laurin and Mr. Erskine, (the only correspondents from whom I have received letters this time,) inform me of nothing to the contrary.

"As to the present state of religion in these parts of the world, it is in the general very dark and melancholy. But yet there are some things, which appear comfortable and hopeful; particularly, the Concert for Extraordinary Prayer for the coming of Christ's kingdom, is spreading and prevailing—and we hear of awakenings and Revivals of religion in some places. We have had accounts, from time to time, of religion's being in a flourishing state, in the Indian congregation in New-Jersey, under the care of Mr. John Brainerd; of the congregation's increasing, by the access of Indians from distant parts; of a work of awakening carried on among the unconverted, and additions made to the number of the hopefully converted, and the christian behaviour of professors there. Mr. Brainerd was at my house a little while ago, and represented this to be the present state of things in that congregation. I had a letter from Mr. Davenport, (who is settled now as a minister over a congregation belonging to Elizabethtown, in New-Jersey,) dated April 1, 1749, wherein he says as follows: "Mr. Lewis told me, that there has been a remarkable work of conviction prevailing in his place, ever since last December. I think he spoke of about forty under soul concern, a considerable number of them under strong convictions, and some hopefully converted. I heard lately, a credible account of a remarkable work of conviction and conversion, among whites and negroes, at Hanover in Virginia, under the ministry of Mr. Davies, who is lately settled there, and has the character of a very ingenious and pious young man; whose support, in his preparation for service, Mr. Robinson* contributed much, if not mostly to; and on his death bed gave him his books, etc."

upon the doctrines of Repentance and Conversion; the nature.

*This Mr. Robinson was a young minister of eminent gifts and graces: I think, belonging to Pennsylvania, but had some time preached, with great success, in Virginia, in various parts; but died a few years ago, in his youth.

"Mr. Buell, of East-Hampton, on Long Island, was here last week, and gave me an account of a very considerable work of awakening at this time in his congregation, especially among the young people; and also of a yet greater work at Bridgehampton, under the ministry of one Mr. Brown, a very pious and prudent young man, lately settled there. These congregations are both pretty large. He also gave an account of religion's continuing in a very prosperous state, at a part of Huntington, another town on Long Island, where was a great and general awakening, last year.

"An Association of ministers, between this and Boston, seem of late to have applied themselves somewhat earnestly, to invent means for promoting religion. The following is a copy of something they have agreed upon for this end, as it was sent to me, by a minister that lives that way.

"The sum and substance of the answers, given by the Association, to this question, What things shall be done by us, for preventing the awful threatening degeneracy and backsliding in religion, in the present day?

"These, we apprehend, may be reduced to the following heads, viz. Those that respect ourselves personally; those which concern the Association, as such; and those which relate to our people, in our respective churches and congregations.

"I. As to what respects ourselves personally.

"1. We ought surely to get a deep and affecting sense of this: Whether there is not in ourselves defection, and great danger of further degeneracy; for otherwise, we shall with little heartiness undertake, or earnestness endeavour after, reformation.

"2. We are not to think it amiss, that we ourselves be excited to look, with a proper attention and concern, into our own estate, into our own experiences in the divine life, and into what little proficiency we make, or declension we fall into, ourselves.

"3. We must by all means see to it, that we be sound and clear in the great doctrines of the Gopel, which are the life of our holy religion: (we here intend, those doctrines which are exhibited in our excellent Westminster Catechism and Confession of Faith:) and that we all boldly and impartially appear in the defence thereof, at the same time we must take heed and beware of the dangerous errors which many have run into; particularly the Arminian and Neonomian on the one hand, and the Antinomian and Enthusiastical on the other.

"4. We must be very faithful in every part of our ministerial works, and make conscience to magnify our office. In a particular manner, we must take good heed to our preaching; that it be not only sound, but instructive, savoury, spiritual, very awakening and searching, well adapted to the times and seasons which pass over us; labouring earnestly herein. We must therefore dwell much

necessity and evidence thereof; and much urge the duty of self-examination, and open the deceits of the heart; bringing the unconverted under the work of the law, that they may be prepared to embrace the offer of the Gospel. Moral duties must be treated of in an evangelical strain; and we must give unto every one his portion, and not shrink from it, under the notion of prudence: particularly, in the important duty of reproving sinners of all sorts, be they who they will. Again, we must not be flighty in our private Conference with souls, and examining candidates for the communion, or other special privileges; and we must carefully and wisely suit our endeavours to the several ages and conditions of persons, the elder and younger; and in a very particular manner, we must set ourselves to promote religion among our young people. And, in a word, we must see whether we are animated to all these things by the grace of God in us.

"5. We are impartially to see what evils are to be found among ourselves, and remove them. Let us be seriously thoughtful, whether (among our defects) we have not been, in some respect or other, the blameable means of discouragement to those who have been under religious concern; or whether we have not given strength and boldness to the ungodly, when we have been testifying against the extravagances and disorders of the late times.

"6. We must be conscientiously exemplary in our whole behaviour and conversation. It is necessary that we be serious and grave, as what highly becomes Gospel bishops. And especially, we must be very watchful over our frame and conduct on the Lord's day. We must therefore look well to our sabbatizing, both at home and abroad, both before our own and other people. Our example is of vast consequence, in magnifying our office before recommended.

"7. We ought to stir up the gifts which are in us, and to grow more and more, according to the sacred injunction, 2 Tim. i. 6.

"8. We should follow all our endeavours with fervent prayer to God; especially our labours in preaching and teaching: the seed of the word is to be steeped in tears.

"II. As to what concerns the Association as such.

"1. We must lay aside disgusts one with another, and study brotherly love, that it may revive and continue, we must endeavour to be as near as we can of one mind, and go on harmoniously; and then we shall be the more strongly united in all, but especially in our present proceedings. There must be respectful treatment one of another, of the persons and character of one another; and we must be careful of ministerial character; which is of greater consequence than at first sight may appear. And when we have occasion to dispute, let it be under a very strict guard, avoiding all censuring reflections.

"2. That we manifest our approbation of the Westminster As-

sembly's Catechism, as containing an excellent system of divinity; and we purpose to preach agreeably to the doctrines of the Bible exhibited therein.

"3. As we must be very careful of our conversation in general, as above said; so especially must we be respecting our conduct while together in Association.

"4. It is proposed that a course of our Association be turned into Fasts, upon this great account.

"5. We agree to be more especially fervent, in continual Prayer for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ.

"6. Some special, new and prudent, care must be taken to guard our pulpits.

"7. It is proposed, that we agree to endeavour to introduce the public reading of the holy Scriptures. The manner and time, to be left to discretion.

"III. With regard to what may be done among the people we stand related to.

"1. We conceive that whatever public exercises are to be agreed on, or whatever concerns the public, the people are to be informed and acquainted with our design.

"2. That it be earnestly recommended to the people, to consider the worth of their privileges, and the danger of being deprived of them; which there is, partly by the spreading of evil doctrines among them, and partly by the conduct of too many people towards their ministers.

"3. Let pragmatical, factious spirits, fomenting division, be duly frowned upon.

"4. We must guard them against the temptations of their several employments, and the special seasons wherein they are most exposed.

"5. We must consider what evils there are to be found among them, which do especially need reforming; as the profanation of the Lord's day, which is enough to destroy all religion; tavern-haunting, company-keeping, chambering, uncleanness, profaneness, etc.; and we ought loudly to testify against them. And that what we do may be effectual, let us endeavour to convince their consciences of the evil of sin and of these sins.—We are not to fail to warn people solemnly against the dreadful guilt of unthankfulness under God's signal mercies, and of incorrigibleness under heavy and sore judgments. Could we in wisdom do it, we should also warn them against their oppressing the Lord's ministers in their maintenance.

"6. Let us endeavour to revive good customs and practices among them; particularly, the ancient good practice of Catechising, Family order, worship and government, religious societies under good regulation, godly conference and conversation among Christians; and in brief, whatever is laudable and of good tendency.

"7. Church discipline should be revived; brotherly watchfulness, and admonition; nor are we to forget to take special care of the children and youths of the flock.

"8. We may do well to engage, as far as we are able, all persons of distinction and influence to unite with us in this work of reformation; e. g. justices, school masters, candidates for the ministry; and especially to assist us by their example.

"9. Solemn renewal of Covenant hath been advised to, as very useful upon this occasion; (vid. Synod, 1679, for Reformation;) but we leave this to each one's discretion.

"Finally, in these things we should think ourselves bound to exert ourselves, and use uncommon fervency, to preserve what remains of religion, and prevent further decay.

"*October*, 1748."

"Thus far this Association.

"The members of this Association, as their names were sent to me, are as follows.

"The Rev. Messrs. Loring, of Sudbury; Cushing, of Shrewsbury; Parkman, of Westborough; Gardiner, of Stow; Martyn, of Westborough; Stone, of Southborough; Seecomb, of Harvard; Morse, of Shrewsbury; Smith, of Marlborough; Goss, of Boston; Buckminster, of Rutland; Davis, of Holden.

"I must refer you, dear Sir, for other particulars relating to the state of religion, in these parts of the world, to my letters to my other correspondents in your neighbourhood.

"My wife and family join with me in very affectionate and respectful salutations to you and yours. Desiring an interest in your prayers for us all, and for this part of the Zion of God,

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Your affectionate brother,

"And obliged friend and servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

In the Memoirs of Brainerd, under the date of Sept. 13, 1747, the reader will find mention of a Mr. Job Strong, a candidate for the ministry, whom Brainerd, immediately before his death, recommended to the Commissioners in Boston, as a missionary to the Indians; and in the 4th Reflexion on those Memoirs, an interesting letter of his, giving an account of the Indian Mission at Bethel, in New-Jersey, in Jan. 1748. This young gentleman, having ultimately declined that appointment, accepted proposals of settlement in the ministry, the following year, from a Church in Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, and invited Mr. Edwards to preach the Sermon at his ordination, which was appointed for the 28th of June. Mary, the fourth daughter of Mr. Edwards, then a young lady of fifteen, went before her father to Portsmouth, to visit some

of the friends of the family in that place. From her, I learned the following anecdote.—The Rev. Mr. Moody, of York, a gentleman of unquestioned talents and piety, but perfectly unique in his manners, had agreed, in case of Mr. Edwards' failure, to be his substitute in preaching the sermon. On the morning of the appointed day, Mr. Edwards not having arrived, the Council delayed the ordination as long as they well could, and then proceeded to the church; where Mr. Moody had been regularly appointed to make the Introductory Prayer, which is the prayer immediately before the Sermon. That gentleman, knowing that a numerous and highly respectable audience had been drawn together, by a strong desire to hear Mr. Edwards, rose up to pray under the not very pleasant impression, that he must stand in his place; and offered a prayer, which was wholly characteristic of himself, and in some degree also of the times in which he lived. In that part of it, in which it was proper for him to allude to the exercises of the day, he besought the Lord, that they might be suitably humbled under the frown of his providence, in not being permitted to hear on that occasion, a discourse, as they had all fondly expected, from "that eminent servant of God, the Rev. Mr. Edwards, of Northampton;" and proceeded to thank God, for having raised him up, to be such a burning and shining light, for his uncommon piety, for his great excellence as a preacher, for the remarkable success which had attended his ministry, in other congregations as well as his own, for the superior talents and wisdom with which he was endowed as a writer, and for the great amount of good, which his works had already done, and still promised to do, to the Church and to the world. He then prayed that God would spare his life, and endow him with still higher gifts and graces, and render him still more eminent and useful than he had been; and concluded this part of his prayer, by supplicating the Divine blessing on the daughter of Mr. Edwards, (then in the house,) who, though a very worthy and amiable young lady, was still, as they had reason to believe, without the grace of God, and in an unconverted state; that God would bring her to repentance, and forgive her sins, and not suffer the peculiar privileges which she enjoyed, to be the means of a more aggravated condemnation. Mr. Edwards, who travelled on horseback, and had been unexpectedly detained on the road, arrived at the church a short time after the commencement of the exercises, and entered the door just after Mr. Moody began his prayer. Being remarkably still in all his movements, and particularly in the house of God, he ascended the stairs, and entered the pulpit so silently, that Mr. Moody did not hear him; and of course was necessitated, before a very numerous audience, to listen to the very high character given of himself by Mr. Moody. As soon as the prayer was closed, Mr. Moody turned round, and saw Mr. Edwards behind him; and, without leaving his place, gave him his right hand, and

addressed him as follows, "Brother Edwards, we are all of us much rejoiced to see you here to-day, and nobody, probably, as much so as myself; but I wish that you might have got in a little sooner, or a little later, or else that I might have heard you when you came in, and known that you were here. I didn't intend to flatter you to your face; but there's one thing I'll tell you: They say that your wife is a going to heaven, by a shorter road than yourself." Mr. Edwards bowed, and after reading the Psalm, went on with the Sermon. His text was John xiii. 15, 16, and his subject, "Christ the Example of Ministers." It was soon after published.

To his daughter, who prolonged her visit some time after the return of her father, he addressed, during her visit at Portsmouth, the following letter.

"To Miss Mary Edwards,* at Portsmouth.

"*Northampton, July* 26, 1749.

"My dear Child,

"You may well think it is natural for a parent, to be concerned for a child at so great a distance, so far out of view, and so far out of the reach of communication; where, if you should be taken with any dangerous sickness, that should issue in death, you might probably be in your grave, before we could hear of your danger. But yet, my greatest concern is not for your health, or temporal welfare, but for the good of your soul. Though you are at so great a distance from us, yet God is every where. You are much out of the reach of our care, but you are every moment in His hands. We have not the comfort of seeing you, but He sees you. His eye is always upon you. And if you may but live sensibly near to God, and have his gracious presence, it is no matter if you are far distant from us. I had rather you should remain hundreds of miles distant from us, and have God near to you by His Spirit, than to have you always with us, and live at a distance from God. And if the next news we should hear of you, should be of your death; though that would be very melancholy, yet, if at the same time we should receive such intelligence concerning you, as should give us the best grounds to hope, that you had died in the Lord; how much more comfortable would this be, though we should have no opportunity to see you, or to take our leave of you in your sickness, than if we should be with you during all its progress, and have much opportunity to attend upon you, and converse and pray with you, and take an affectionate leave of you, and after all have reason to apprehend, that you died without the grace and favour of God! It is comfortable to have the presence of earthly friends, es-

*Afterwards Mrs. Dwight, of Northampton.

pecially in sickness, and on a death bed; but the great thing is to have God our friend, and to be united to Christ, who can never die any more, and from whom our own death cannot separate us.

"My desire and daily prayer is, that you may, if it may consist with the holy will of God, meet with God where you are, and have much of His Divine influences on your heart, wherever you may be; and that, in God's due time, you may be returned to us again, in all respects under the smiles of heaven, and especially, in prosperous circumstances in your soul, and that you may find us all alive and well. But that is uncertain; for you know what a dying time it has been with us in this town, about this season of the year, in years past. There is not much sickness prevailing among us as yet, but we fear whether mortal sickness is not now commencing. Yesterday, the only remaining son of Mr. C—— died of a fever, and is to be buried to-day. May God fit us all for His will!

"I hope that you will maintain a strict and constant watch over yourself, against all temptations, that you do not forsake and forget God, and particularly, that you do not grow slack in secret religion. Retire often from this vain world, from all its bubbles and empty shadows, and vain amusements, and converse with God alone; and seek effectually for that Divine grace and comfort, the least drop of which is worth more than all the riches, gaiety, pleasures and entertainments of the whole world.

"If Mrs. S——, of Boston, or any of that family, should send to you, to invite you to come and remain there, on your return from Portsmouth, until there is opportunity for you to come home, I would have you accept the invitation. I think it probable they will invite you. But if otherwise, I would have you go to Mr. Bromfield's. He and Mrs. B. both told me you should be welcome. After you are come to Boston, I would have you send us word of it by the first opportunity, that we may send for you without delay.

"We are all, through the Divine goodness, in a tolerable state of health. The ferment in the town runs very high, concerning my opinion about the Sacrament; but I am no more able to foretell the issue, than when I last saw you. But the whole family has indeed much to put us in mind, and make us sensible of our dependence on the care and kindness of God, and of the vanity of all human dependences; and we are very loudly called upon to seek His face, to trust in Him, and walk closely with Him. Commending you to the care and special favour of our heavenly Father, I am

"Your very affectionate father,

"Jonathan Edwards.

"Your mother and all the family give their love to you."

The following Letter of Mr. Edwards to Mr. Gillespie, is in re-

ply to the second letter of that gentleman, written in the autumn of 1748.*

"*Northampton, April* 2, 1750.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"I received your favour of Septemper 19, 1748, the last summer, and would now heartily thank you for it. I suppose it may have come in the same ship with letters I had from my other correspondents in Scotland, which I answered the last summer; but it did not come to hand till a long time after most of the others, and after I had finished and sent away my answers to them, and that opportunity for answering was past. I have had no leisure or opportunity to write any letters to Scotland, from that time till now, by reason of my peculiar and very extraordinary circumstances, on account of the controversy which has arisen between me and my people, concerning the profession which ought to be made by persons who come to christian sacraments; which is likely speedily to issue in a separation between me and my congregation. This controversy, in the progress of it, has proved not only a controversy between me and my people, but between me and a great part of New England; there being many far and near who are warmly engaged in it. This affair has unavoidably engaged my mind, and filled up my time, and taken me off from other things. I need the prayers of my friends, that God would be with me, and direct and assist me in such a time of trial, and mercifully order the issue.

"As to the epistolary controversy, dear Sir, between you and me, about FAITH and DOUBTING, I am sorry it should *seem* to be greater than it is, through misunderstanding of one another's meaning, and that the *real* difference between us is so great as it is, in some part of the controversy.

"As to the dispute *about believing without spiritual light or sight*, I thought I expressed my meaning in my last letter very plainly; but I kept no copy, and it might perhaps be owing to my dullness that I thonght so. However I perceive I was not understood. I cannot find out by any thing you say to me on this head, that we really differ in sentiments, but only in words. I acknowledge with you that "all are bound to believe the divine testimony, and trust in Christ; and that want of spiritual light or sight does not loose from the obligation one is laid under by the divine command, to believe instantly on Christ, and at all seasons, nor excuse him, in any degree, for not believing. Even when one wants the influence and grace of the Spirit, still he is bound to believe." I think the obligation to believe, lies on a person *who is remaining without spiritual light or sight*, or even in darkness. No darkness, no blindness, no carnality or stupidity

* See page 252.

excuses him a moment for not having as strong and lively a faith and love, as ever was exercised by the apostle Paul, or rather renders it not sinful in him, that he is at that same moment without such a faith and love;—and yet I believe it is absurd, and of a very hurtful consequence, to urge persons *to believe in the dark*, in the manner, and in the sense, in which many hundreds have done in *America*, who plainly intend, a believing with such a sort of strong faith or confidence, as is consistent with continuing still, even in the time of these strong acts of faith, without spiritual light, carnal, stupid, careless, and senseless. Their doctrine evidently comes to this, both in sense and effect, that it is a man's duty strongly to believe with a lightless and sightless faith; or to have a confident, although a blind, dark and stupid, faith. Such a faith has indeed been promoted exceedingly by their doctrine, and has prevailed with its dreadful effects, answerable to the nature of the cause. We have had, and have to this day, multitudes of such firm believers, whose bold, presumptuous confidence, attended with a very wicked behaviour, has given the greatest wound to the cause of truth and vital religion, which it has ever suffered in America.

"As to what follows in your letter, that *a person's believing himself to be in a good estate is properly of the nature of faith;* in this there seems to be some real difference between us. But, perhaps there would be none, if distinctness were well observed in the use of words. If by *a man's believing that he is in a good estate*, be meant no more than *his believing that he does believe in Christ, does love God, &c.*, I think there is nothing of the nature of faith in it; because knowing it or believing it, depends on our own immediate sensation or consciousness, and not on divine testimony. True believers, in the hope they entertain of salvation, make use of the following syllogism: *Whosoever believes shall be saved: I believe: Therefore, I shall be saved.* Assenting to the major proposition,—*Whosoever believes shall be saved*,—is properly of the nature of faith; because the ground of my assent to that, is divine testimony; but my assent to the minor proposition,—*I believe*,—is, as I humbly conceive, not of the nature of faith, because that is not grounded on the divine testimony, but on my own consciousness. The testimony, which is the proper ground of faith, is in the word of God, Romans x. 17. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." There is a testimony given us in the word of God, that "*he that believeth shall be saved.*" But there is no testimony in the word of God, that a *given individual, in such a town in Scotland, or New-England, believes.* There is such a proposition in the scriptures, as that *Christ loves those that love him;* and this, therefore, every one is bound to believe and affirm: and believing this, on the divine testimony, is properly of the nature of faith, while for any

one to doubt it, is properly the heinous sin of unbelief. But there is no such proposition in the scriptures, nor is it any part of the gospel of Christ, that *such an individual person in Northampton loves Christ.* If I know that I have complacency in Christ, I know it the same way that I know I have complacency in my wife and children, viz. by the testimony of my own heart, or my inward consciousness. *Evangelical faith* has the gospel of Christ for its foundation; but the proposition, *that I love Christ*, is a proposition not contained in the gospel of Christ.

"Hence, that we may not dispute in the dark, it is necessary, that we should explain what we mean by *a person's believing that he is in a good estate.* If thereby we mean only believing the minor of the foregoing syllogism, or similar syllogisms,—*I believe;* or, *I love God;*—it is not of the nature of faith. But if by a man's believing himself to be in a good estate, be understood his believing not only the minor but the consequence, *therefore I shall be saved*, or, *therefore God will never leave me nor forsake me;* then a man's believing his good estate, partakes of the nature of faith; for these consequences depend on divine testimony in the word of God and the gospel of Jesus Christ. Yea, I would observe further, that a man's judging of the faith or love which he actually finds in himself, whether it is that sort of faith or love which he finds to be saving, may depend on his reliance on scripture rules and marks, which are divine testimonies, on which he may be tempted not to rely, from the consideration of his great unworthiness. But his judging that he *has* those individual inward acts of understanding, and exercises of heart, depends on inward sensations, and not on any testimony of the word of God. The knowing of his present acts depends on immediate consciousness, and the knowing of his past acts depends on memory. Hence the fulness of my satisfaction, that I now have such an inward act or exercise of mind, depends on the strength of the sensation; and my satisfaction, that I have had them heretofore, depends on the clearness of my memory, and not on the strength of my reliance on any divine testimony. So likewise, my doubting whether I have, or have had, such individual inward acts, is not of itself of the nature of unbelief, though it may arise from unbelief *indirectly;* because, if I had had more faith, the actings of it would have been more sensible, and the memory of them more clear, and so I should have been better satisfied that I had them.

"God appears to have given Abraham's servant a revelation, that the damsel in whom he found certain marks,—her coming to draw water with a pitcher to that well, and her readiness to give him and his camels drink—should be Isaac's wife; and therefore his assenting to *this*, was of the nature of faith, having divine testimony for its foundation. But his believing that Rebekah was the damsel who had these individual marks, his knowing that she came

to draw water, and that she let down her pitcher, was not of the nature of faith. His knowing *this* was not from divine testimony, but from the testimony of his own senses. (Vide Gen. xxiv.)

"You speak of "a saint's doubting of his good estate, as a part of unbelief, and the opposite of faith, considered in its full compass and latitude, as one branch of unbelief, one ingredient in unbelief; and of assurance of a man's good estate, as one thing that belongs to the exercise of faith." I do not know whether I take your meaning in these expressions. If you mean, that a person's believing himself to be in a good estate, is one thing which appertains to the essence of saving faith, or that saving faith, in all that belongs to its essence, yea its perfection, cannot be without implying it, I must humbly ask leave to differ from you. That my believing that I am in a good estate, is no part or ingredient in the essence of saving faith, is evident from this, that the essence of saving faith, must be complete in me, *before it can be true*, that I am in a good estate. If I have not as yet acted faith, yea if there be any thing wanting in me to make up the essence of saving faith, then I am not as yet in a state of salvation, and therefore can have no ground to believe that I am so. Any thing that belongs to the essence of saving faith is prior, in the order of nature, to a man's being in a state of salvation, because it is saving faith which brings him into such a state. And therefore believing that he is in such a state, cannot be one thing which is essential or necessary, in order to his being in such a state; for that would imply a contradiction. It would be to suppose a man's believing, that he is in a good estate, to be *prior*, in the order of nature, to his being in a good estate. But a thing cannot be both prior and posterior, antecedent and consequent, with respect to the very same thing. The real truth of a proposition is in the order of nature first, before its being believed to be true. But, till a man has already all that belongs to the essence of saving faith, that proposition, *that he is in a good estate*, is not as yet true. All the propositions contained in the Gospel, all divine testimonies that we have in God's word, are true already, are already laid for a foundation for faith, and were laid long ago. But that proposition, *I am in a good estate*, not being one of them, is not true till I have first believed; and therefore this proposition, as it *is* not true, cannot be *believed* to be true, till saving faith be first complete. Therefore the completeness of the act of saving faith, will not make it take in a belief of this proposition, nor will the strength or perfection of the act cause it to imply this. If a man, in his first act of faith, has ever so full a conviction of God's sufficiency and faithfulness, and ever so strong and perfect a reliance on the divine testimony; all will have no tendency to make him believe that this proposition, *I am in a good estate*, is true, until it is true; which is not the fact, till the first act of faith is complete, and has made it true. A belief of divine testimony,

in the first act of faith, may be to an assignable degree of strength and perfection, without believing the proposition, for there is no such divine testimony then extant, nor is there any such truth extant, but in consequence of the first act of faith. Therefore, (as I said,) saving faith may exist, with all that belongs to its essence, and that in the highest perfection, without implying a belief of my own good estate. I do not say that it can exist without having this immediate *effect*. But it is rather the *effect* of faith, than a *part*, *branch*, or *ingredient* of faith. So I do not dispute whether a man's doubting of his good estate, may be a consequence of unbelief, and I doubt not but it is in those who are in a good estate; because, if men had the exercise of faith in such a degree as they ought to have, it could not but be very sensible and plain that they had it. But yet I think this doubting of one's good estate, is entirely a different thing from the sin of unbelief itself, and has nothing of the nature of unbelief in it, i. e. if we take doubting one's good estate in the sense in which I have before explained it, viz. *doubting whether I have such individual principles and acts in my soul*. Take it in a complex sense, and it may have the sin of unbelief in it; e. g. If, although I doubt not that I have such and such qualifications, I yet doubt of those *consequences*, for which I have divine testimony or promise; as when a person doubts not that he loves Christ, yet doubts whether *he shall receive a crown of life*. The doubting of this consequence is properly the sin of unbelief.

"You say, dear Sir, "the Holy Ghost requires us to believe the reality of his work in us in all its parts just as it is;" and a little before, "the believer's doubting whether or not he has faith, is sinful; because it is belying the Holy Ghost, denying his work in him, so there is no sin to which that doubting can so properly be reduced as unbelief."

"Here I would ask leave thus to express my thoughts, in a diversity from yours. I think, if it be allowed to be sinful for a believer to doubt whether he has faith, that this doubting is not the sin of unbelief on any such account as you mention, viz. as belying or denying any testimony of the Holy Ghost. There is a difference between doubting of the being of some *work* of the Holy Ghost, and denying the *testimony* of the Holy Ghost, as there is a difference between doubting concerning some other works of God, and denying the testimony of God. It is the work of God to give a man great natural abilities; and if we suppose that God requires a man thus endowed *to believe the reality of his work in all its parts just as it is*, and therefore, that it is sinful for him at all to doubt of his natural abilities being just as good as they are; yet this is no belying any testimony of God, though it be doubting of a work of God, and so is diverse from the sin of unbelief. So, if we suppose that a very eminent christian is to blame, in doubting whether he has so much holiness as he

really has; he indeed *does not believe the reality of God's work in him, in all its parts just as it is*, yet he is not therein guilty of the sin of unbelief, against any testimony of God, any more than the other.

"I acknowledge, that for a true saint, in a carnal and careless frame, to doubt of his good state, is sinful, *more indirectly*, as the cause of it is sinful, viz. the lowness and insensibility of the actings of grace in him, and the prevalence of carnality and stupidity. 'Tis sinful to be without assurance, or, (as we say) *it is his own fault;* he sinfully deprives himself of it, or foregoes it, as a servant's being without his tools is his sin, when he has carelessly lost them, or as it is his sin to be without strength of body, or without the sight of his eyes, when he has deprived himself of these by intemperance. Not that weakness or blindness of body, in their own nature, are sin, for they are qualities of the body, and not of mind, the subject in which sin is inherent. It is indirectly the duty of a true saint *always* to rejoice in the light of God's countenance, because sin is the cause of his being without this joy at any time, and therefore it was *indirectly* David's sin that he was not rejoicing in the light of God's countenance, at that very time when he was committing the great iniquities of adultery and murder. But yet it is not directly a believer's duty to rejoice in the light of God's countenance, when God hides his face. But it rather then becomes him to be troubled and to mourn. So there are perhaps, many other privileges of saints that are their duty indirectly, and the want of them is sinful, not simply, but complexly considered. Of this kind, I take the want of assurance of my good estate to be.

"I think no words of mine, either in my book or letter, implied that a person's deliverance from a bad frame, does not begin with renewed acts of faith or trusting in God. If they did, they implied what I never intended. Doubtless if a saint comes out of an ill frame, wherein grace is asleep and inactive, it must be by renewed actings of grace. It is very plainly impossible, that grace should begin to cease to be inactive, in any other way, than by its beginning to be active. It must begin with the renewed actings of some grace or other, and I know nothing that I have said to the contrary, but that the grace which shall first begin sensibly to revive shall be faith, and that this shall lead the way to the renewed acting of all other graces, and to the farther acting of faith itself. But a person's coming out of a carnal, careless, dead frame, by, or in the reviving of grace in his soul, is quite another thing from a saint's having a strong exercise of faith, or strong hope, or strong exercise of any grace, while yet remaining in a carnal careless, dead frame; or, in other words, in a frame wherein grace is so far from being in strong exercise, that it is asleep and in a great measure without exercise.

"There is a *holy hope*, a truly *christian hope*, of which the scriptures speak, that is reckoned among the graces of the Spirit. And I think I should never desire or seek any other hope but such an one; for I believe no other hope has any holy or good tendency. Therefore *this* hope, *this* grace of hope alone, can properly be called a duty. But it is just as absurd to talk of the exercise of this holy hope, the strong exercise of this grace of the Spirit, in a carnal, stupid, careless frame, *such a frame yet remaining*, as it would be to talk of the strong exercises of love to God, or heavenly-mindedness, or any other grace, while remaining in such a frame. It is doubtless proper, earnestly to exhort those who are in such a frame to come out of it, in and by the strong exercise of every grace; but I should not think it proper to press a man earnestly to maintain strong hope, *notwithstanding* the prevailing and continuance of great carnality and stupidity, which is plainly the case of the people I opposed. For this is plainly to press people to an unholy hope, to a strong hope which is no christian grace, but strong and wicked presumption; and the promoting of this has most evidently been the effect of such a method of dealing with souls, in innumerable multitudes of awful instances.

"You seem, Sir, to suppose, that God's manner of dealing with his people, *while in a secure and careless frame*, is *first* to give assurance of their good state *while they remain in such a frame*, and to make use of that assurance as a mean to bring them out of such a frame. Here, again, I must beg leave to differ from you, and to think, that none of the instances or texts you adduce from scripture, do at all prove the point. I think it is his manner, first to awaken their consciences, to bring them to reflect upon themselves, to feel their own calamity which they have brought upon themselves by so departing from God, by which an end is put to their carelessness and security, and again earnestly and carefully to seek God's face before they find him, and before God restores the comfortable and joyful sense of his favour; and I think this is abundantly evident both from scripture and experience. You much insist on the case of *Jonah* as a clear instance of the thing you lay down. You observe that he says, chap. ii. "I said I am cast out of thy sight, yet I will look again towards thy holy temple." Ver. 5, 7, "When my soul fainted within me, I remembered the Lord, and my prayer came in unto thee, even into thine holy temple." You speak of these words as expressing an assurance of his good state and of God's favour; (I will not now dispute whether they do or not;) and you speak of this exercise of assurance, as *his practice in an evil frame and in a careless frame; for he slept securely in the sides of the ship*, manifesting *dismal security*, *awful carelessness in a carnal frame*. That Jonah was in a careless secure frame when he was asleep in the sides of the ship, I do not deny. But my dear Sir, does that prove that he remained still in a careless se-

cure frame, when in his heart he said these things in the belly of the fish; does it prove that he remained careless after he was awakened, and saw the furious storm, and owned it was the fruit of God's anger towards him for his sins; and does it prove, that he still remained careless after the whale had swallowed him, when he seemed to himself to be *in the belly of hell*, when *the water compassed him about, even to the soul*, and, as he says, *all God's waters and billows passed over him, and he was ready to despair when he went down to the bottoms of the mountains*, was ready to think God had cast him out of his sight, and confined him in a prison, that he could never escape, *when the earth with her bars was about him, forever, and his soul fainted within him?* He was brought into *this* condition *after* his sleeping securely in the sides of the ship, *before* he said, "I will look again towards thine holy temple, etc." He was evidently first awakened out of carelessness and security, and brought into distress, before he was comforted.

"The other place you also much insist on, concerning the people of Israel, is very similar. Before God comforted them with the testimonies of his favour after their backslidings, he first, by severe chastisements together with the awakening influences of his Spirit, brought them out of their *carelessness* and carnal *security*. It appears by many passages of scripture, that this was God's way of dealing with that people. In Hos. chap. ii. we are told that God first "hedged up her ways with thorns, and made a wall that she could not find her paths. And took away her corn and wine, and wool and flax, destroyed her vines and fig-trees, and caused her mirth to cease." By this means, he roused her from her security, carelessness and deep sleep, and brought her to herself, very much as the prodigal son was brought to himself: thus God "brought her first into the wilderness, before he spake comfortably to her, and opened to her a door of hope." By her distress he first led her to say, "I will go and return to my first husband; and then, when God spake comfortably to her, she called him "*Ishi*, my husband;" and God did as it were renewedly betroth her unto him. This passage is parallel with Jer. iii. They serve well to illustrate and explain each other, and show that it was God's way of dealing with his people Israel, after their apostacy *first* to awaken them, and under a sense of their sin and misery, to bring them solicitously to seek his face, before he gave them sensible evidence of his favour; and not first to manifest his favour to them, in order to awaken them out of their security.*

In Jer. iii. the prophecy is not concerning the recovery of backsliding *saints*, or the mystical church, which, though she had cor-

*This is evident by many passages of Scripture; as, Lev. xxvi. 40---42. Deut. xxxii. 36---39. 1 Kings viii. 21, 22. chap. i. 4---8. Ezek. xx. 35, 36, 37. Hos. v. 15, with chap. vi. 1---3. chap. xiii. 9, 10. chap. xiv. throughout.

rupted herself, still continued to be figuratively God's wife. It is concerning apostate Israel, who had forsaken and renounced her husband, and gone after other lovers, and whom God had renounced, put away, and given her a bill of divorce; (verse 8,) so that her recovery could not be, by giving her assurance of her good estate as still remaining his wife, and that God was already married unto her, for that was not true, and is not consistent with the context. And whereas it is said, verse 14, "Return, O backsliding children, saith the Lord; for I am married unto you, and I will take you one of a city;" *I am married*, in the Hebrew, is in the *preterperfect* tense; but you know, Sir, that in the language of prophecy, the *pretertense* is very commonly put for the *future*. And whereas it is said, verse 19, "How shall I put thee among the children? And I said, Thou shalt call me My father;" I acknowledge this expression here, *My Father*, and in Rom. viii. 15, is the language of faith. It is so two ways, 1st, It is such language of the soul, as is the immediate effect of a lively faith. I acknowledge, that the lively exercises of faith do naturally produce satisfaction of a good state, *as their immediate effect*. 2d, It is a language which, in another sense, does properly and naturally express the very act of faith itself, yea, the first act of faith in a sinner, before which he never was in a good state. As thus, supposing a man in distress, pursued by his enemies that sought his life, should have the gates of several fortresses set open before him, and should be called to from each of them to fly thither for refuge; and viewing them all, and one appearing strong and safe, but the rest insufficient, he should accept the invitation to that one, and fly thither with this language, "This is my fortress; this is my refuge. In vain is salvation looked for from others. Behold I come to thee; this is my sure defence." Not that he means that he is already within the fortress, and so in a good estate. But, this is my chosen fortress, in the strength of which I trust, and to which I betake myself for safety. So if a woman were solicited by many lovers, to give herself to them in marriage, and beholding the superiority of one to all the rest, should betake herself to him, with this language, "This is my husband, behold I come unto thee, thou art my spouse;" not that she means that she is already married to him, but that he is her chosen husband, etc. Thus God offers himself to sinners as their Saviour, their God and Father; and the language of the heart of him who accepts the offer by faith, is, "Thou art my Saviour; in vain is salvation hoped for from others: thou art my God and Father." Not that he is already his child, but he chooses him, and comes to him, that he may be one of his children; as in Jer. iii. 19, Israel calls God his Father, as the way to be *put among the children*, and to be one of them, and not as being one already; and in verses 21, 22, 23, she is not brought out of a careless and secure

state, by knowing that the Lord is her God, but she is first brought to consideration and sense of her sin and misery, weeping and supplications for mercy, and conviction of the vanity of other saviours and refuges, not only before she has assurance of her good estate, but before she is brought to fly to God for refuge, that she may be in a good estate.

"As to the instance of Job, I would only observe, that while in his state of sore affliction, though he had some painful exercises of infirmity and impatience under his extreme trials, yet he was very far from being in such a frame as I intended, when I spoke of a *secure*, *careless*, *carnal* frame. I doubt not, nor did I ever question it, that the saints' hope and knowledge of their good estate, is in many cases of great use to help them against temptation, and the exercises of corruption.

"With regard to the case of extraordinary temptations and buffettings of Satan, which you mention, I do not very well know what to say further. I have often found my own insufficiency as a counsellor in cases, where melancholy and bodily distemper have so much influence, and give Satan so great advantage, as appears to me in the case you mention. If the Lord do not help, whence should we help? If some Christian friends of such afflicted and (as it were) possessed persons, would, from time to time, pray and fast for them, it might be a proper exercise of Christian charity, and the likeliest way I know for relief. I kept no copy of my former letter to you, and so do not remember fully what I have already said concerning this case. But this I have often found with such melancholy people, that the greatest difficulty does not lie in giving them good advice, but in persuading them to take it. One thing I think of great importance, which is, that such persons should go on in a steady course of performance of all duties, both of their general and particular calling, without suffering themselves to be diverted from it by any violence of Satan, or specious pretence of his whatsoever, properly ordering, proportioning and timing, all sorts of duties, duties to God, public, private and secret, and duties to man, relative duties, of business and conversation, family duties, duties of friendship and good neighbourhood, duly proportioning labour and rest, intentness and relaxation, without suffering one duty to crowd out or intrench upon another. If such persons could be persuaded to this, I think, in this way, they would be best guarded against the devil, and he would soonest be discouraged, and a good state of body would be most likely to be gained, and persons would act most as if they trusted and rested in God, and would be most in the way of his help and blessing.

"With regard to what you write concerning immediate revalations, I have thought of it, and I find I cannot say any thing to purpose, without drawing out this letter to a very extraordinary length, and

I am already got to such length, that I had need to ask your excuse. I have written enough to tire your patience.

"It has indeed been with great difficulty that I have found time to write much. If you knew my extraordinary circumstances, I doubt not, you would excuse my not writing any more. I acknowledge the subject you mention is very important. Probably if God spares my life, and gives me opportunity, I may write largely upon it. I know not how Providence will dispose of me; I am going to be cast on the wide world, with my large family of ten children. —I humbly request your prayers for me under my difficulties and trials.

"As to the state of religion in this place and this land, it is at present very sorrowful and dark. But I must, for a more particular account of things, refer you to my letter to Mr. M'Laurin of Glasgow, and Mr. Robe. So, asking a remembrance in your prayers, I must conclude, by subscribing myself, with much esteem and respect,

"Your obliged brother and servant,

"Jonathan Edwards."*

* The Postscript of this letter, under date of July 6, 1750, is reserved for a subsequent page.

CHAPTER XIX.

Commencement of Difficulties at Northampton.—Case of Discipline.—Conduct of the Church.—Change, as to admission of members, effected by Mr. Stoddard.—Controversy with Dr. Mather.—Lax mode of admission, early introduced into Massachusetts.—Reasons of its extensive adoption.—Mr. Edwards makes known his sentiments.—Violent ferment in the town.—Causes of it.—Mr. Edwards not allowed to preach on the subject.—Publishes "Qualifications for Communion."—Town request Mr. Williams and Mr. Clark to answer Mr. Edwards' Lectures.—Difficulties in the choice of a Council.

In the progress of this work, we are now arrived at one of the most painful and most surprising events, recorded in the Ecclesiastical history of New England—the separation of Mr. Edwards from the Church and Congregation at Northampton. In detailing the various circumstances connected with it, it is proper, instead of uttering reproaches, to present a statement of facts; for which, as the reader will see, we have been able to procure abundant materials and those of the best character.

Mr. Edwards was, for many years, unusually happy in the esteem and love of his people; and there was, during that period, the greatest prospect of his living and dying so. So admirably was he qualified for the discharge of his official duties, and so faithful in the actual discharge of them, that he was probably the last minister in New England, who would have been thought likely to be opposed and rejected by the people of his charge. His uniform kindness, and that of Mrs. Edwards, had won their affection, and the exemplary piety of both had secured their confidence; his very able and original exhibitions of truth on the Sabbath, had enlightened their understandings and their consciences; his published works had gained him a reputation for powerful talents, both in Europe and America, which left him without a competitor, either in the Colonies or the mother country; his professional labours had been blessed in a manner wholly singular; he had been the means of gathering one of the largest churches on earth; and, of such of the members as had any real evidence of their own piety, the great body ascribed their conversion to his instrumentality. But the

event teaches us the instability of all earthly things, and proves how incompetent we are to calculate those consequences which depend on a cause so uncertain and changeable, as the Will of man.

In the year 1744, about six years before the final separation, Mr. Edwards was informed, that some young persons in the town, who were members of the church, had licentious books in their possession, which they employed to promote lascivious and obscene conversation, among the young people at home. Upon farther enquiry, a number of persons testified, that they had heard one and another of them, from time to time, talk obscenely; as what they were led to, by reading books of this gross character, which they had circulating among them. On the evidence thus presented to him, Mr. Edwards thought that the brethren of the church ought to look into the matter; and, in order to introduce it to their attention, he preached a Sermon from Heb. xii. 15, 16, "*Looking diligently, lest any man fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled: lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright.*" After sermon, he desired the brethren of the church to stop, told them what information he had received, and put the question to them in form, Whether the church, on the evidence before them, thought proper to take any measures to examine into the matter? The members of the church, with one consent and with much zeal, manifested it to be their opinion that it ought to be enquired into; and proceeded to choose a number of individuals as a Committee of Enquiry, to assist their pastor in examining into the affair. After this, Mr. Edwards appointed the time for the Committee of the church to meet at his house; and then read to the church a catalogue of the names of the young persons, whom he desired to come to his house at the same time. Some of those, whose names were thus read, were the persons accused, and some were witnesses; but, through mere forgetfulness or inadvertence on his part, he did not state to the church, in which of these two classes, any particular individual was included; or in what character, he was requested to meet the Committee, whether as one of the accused, or as a witness.

When the names were thus published, it appeared that there were but few of the considerable families in town, to which some of the persons named, either did not belong, or were not nearly related. Many of the church, however, having heard the names read, condemned what they had done, before they got home to their own houses; and whether this disclosure of the names, accompanied with the apprehension, that some of their own connexions were included in the list of offenders, was the occasion of the alteration or not; it is certain that, before the day appointed for the meeting of the Committee arrived, a great number of heads of families altered their minds, and declared they did not think proper to proceed as

they had begun, and that their children should not be called to an account in such a way for such conduct; and the town was suddenly all in a blaze. This strengthened the hands of the accused: some refused to appear; others, who did appear, behaved with a great degree of insolence, and contempt of the authority of the church: and little or nothing could be done further in the affair.

This was the occasion of weakening Mr. Edwards' hands in the work of the ministry; especially among the young people, with whom, by this means, he greatly lost his influence. It seemed in a great measure to put an end to his usefulness at Northampton, and doubtless laid a foundation for his removal, and will help to account for the surprizing events which we are about to relate. He certainly had no great visible success after this; the influences of the Holy Spirit were chiefly withheld, and stupidity and worldly-mindedness were greatly increased among them. That great and singular degree of good order, sound morals, and visible religion, which had for years prevailed at Northampton, soon began gradually to decay, and the young people obviously became from that time more wanton and dissolute.

Another difficulty of a far more serious nature, originated from an event, to which I have already alluded. The church of Northampton, like the other early churches of New-England, was formed on the plan of *Strict Communion:* in other words, none were admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but those who, after due examination, were regarded as regenerate persons. Such was the uniform practice of the church, from its formation, during the ministry of Mr. Mather,* and for a considerable period after the settlement of Mr. Stoddard, the predecessor of Mr. Edwards. How early Mr. Stoddard changed his sentiments, on this subject, it is perhaps, impossible now to decide. On important subjects, men usually change their sentiments some time before they avow such change; and clergymen often lead their people gradually and imperceptibly to adopt the opinions, or the practice, which they have embraced, before they avow them in set form from the desk. Mr. Stoddard publicly avowed this change of his opinions in 1704, when he had been in the ministry at Northampton *thirty-two* years; and endeavoured, at that time, to introduce a corresponding change in the practice of the church. He then declared himself, in the language of Dr. Hopkins, to be "of the opinion, that unconverted persons, considered as such, had a right in the sight of God, or by his appointment, to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; that therefore it was

* Mr. Mather, the first minister, began to preach at Northampton, in the summer of 1658, was ordained June 18th, 1661, and died July 24th, 1669. Mr. Stoddard began to preach there soon after the death of Mr. M. and was ordained Sept. 11th, 1672.

their *duty* to come to that ordinance, though they knew they had no true goodness or evangelical holiness. He maintained, that visible christianity does not consist in a profession or appearance of that, wherein true holiness or real christianity consists; that therefore the profession, which persons make, in order to be received as visible members of Christ's church, ought not to be such as to express or imply a real compliance with, or consent to, the terms of this covenant of grace, or a hearty embracing of the gospel: so that they who really reject Jesus Christ, and dislike the gospel way of salvation in their hearts, and know that this is true of themselves, may make the profession without lying and hypocrisy," [on the principle, that they regard the sacrament as a converting ordinance, and partake of it with the hope of obtaining conversion.] "He formed a short Profession for persons to make, in order to be admitted into the church, answerable to this principle; and accordingly persons were admitted into the church, and to the sacrament, on these terms. Mr. Stoddard's principle at first made a great noise in the country; and he was opposed, as introducing something contrary to the principles, and the practice, of almost all the churches in New-England; and the matter was publicly controverted between him and Dr. Increase Mather of Northampton. However, through Mr. Stoddard's great influence over the people of Northampton, it was introduced there, though not without opposition: by degrees it spread very much among ministers and people in that county, and in other parts of New-England."

The first publication of Mr. Stoddard, on the subject, was entitled, "A Sermon on the Lord's Supper," from Exodus xii. 47, 48, printed in the year 1707. In this Sermon he attempted to prove, "*That Sanctification is not a necessary qualification to partaking in the Lord's Supper;*" and, "*That the Lord's Supper is a Converting Ordinance.*" To this Sermon, a Reply was given in 1708, entitled, "A Dissertation, wherein the Strange Doctrine lately published in a Sermon, the tendency of which is to encourage Unsanctified Persons, while such, to approach the Holy Table of the Lord, is examined and confuted, by Increase Mather, D.D."* To

* I have not been able to find a copy of Mr. Stoddard's Sermon. From that of Mr. Mather, I find that he insisted on the following points: 1. That it is not to be imagined, that John Baptist judged all baptized by him to be regenerate: 2. That, if unregenerate persons might not be baptized, the Pharisees would not have been blamed for neglecting baptism: 3. That the children of God's people should be baptized, who are generally at that time in a natural condition: 4. That a minister, who knows himself unregenerate, may nevertheless lawfully administer baptism and the Lord's Supper: 5. That as unregenerate persons might lawfully come to the Passover, they may also come to the Lord's Supper, if they have knowledge to discern the Lord's Body: 6. That it is lawful for unregenerate men to give a Testimony to the Death of Christ: that they need to learn

this Reply Mr. Stoddard published a Rejoinder, in 1709, entitled, "AN APPEAL TO THE LEARNED; being a Vindication of the right of visible saints to the Lord's Supper, though they be destitute of a saving work of God's Spirit on their Hearts; against the exceptions of Mr. Increase Mather."* Whether any reply was published by Dr. Mather, I have not been able to ascertain.

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what God teaches in this ordinance, and to profess what christians profess, viz. their need of Christ and the saving virtue of his blood: 7. That there is no certain knowledge, who has sanctifying grace: 8. That the opposite doctrine hardens men in their unregeneracy: 9. That, if unregenerate persons have no right to the Sacrament, then those who come must have assurance: 10. That no other country does neglect this ordinance as we in New England; and that in our own nation at home, so in Scotland, Holland, Denmark, Sweedland, Germany and France, they do generally celebrate the memorial of Christ's death.

Dr. Mather, after stating in his Preface that, notwithstanding his errors, he esteems Mr. Stoddard as a pious brother, and an able minister of the New Testament, a serious practical preacher, in his ministry designing the conversion and edification of the souls of men; and that as such, he does and shall love and honour him, and hopes to meet him where LUTHER and ZUINGLIUS differ not in their opinions; and that still he believes, by his Sermon, he has grieved the Holy Spirit of God in the hearts of many of his children, and gratified the spirit of the world; proceeds to allege the following considerations: 1. That Mr. Stoddard's sentiments are contrary to many express passages of Scripture: 2. That unsanctified men are not fit materials for a Church, and therefore not for admission to the Lord's Supper; and that in primitive times none, but those thought to be converted, were received into particular churches: 3. That unsanctified persons are not in covenant with God, and therefore have no right to the Seal of the Covenant: 4. That there is no Scriptural Promise of Conversion by the Sacrament: 5. That, if a Converting Ordinance, it is not to be withheld from the most profane: 6. That that opinion, which is contrary to the profession and practice of the churches, in the primitive and purest times of christianity, and to the judgment of the most eminent Reformers, and which agrees with the doctrine of Papists, and the looser sort of Protestants, ought not to be received among the churches of New England: 7. That it is impossible for unregenerate persons, while such, to be worthy partakers of the Lord's Table.—These were followed by an examination, and attempted refutation, of each of Mr. Stoddard's arguments, separately considered.

This Appeal consists of three parts: I. An attempted Refutation of the Arguments of Dr. Mather: II. An attempted Refutation of the Arguments of Mr. Vines, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Charnock: III. A Series of direct Arguments, eleven in number, to prove his main positions. Of these the first five and the ninth are found in the Sermon. The others are as follows: 6. Unsanctified men may attend all other ordinances, and duties of worship; and therefore the Lord's Supper: 7. Some unsanctified persons are in external covenant with God, and therefore may come to the

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* By "*some* unsanctified persons" in this and the following heads, Mr. S. refers to those professors of religion in good standing, who in their own view and in the view of others are obviously not christians.

That Mr. Stoddard sincerely believed the principles, which he maintained, to be taught in the word of God, cannot be doubted. He also declares explicitly, in the commencement of the Appeal, that he does not maintain, that churches ought to admit to their holy communion such as are not, in the judgment of charity, true believers; and that his object was to direct those, that might have scruples of conscience, about participation of the Lord's Supper, because they had not a work of saving conversion.*

The adoption of these principles by the people of Northampton, is not however to be imputed chiefly to the influence of Mr. Stoddard. It was the *lax side* of the question, which he had espoused; the side, to which the human heart, in all cases, instinctively inclines —that, to which every church, unless enlightened and watchful, is of course in danger of inclining. Another circumstance, which probably had considerable influence in persuading that church, as well as many others, to adopt the practice in question, may be found in *the unhappy Connexion of Things Spiritual, and Secular*, in the early history of New-England. So vast a proportion of the first planters of this country were members of the christian church, that *not to be a church-member*, was a public disgrace; and no man, who had not this qualification, was considered capable of holding any civil office. The children of the first planters, also, with comparatively few exceptions, followed the example of their parents, and enrolled their names in the church calendar; and there is reason to believe, that a large proportion of them were possessed of real piety. Still there can be no doubt, that a considerable number of them, on the whole, were of a different character. In the third and fourth generations, the number of this latter class increased to such a degree, as to constitute, if not a majority, yet a large minority, of the whole population; but, such is the influence

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Lord's Supper: 8. It is lawful for some unsanctified persons to carry themselves as saints, and therefore they may attend on that Sacrament:—— 10. Some unsanctified persons convey to their children a right to the sacrament of Baptism, and therefore have a right to the Lord's Supper: 11. The invisible church catholick is not the prime and principal subject of the seal of the covenant, and therefore some unsanctified persons have that right.

It is not improbable, that Dr. Mather published a reply to the "Appeal to the Learned." If he did not, it could not have been owing to any inherent, nor probably to any supposed, difficulty in answering the arguments which it presents. At this day the only difficulty, which the controversy can occasion, is this:—How such arguments could have satisfied a man of so much acuteness and worth as Mr. Stoddard. But the distinctness, with which objects are seen, depends not merely on the light which shines upon them: the eyes also must be fully open, and films, if they exist, must be removed.

* How Mr. Stoddard could reconcile these and various similar declarations with his main principle, probably every one will be at a loss to explain.

of national customs, it was still thought as necessary to a fair reputation, and to full qualification for office, to make a public profession of religion, as before; and the Church, by thus inclosing within its pale the whole rising generation, gathered in a prodigious number of hypocrites; and *to make a profession of religion*, began to be, on the part of numbers, an act of the same import, as it has long been on the part of the civil, military and naval, officers of England, "*to qualify*," by partaking of the Lord's Supper. In this case, however, there was a real difficulty, that pressed upon the conscience. A profession of religion, while it was viewed as a most solemn transaction, on the part of the individual making it, was also at first universally regarded as a profession of personal piety; and to make it without piety, was looked upon as a sin of most aggravated character. In this crisis, when the only alternative was, loss of reputation and ineligibility to office, or the violation of conscience; any plan, which prevented that loss, and yet offered a salvo to the conscience, must have met, very extensively, a welcome reception. It is however far from being true, as Dr. Hopkins appears to suppose, that Mr. Stoddard was the first, who introduced this practice into the churches of New-England. The General Synod of Massachusetts, which met at Boston in 1679, speak of the prevalence of this practice, even at that early period, (twenty-six years before its introduction into the church at Northampton,) as one cause of the Divine judgments on New-England; and insist on a general reformation in this respect, as one means of averting those judgments.* Yet, so far as I have been able to discover, Mr. Stoddard was the first, who publicly advocated this practice; and there can be no doubt, that the unhesitating support of it, by a man of his excellence, and weight of character, contributed, not a little, in the existing circumstances of the country, to satisfy the scruples of many conscientious minds, and to introduce it into a considerable number of churches.

At the settlement of Mr. Edwards, in 1727, this alteration in the

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*Two questions were presented for the consideration of that Synod: 1. "What are the evils, which have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments upon New-England?" 2. "What is to be done, that these evils may be reformed?" In answer to the second question, the Synod observe, 1. "Inasmuch as the present standing generation, both as to leaders and people, is for the greater part another generation than what was in New-England forty years ago; for us to declare our adherence to the Faith and Order of the Gospel, according to what is from the Scripture expressed in the Platform of Church discipline, may be a good means to recover those, who have erred from the truth, and to prevent apostacy for the future." 2. "It is requisite that persons be not admitted unto Communion in the Lord's Supper, without making *a personal and public profession of their Faith and Repentance*, either orally or in some other way, so as shall be to the just satisfaction of the church; and that therefore, both elders and churches be duly watchful and circumspect in this matter."—Mr. Stoddard

qualifications required for admission into the Church, had been in operation about twenty-two or three years; a period, during which, the great body of the members of any church will be changed. This lax plan of admission has no where been adopted by a church, for any considerable length of time, without introducing a large proportion of members who are destitute of piety; and, although Mr. Stoddard was in other respects so faithful a minister, and so truly desirous of the conversion and salvation of his people, there can be no doubt that such must have been the result during so long a period in the Church at Northampton.

"Mr. Edwards," observes Dr. Hopkins, "had some hesitation about this matter when he first settled at Northampton, but did not receive such a degree of conviction, as to prevent his adopting it with a good conscience, for some years. But at length his doubts increased; which put him upon examining it thoroughly, by searching the scriptures, and reading such books as were written on the subject. The result was, a full conviction that it was wrong, and that he could not retain the practice with a good conscience. He was fully convinced that to be a *visible* christian, was to put on the visibility or appearance of a *real* christian; that a profession of christianity was a profession of that, wherein real christianity consists; and therefore that no person, who rejected Christ in his heart, could make such a profession consistently with truth. And, as the ordinance of the Lord's Supper was instituted for none but *visible* professing christians, that none but those who are *real* christians have a right, in the sight of God, to come to that ordinance: and, consequently, that none ought to be admitted thereto, who do not make a profession of real christianity, and so can be received, in a judgment of charity, as true friends to Jesus Christ.

"When Mr. Edwards' sentiments were generally known in the spring of 1749,* it gave great offence, and the town was put into a

was a member of this convention, and voted for these Propositions. Mr. Mather, at the close of his Treatise, quotes this result of the Synod with some force; yet without directly urging on Mr. Stoddard the charge of inconsistency, or even mentioning that he was a member of that Synod. Mr. Stoddard, in his Appeal, to avoid the imputation of having changed his sentiments, alleges that a part of the Synod proposed to recommend, *that persons, previous to their admission to the Church, should make a relation before the church, of the work of the Holy Spirit on their hearts;* that he opposed this, and voted with the majority, for the second proposition as a substitute; and that that was still his opinion.—This statement, however, does not relieve the difficulty; for the principle, for which he actually voted, is directly inconsistent with that, which he avows in the Sermon on the Lord's Supper, and in the Appeal to the Learned.

* Mr. Edwards divulged his sentiments to some of his people, several years before this; and in 1746 unfolded them clearly, in the Treatise on Religious Affections; but they were not officially made known to the church, nor do they appear to have been generally known to the public, until he communicated them freely to the Standing Committee, in February, 1749.

great ferment; and, before he was heard in his own defence, or it was known by many what his principles were, the general cry was to have him dismissed, as what would alone satisfy them. This was evident from the whole tenor of their conduct; as they neglected and opposed the most proper means of calmly considering, and so of thoroughly understanding, the matter in dispute, and persisted in a refusal to attend to what Mr. Edwards had to say, in defence of his principles. From the beginning to the end, they opposed the measures, which had the best tendency to compromise and heal the difficulty; and with much zeal pursued those, which were calculated to make a separation certain and speedy. He thought of preaching on the subject, that they might know what were his sentiments, and the grounds of them, (of both which he was sensible that most of them were quite ignorant,) before they took any steps for a separation. But, that he might do nothing to increase the tumult, he first proposed the thing to the Standing Committee of the church; supposing, that if he entered on the subject publicly with their consent, it would prevent the ill consequences, which otherwise he feared would follow. But the most of them strenuously opposed it. Upon which he gave it over for the present, as what, in such circumstances, would rather blow up the fire to a greater height, than answer the good ends proposed."

This unhappy state of feeling in Northampton was owing to various causes; among which may be mentioned the following:

1. The proposal, in 1744, to investigate the conduct of some of the younger professors of religion, who were said to have circulated obscene and licentious books:—a proposal, which had been originally approved of, and voted, by the whole church unanimously, and to accomplish which, they had at once appointed a Committee of inquiry; but to which many of them became violently opposed, as soon as they feared, that the discipline of the church might fall on their own children:—had proved,—such is the nature of man—the occasion of a settled hostility to Mr. Edwards, on the part of a considerable number of the most influential families in the town. He, who, in injuring another, does violence to his own conscience and dishonour to religion, finds usually but one practical alternative: he either repents and acknowledges his sin; or he goes on adding injury to injury, and accumulating a more rancorous hatred against the person whom he has injured.

2. The lax mode of admitting members into the church, had prevailed about forty-five years; and though both Mr. Stoddard and Mr. Edwards had been most desirous of the prevalence of vital religion in the church, yet, a wide door having been thrown open for the admission of unconverted members, *as such*, it cannot but have been the fact, that, during this long period, many unconverted members should, through that door, have actually obtained admission into the church. In powerful revivals of religion, it is

no easy task,—even where the examination is most strict, and the danger and guilt of a false profession are most clearly exhibited,—to prevent the admission of a considerable number of unconverted members into the church.

3. All the unconverted members of the church, and the great body of the congregation, would of course be friendly to the lax mode of admission. To relinquish it, would have been, on their part, to relinquish the only resting place, which human ingenuity had discovered, in which an unconverted person might—for a time at least—remain unconverted, both securely and lawfully.

4. The lax mode of admission had been introduced by Mr. Stoddard, a man greatly venerated for his wisdom and piety; and a large majority of the more serious members of the church, as well as all of a different character, regarded it as unquestionably scriptural, and verily believed that the mode, recommended by Mr. Edwards, would unlawfully exclude multitudes from the Lord's Supper, who were fully entitled to partake of that sacrament.

5. All the churches in the county, except two, and all the clergy, except three, approved of the lax mode of admission. Many of the clergy also were, at this time, very favourably inclined to the sentiments usually denominated *Arminian;* and very hostile to those, of which Mr. Edwards was known to be a champion not easily met, with success, in the field of argument. Several of these gentlemen proved by their conduct, that they were not unwilling to assist the cause of disaffection at Northampton. One of them was connected by marriage with the family of ————, already mentioned, (a family of considerable wealth and influence in an adjoining town, which had long discovered a personal hostility to Mr. Edwards;) and had himself entered so warmly into their feelings, that, when the case came to its issue, even the opposers of Mr. Edwards did not, for with decency they could not, propose him as a member of the Council. Another in an adjoining town was a member of that family, and cherished all its feelings.

6. Another individual of the same family, living in a town adjoining, a kinsman of Mr. Edwards, and from his standing, both civil and military, possessed of considerable influence, was, for the six years previous to the final separation, the confidental adviser of the disaffected party in the Church and congregation. In this course, he had the countenance of other members of the family, of a character superior to his own.

"Mr. Edwards," observes Dr. Hopkins, "was sensible that his principles were not understood, but misrepresented, through the country; and finding that his people were too warm, calmly to attend to the matter in controversy, he proposed to print what he had to say on the point; as this seemed the only way left him to have

a fair hearing. Accordingly his people consented to put off calling a Council, till what he should write was published." With this view he began immediately to prepare a statement and defence of his own sentiments, and in the latter part of April, about two months from the time of its commencement, sent it to the press—an instance of rapidity of composition almost unexampled in an individual, who was at once occupied by the duties of an extensive parish, and involved in the embarrassments of a most perplexing controversy. Notwithstanding the efforts of Mr. Edwards, the printing of the work was not completed until August. It was entitled, "An Humble Enquiry into the Rules of the word of God, concerning the Qualifications requisite to a complete standing and full communion in the Visible Christian Church;" and contains a discussion of the question agitated between himself and his people, "Whether any persons ought to be admitted to full communion in the Christian Church, but such as, in the eye of a reasonable judgment, are truly christians?"—a discussion so thorough and conclusive, that it has been the standard work with evangelical divines from that time to the present.

It was a very painful consideration to Mr. Edwards, that, while the circumstances, in which he was placed, constrained him to declare his sentiments from the press, the "Appeal to the Learned," the production of a man so much loved and venerated at Northampton, and so much respected throughout New-England, his own colleague too, and his own grand-father, was the work, and the only work of any respectability, on the opposite side of the question, which he should be obliged publicly to examine and refute. But his feelings on this subject, he has himself explained. "It is far from a pleasing circumstance of this publication, that it is against what my honoured *Grand-father* strenuously maintained, both from the pulpit, and the press. I can truly say, on account of this and some other considerations, it is what I engage in with the greatest reluctance, that ever I undertook any public service in my life. But the state of things with me is so ordered, by the sovereign disposal of the great Governor of the world, that my doing this appears to me very necessary, and altogether unavoidable. I am conscious, that not only is the interest of religion concerned in this affair, but my own reputation, future usefulness, and my very subsistence, all seem to depend on my freely opening and defending myself as to my principles, and agreeable conduct in my pastoral charge, and on my doing it from the press: In which way alone, am I able to state and justify my opinion to any purpose, before the country, (which is full of noise, misrepresentations, and many censures concerning this affair,) or even before my own people, as all would be fully sensible, if they knew the exact state of the case.—I have been brought to this necessity in Divine Providence, by such a situation of affairs, and coincidence of circum-

stances and events, as I choose at present to be silent about; and which it is not needful, nor perhaps expedient, for me to publish to the world."

The people of Northampton manifested great uneasiness in waiting for this publication, before it came out of the press; and when it was published, some of the leading men, afraid of its ultimate effect on the minds of the people, did their utmost to prevent its extensive perusal, and it was read by comparatively a small number. Some of those who read it, of a more cool and dispassionate temper, were led to doubt whether they had not been mistaken. To prevent a result so unpropitious, it was regarded as essentially important, that the publication of Mr. Edwards should, if possible, be answered; and a rumour having been circulated, that the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Lebanon, was preparing a Reply, the Town, at their meeting, Nov. 9, 1749, passed the following vote.

"*Voted*, That Mr. Ebenezer Hunt be desired to wait on the Rev. Solomon Williams, of Lebanon,* and desire of him a copy of his Notes, that he is preparing for the press, in opposition to the opinion and principles, which Mr. Edwards, in his last book, hath endeavoured to defend and maintain, with respect to the admission of members into complete standing in the Church of Christ; and voted also, that the Precinct will pay Mr. Hunt what is reasonable for his trouble."

On consulting Mr. Williams, it was found that his Reply would not issue from the press, in sufficient season, to counteract the effect of Mr. Edwards' Treatise; and a rumour having been circulated, that the Rev. Peter Clark, of Salem Village, (Danvers,) was also preparing a Reply, the Town, at their meeting, Jan. 1, 1750, passed the following vote.

"*Voted*, That the Committee abovesaid take effectual care to employ some suitable person, that is going to Boston, to make diligent enquiry there, Whether Mr. Peter Clark, of Salem Village, hath undertaken to answer Mr. Edwards' late book, respecting the Qualifications of communicants; and if, upon enquiry, he can't obtain good evidence, that Mr. Clark hath undertaken to answer said

*The half brother of this gentleman, the Rev. Elisha Williams of Wethersfield, (Newington parish,) afterwards (from 1726 to 1739) Rector of Yale College, and afterwards Col. Williams of the Connecticut line, in the attempted expedition against Canada in 1746, began a reply to the Treatise of Mr. Edwards, immediately after it issued from the press; but, on going to England in 1749, he placed his papers in the hands of his brother, the Rev. Solomon Williams of Lebanon. This gentleman published his reply to Mr. Edwards, in 1751.

book, that then the person be desired to go to Mr. Clark, and desire him to write an answer to said book, as speedily as may be, and that the person, improved and employed to wait upon Mr. Clark, be paid and satisfied out of the treasury of the first Precinct."

The information thus obtained not proving satisfactory, the subject was again agitated, at a subsequent meeting, March 6, 1750, with the following result:—"After conference, the question was put—Whether the Precinct desired that the Rev. Mr. Clark, of Salem Village, should be applied to, to write an answer to Mr. Edwards' late book, respecting the Qualifications, necessary in order to complete standing in the Christian Church?—and it passed in the Affirmative; and then Major Ebenezer Pomeroy was chosen to apply to Mr. Clark for the end abovesaid."

Mr. Clark was a man of sound evangelical sentiments; and Mr. Edwards, feeling the utmost confidence, that his opinions on the subject in controversy could not differ materially from his own, addressed to him a frank and friendly letter, in which he pointed out the misrepresentations, which had been made of his own principles, and then stated them in a clear and explicit manner.* The consequence was that Mr. Clark declined complying with the request of the town.

"Mr. Edwards," continues Dr. Hopkins, "being sensible that his Treatise had been read but by very few of the people, renewed his proposal to preach upon the subject, and at a meeting of the brethren of the church asked their consent in the following terms: "I desire that the brethren would manifest their consent, that I should declare the reasons of my opinion, relating to full communion in the Church, in lectures appointed for that end: not as an act of authority, or as putting the power of declaring the whole counsel of God out of my hands; but for peace's sake, and to prevent occasion for strife." This was answered in the negative.— He then proposed that it should be left to a few of the neighbouring ministers, Whether it was not, all things considered, reasonable, that he should be heard in this matter from the pulpit, before the affair should be brought to an issue. But this also passed in the negative.

"However, having had the advice of the ministers and messengers of the neighbouring churches, who met at Northampton to advise them under their difficulties, he proceeded to appoint a Lecture, in order to preach on the subject, proposing to do so weekly, till he had finished what he had to say. On Monday there was a society meeting, in which a vote was passed to choose a committee

* A long extract from this letter will be found on a subsequent page, in the preface to Mr. Edwards' Farewell Sermon: it bears date May 7, 1750.

to go to Mr. Edwards, and desire him not to preach lectures on the subject in controversy, according to his declaration and appointment; in consequence of which a committee of three men, chosen for this purpose, waited on him. However, Mr. Edwards thought proper to proceed according to his proposal, and accordingly preached a number of sermons, till he had finished what he had to say on the subject. These lectures were very thinly attended by his own people; but great numbers of strangers from the neighbouring towns attended them, so many as to make above half the congregation. This was in February and March, 1750.

"The calling of a decisive Council, to determine the matter of difference, was now more particularly attended to on both sides. Mr. Edwards had before this insisted, from time to time, that they were by no means ripe for such a procedure: as they had not yet given him a fair hearing, whereby perhaps the need of such a council would be superseded. He observed, "That it was exceedingly unbecoming to manage religious affairs of the greatest importance in a ferment and tumult, which ought to be managed with great solemnity, deep humiliation, submission to the awful frowns of heaven, humble dependence on God, with fervent prayer and supplication to him: That therefore for them to go about such an affair as they did, would be greatly to the dishonour of God and religion; a way in which a people cannot expect a blessing." Thus having used all means to bring them to a calm and charitable temper without effect, he consented that a decisive council should be called without any further delay.

"But a difficulty attended the choice of a council, which was for some time insuperable. It was agreed, that the council should be mutually chosen, one half by the pastor, and the other half by the church: but the people insisted upon it, that he should be confined to the county in his choice. Mr. Edwards thought this an unreasonable restraint on him, as it was known that the ministers and churches in that county were almost universally against him in the controversy. He indeed did not suppose that the business of the proposed council would be to determine whether his opinion was right or not; but whether any possible way could be devised for an accommodation between pastor and people, and to use their wisdom and endeavour in order to effect it. And if they found this impracticable, they must determine, whether what ought in justice to be done had already actually been attempted, so that there was nothing further to be demanded by either of the parties concerned, before a separation should take place. And if he was dismissed by them, it would be their business to set forth to the world in what manner and for what cause he was dismissed: all which were matters of great importance to him, and required upright and impartial judges. Now considering the great influence a difference in religious opinions has to prejudice men one against another, and the close con-

nection of the point, in which most of ministers and churches in the county differed from him, with the matter to be judged of, he did not think they could be reasonably looked upon so impartial judges, as that the matter ought to be wholly left to them. Besides, he thought that the case, being so new and extraordinary, required the ablest judges in the land. For these, and some other reasons, which he offered, he insisted upon liberty to go out of the county, for those members of the proposed council in which he was to have a choice. In this, the people strenuously and obstinately opposed him. At length they agreed to leave the matter to a council consisting of the *ministers* and *messengers* of the five neighbouring churches; who, after they had met twice upon it, and had the case largely debated before them, were *equally divided*, and therefore left the matter undetermined.

"However, they were all agreed, that Mr. Edwards ought to have liberty to go out of the county for *some* of the council. And at the next church meeting, which was on the 26th of March, Mr. Edwards offered to join with them in calling a council, if they would consent that he should choose *two* of the churches out of the county, in case the council consisted of but *ten* churches. The church however refused to comply with this, at one meeting after another repeatedly; and proceeded to warn a church meeting and choose a moderator, in order to act without their pastor. But, to pass by many particulars, at length, at a meeting of the church, warned by their pastor, May 3d, they voted their consent to his proposal of going out of the county for two of the churches that should be applied to. And they then proceeded to make choice of the ten ministers and churches, of which the council should consist."

CHAPTER XX.

Mr. Edwards' own Narrative.—History of his own Opinions as to the point in Controversy.—Consequences of declaring them. —Proposal to preach rejected by Committee.—Proposal to publish —First movement of the Precinct, Oct. 16.—*First meeting of the Church, Oct.* 22.—*Meeting and Votes of Do. Nov.* 20.—*Reply of Mr. Edwards.—Meeting of Precinct, Dec.* 7.—*Meeting of Church, Dec.* 11.—*Letter of Mr. Edwards.—Preparatory Council agreed on, Dec.* 12.

Having given this very brief sketch of the events, which led to the separation of Mr. Edwards and his people, and chiefly in the words of Dr. Hopkins, who was intimately acquainted with all the facts; I shall now present to the reader a more enlarged account of these events, as detailed in the private Journal, kept by Mr. Edwards, during this interesting period of his life.

JOURNAL.

"I have had difficulties in my mind, for many years past, with regard to the admission of members into the Church, who made no pretence to real godliness. These gradually increased, and at length to such a degree, that I found I could not with an easy conscience, be active in admitting any more members in our former manner, without better satisfaction. In consequence of this, I determined more closely to apply myself to an enquiry into the matter, and search the Scriptures, and read, and examine such books as were written to defend the admission of persons to the sacraments, without a profession of saving faith. And by reading and study, I found myself more strengthened in my reasons to the contrary. On which I came to this determination, that if any person should offer to come into the church without a profession of godliness, I must decline being active in his admission; which, I was sensible, would occasion much uneasiness and public noise and excitement. However I came to this resolution, that I would still continue a diligent search, improving the opportunity which Divine Providence should give me to that end, until somebody should offer to come into the church, from time to time weighing the matter,

with renewed consideration and enquiry. But withal I judged, that it would not be best wholly to conceal my difficulties until then, lest some inconveniences should arise; and particularly I thought of this, that if some person should offer to come into the church, whom my principles would oblige me to reject, and should give no intimation of these my principles until then, it might be suspected that I rejected the person from personal prejudice, and that my alleging scruples of conscience was only to cloak my ill-will. Hence I took some opportunities, some years ago, freely and openly to express my opinion before several of our people; which occasioned it to be talked of among many in this town, and in other parts of the land. I also designedly gave some intimations of my notions of Visible Christians, in my work on Religious Affections; but was aware, that when I came to be necessitated to act upon my principles, and on this foot decline admitting any who should offer themselves to be received to the communion, this would occasion a more general noise and tumult; and therefore I determined, if I lived to have such occasion, that I would in the first, go and freely and fully declare the matter to Col. Stoddard. But it was so ordered, that no person offered to join the church for several years, and not till after the Col's. death.*

"But some time the last of December, (1748,) a young man, who was about to be married,† came and offered to come into the church. I told him my opinion. He told me that he hoped he could make such a profession as that I insisted on, and would take the matter into consideration. After some conversation, it was agreed, that I should draw up a profession of religion, which he might see, when he should come again. Accordingly I did so; and when he came again I showed him the profession I had drawn, but told him I should not insist upon a profession in those words. He might draw one himself in his own words; and, if the more essential things of true religion were contained in it, I should be content. He desired time for farther consideration, and accordingly I let him have the profession I had drawn to consider of. He afterwards came again, and returned the profession I had drawn, and manifested that at present he declined coming into the church in this way, inasmuch as though he hoped he could make a profession of godliness, he did not think that he was obliged to make it in order to admission into the church. The report of this soon made great uneasiness in the town.

"Some time in February, 1749, I declared the matter fully to

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* Col. Stoddard died June 19, 1748.

† In places where the lax method of admission to the church has prevailed in New England, it has been the usual practice, for persons about to be married, to unite themselves to the church, for the baptism of their children.

the Committee of the church, and proposed it to them whether they were willing that I should deliver the reasons of my opinion from the pulpit. This was strenuously opposed by several; one or two spoke in favour of my preaching on the subject; but the prevailing voice seemed to be zealously against it. Yet the necessity of the church being in some way informed of the reasons of my opinion, seemed to be allowed by all; and therefore those, who opposed my preaching, proposed my printing my reasons, and doing it with all speed. And although there was no note taken, this seemed to be the general conclusion, that they must be informed of my reasons from the press. Accordingly I applied myself, with all diligence, to prepare something for the press.

"After this, a young woman* came to my house, to join with the church, having heard of my opinion; the town by this time being full of talk of it, and noise about it. I mentioned to her my opinion concerning the qualifications of communicants. She told me she had heard of it, but hoped she could make such a profession as I required. Then, upon enquiry, she gave me a hopeful account of her religious experience, and the operations of Divine grace upon her mind; and manifested herself ready publicly to make a profession of religion, agreeably to what she had now professed in private. I then desired her to prepare for examination with respect to her doctrinal knowledge, and to come to me again, and I would draw up a profession, agreeably to what she had expressed to me, against she came again. I accordingly did so. After some time she came again, and I read to her what I had drawn up. She declared herself ready to own that profession, but said that she was afraid, by what she had heard, that there would be a tumult, if she came into the church in that way, and she did not desire to be the occasion of a tumult by coming into the church. I asked her if she would be willing, publicly to make such a profession, if the Committee of the Church would consent to it. She said she would.

"Now I perceived so great a ferment in the town, that I was satisfied it was not best to preach upon the subject, for the present; and supposed it probable there would be no opportunity to be heard, with any tolerable degree of calmness or attention, before what I was writing on the subject was published. I therefore prosecuted my writing with the utmost possible diligence.

"About the middle of April, I called the Committee together and informed them, that as they seemed to wish, at their last meeting, that I should print the reasons of my opinion, so I had laboured much upon the matter, and had almost prepared something for the press. And as they chose that I should print, so I now chose it

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* Mary Hulbert.

also; since I had laboured so far in it, and might probably say to this purpose, as I am informed I did, "that the frame of people's minds was now such, that they would be likely to hear in a great ferment, if I should now preach on the subject." But told them withal, "that the people ought not to proceed to vote for a separation, until they were informed of my reasons in some way or other." To this, one of them replied, "No, that would be unreasonable;" and nobody said any thing to the contrary; but all seemed to acquiesce in what I proposed, and in waiting for my reasons from the press.

"I then mentioned to them the case of the young woman aforesaid, who desired to come into the church, and read to them the profession of religion she had manifested herself ready to make, and asked them whether they were willing, that she should make such a profession publicly, rather than be kept out; the case being as it was, that I could not in conscience be active in admitting persons, without a public profession of godliness. One or two spoke for it, but others objected against it, saying that for the church to consent to this, was giving up the case, or to that purpose. I told them that I thought that the church would nevertheless have the same advantage to insist on my receiving those, who could not make such a profession, and that I was then willing to become engaged, never to make use of it as a precedent; and for their farther security, I offered them a written promise, in the following words:

"I, the subscriber, do hereby signify and declare, to such as it may concern, that if my people will wait, until the book I am preparing relative to the admission of members into the church, is published, I will resign the ministry over this church, if the church desires it, after they have had opportunity pretty generally to read my said book, and after they have first asked advice of a Council mutually chosen, and followed their advice, with regard to the regular steps to be taken previous to their vote: The following things also being provided, viz. That none of the brethren be admitted to vote in this affair, but such as have either read my said book, or have heard from the pulpit what I have to say in defence of the doctrine, which is the subject of it; that the Society will engage that I shall be freed from all rates; and that a regular Council do approve my thus resigning my pastoral office over this church.

"Jonathan Edwards.

"*Northampton, April* 13, 1749."

"But still, when the affair of the admission came to be put to vote, there were but three out of fifteen who voted for it.

"Soon after, I sent my book to the printer, urging him very much not to delay the printing. Accordingly, the impression was

very speedily begun, even before the printing of the proposals for subscription. From time to time, I renewedly urged the printer to hasten the impression, and also wrote to Mr. Foxcroft to do his utmost to forward it; who accordingly did so, as he informed me.

"Some time in the latter part of July, the people grew very uneasy, supposing that the printing was needlessly delayed; and therefore, they of themselves called a meeting of the members of the church, or at least of many of them, to determine whether to wait any longer for my book. And, as I was informed, after some discourse on the matter, they determined that Col. Dwight,* who was going the next week to Boston, should make enquiry whether the book was likely to be speedily finished, and send word.

"Col. Dwight, when he returned from Boston, about the middle of August, brought a number of the books with him, and about twenty of them were dispersed in the town. After this, there seemed to be less noise in the town, until some time in October.

"On the Sabbath, Oct. 15th, I stayed the Church, and proposed our setting apart a day for fasting and prayer; and put the matter to vote, in the following words—"That a day be set apart for solemn fasting and prayer, to pray to God that he would have mercy on this church, under its present dark and sorrowful circumstances; that he would forgive the sins of both minister and people; that he would make us to be of a right spirit, and enlighten us all, that we may know what the mind and will of God is; that that which is agreeable to his will, and that alone, may be established; and that God would restore peace and prosperity to the church."—This was voted by a general concurrence. Then I proposed that the services of the day should be carried on by some of the neighbouring ministers, as supposing that their services would be more acceptable, and less liable to suspicion, than mine. I particularly proposed Mr. Woodbridge of Hatfield, Mr. Williams of Hadley, and Mr. Judd of West-Hampton; they being nearest.

"There being now several persons in the town, who privately made a credible profession of godliness, who were not in the church, and hitherto had been kept out of it,—the committee of the church having disallowed of their admission in the way of making such a profession publicly, as aforesaid,—therefore I now made a proposal to the church, in the following words:—"That those ministers, who shall be called to assist at the fast, be sought to for advice, with respect to the admission of such persons, as are able and willing to make a credible profession of true godliness; not that either minister or people should be bound by their advice, to any thing contrary to their consciences; but to see if they cannot find out some way, in which these persons may be admitted, consistent with a good conscience in both the pastor and church,

* The grand-father of President Dwight.

which may be proceeded in for the present, until our present unhappy controversies can be brought to an issue."—Some objections were made against this—particularly, that it was high time that the whole affair was brought to an issue, with regard to the admission of others, as well as of those who stood ready to make a profession of godliness. But he who made the objection, afterwards explained himself only to mean, that some course ought speedily to be taken to prepare things for an issue; and particularly, that advice should be asked concerning measures to be taken, in order to the people being generally informed of my reasons for my opinion respecting Qualifications for full communion in the church: the people being now in no way to be informed, there being but few of my books in the town, and that they had not been generally read, and were not likely to be, at least for a very long time, which others confirmed. He therefore proposed, that some of the neighbouring ministers should be consulted, with regard to a proper course to be taken by the church, in order to a proper information of the grounds of my opinion, that things might be speedily ripened for an issue.

"Upon this, some offered it as their opinion, that I had better deliver the reasons of my opinion from the pulpit. Others objected against it; and it was alleged by some, that there had been sufficient information of the reasons of my opinion already, or to that purpose, that the leading part of the Church had read my book, or most of the leading men in the church, and that it was therefore time that a Council was called, to bring the controversy to an issue. I then made the Church this offer, *That, if they insisted upon it, I would not oppose a Council being called, which should give us advice in our affairs in general, and which should have power, if they saw fit, to bring our whole controversy to an issue;* though I could not advise to it, as not supposing the state of things to be ripe for it.—The people appearing to be of very different minds, about the matters which had been discoursed of, they were referred for further consideration to the next Sabbath, and it was determined that the Fast should not be until the Thursday following that Sabbath.

"The next day being Monday, Oct. 16, a number of the inhabitants of the Precinct drew up and signed the following writing, directed to the Committee of the Precinct, viz.

"To the Precinct Committee for the first Precinct in Northampton:

"We, the subscribers, desire that there may be a Precinct meeting as quick as may be, for the Precinct to take into consideration Mr. Edwards' doctrine, with respect to the admission of members into full communion into the church.

"1. We desire that Mr. Edwards, by the Precinct, or by a committee which the Precinct shall appoint, may be friendlily and in a

christian manner treated with, and entreated to recede or come back from his principles, which he has pretended to maintain in his late book, against his own practice, and Mr. Stoddard's practice and principles, with respect to the admission of church members: which, if he refuses,

"2. To see if the Precinct will come into his notions or principles, about the admission of church members: which, if the town refuse,

"3. Then to determine whether the Precinct do not think that it will be more for the honour of God, and more likely to promote the interests of religion, and peace and comfort in the Precinct, to endeavour after a separation, or any thing else, which the Precinct shall see cause to come into: which we desire may be done in the most friendly and christian manner possible.

"John Hunt, Gad Lyman, Ephraim Wright, Josiah Pomeroy, Jonathan Strong, Jr., John Lyman, James Lyman, Jonathan Hunt, Joseph Wright, Gideon Lyman, Seth Pomeroy.

"*Northampton, Oct.* 16, 1749."

"Accordingly the committee issued a warrant, in terms agreeable to this demand, and a Precinct meeting was warned to be on the very next Thursday, and it was convened on the day appointed, viz. Thursday, Oct. 19. At the meeting it was moved and insisted on by some, that it should be put to vote, *Whether I should not be desired to deliver the reasons of my opinion from the pulpit?* and it passed in the negative. And there being several, who objected against proceeding on the business specified in the warrant, that it was very improper, seeing we had agreed upon a day of fasting and prayer, to seek light from God, that such steps should be taken before that day was passed, the meeting was therefore adjourned for a fortnight.

"The next Sabbath, Oct. 22, the Church was stayed, according to the Sabbath before, and it was proposed that there should be some farther discourse, on what had been proposed the preceding Sabbath, concerning asking the advice of neighbouring ministers, about the admission of such persons, as stood ready to make a profession of godliness, into the church, without delaying until our whole controversy should be brought to an issue. It was urged, that it was uncertain whether our affairs, in general, could be brought to a speedy issue; that, if a council should be called which should have the power to issue them, it was uncertain whether they would think it best immediately to put them to an issue; and particularly that it was questionable, whether they would think our affairs ripe for an issue, until the generality of the church had either read or heard the reasons of my opinion and conduct, with regard to the admission of members. Then it was said by one of the brethren, that it would be proper to see whether the church would agree to what

I had proposed, with regard to the admission of those persons; inasmuch as the church had never yet passed any vote upon it, however it had indeed been negatived by the church committee. Yet it was time enough to ask advice of ministers, when it was seen that the church and pastor could not agree. Whereupon it was put to vote, *Whether the church would allow those, who were able and willing to make a profession of godliness, to be admitted into the church, in the way of publicly making such a profession, for the present, till our controversy could be brought to an issue;* and there were but few votes for it. Then the forementioned proposal was put to vote, viz. *To ask advice of neighbouring ministers, concerning this matter;* and for this also there were but few votes.

Then another thing was proposed to the Church, viz. *That the Church would manifest their willingness, that I should declare the reasons of my opinion from the pulpit;* seeing it was a thing, that seemed to be acknowledged, and not disputed, that the members of the church in general had not been, nor were likely to be, informed of my reasons in any other way; and that it was most reasonable, that they should be informed, before they proceeded to act any thing, as determining whether I should be cast out of my pastoral office, it being an affair of vast consequence to me and my family. I told them that I asked a manifestation of their consent, not because I doubted of my right to preach what, I was satisfied, was the counsel of God, without asking their consent; but I chose to proceed in the most peaceable manner possible, and in that way that would tend most to prevent occasion of strife. After very much said against it by many of the brethren, it was put to vote in the following words:—"*I desire that the brethren would manifest their consent, that I should declare the reasons of my opinion, relating to Full Communion in the Church, in Lectures appointed for that end, not as an act of authority, or as putting the power of declaring the whole counsel of God out of my hands, but for the sake of peace, and to prevent occasions of strife.*"—It passed in the negative.

Then I told the Church, that one thing yet remained, which I desired of them, viz. *That it should be left to a few of the neighbouring ministers, whether it be not, all things considered, reasonable, that I should be heard in this matter from the pulpit, before the present affair should be brought to an issue?* Some things were objected with much strenuousness against it; and I was charged with very much abusing the church, by my management with respect to the admission of members. One said, that if I preached *for* my opinion, somebody else ought to be allowed to preach *against* it. I replied, that my business was to defend my own opinion: the brethren might use what means they pleased, for the defence of the contrary opinion, or to that purpose. After much said by many of

the brethren, the leaving this matter to neighbouring ministers, was put to vote, and passed in the negative.

"The next Thursday, Oct. 26, we had our fast, according to appointment.*

"The next week, on Thursday, Nov. 2, 1749, the Precinct met again, according to their adjournment, and chose a committee of nine, to confer with me, and consider what measures are proper to be taken, in order to issue the dispute between me and my people, concerning Qualifications for full communion in the church, or to that purpose; and then adjourned themselves to Thursday, the week following. The same committee came to me the next day, and told me for what they were chosen by the Precinct, and asked me whether I had any measures to propose. I told them, that I had already proposed what I supposed to be reasonable; in that, in the first place, I had proposed, that my people should give me a fair hearing of the reasons of my opinion from the pulpit, and that they should previously manifest their consent to it; seeing that such previous manifestation of consent, would so evidently tend to peace, and to prevent tumults or ferments; and secondly, that when they had refused this, I had proposed, that it should be left to some of the neighbouring ministers, Whether it was not reasonable that they should comply with this proposal. And I told the committee, that I still insisted upon it as a reasonable thing, that they should consent to hear my reasons from the pulpit, and told them withal, that they might, if they pleased, use means to know what could be said on the other side. They might either employ ministers to preach against it in my pulpit, or they might get whom they pleased to write and publish his reasons against it.

They then told me that, before they came, they had agreed to make me this offer, viz. "*That if I would consent to it, they would endeavour to bring the Precinct to yield, that I should preach in defence of my opinion, either on Lectures appointed for that end, or on the Sabbath, as I pleased; provided I would first draw out each sermon, that I intended to preach, at large in a legible character, and give it to them, and give them opportunity to carry it to some minister, that he might see it, and prepare an answer to it, before I delivered it; and that then I might deliver it, if I would consent that he should, from the pulpit, deliver his answer immediately after it.*" I told them, that, "at present, I could not think it to be my duty to comply with this proposal, unless it were also allowed, *that I should beforehand see the discourse of my antagonist, as he was to see mine, that I might stand on even ground with him.*"

"I then gave them some reasons, why I thought it not a regular proceeding, for the Precinct to take the consideration and manage-

* A blank was left here in the MS. probably to give some account of this fast, but it was not filled up.

ment of this Ecclesiastical affair into their hands, in the manner they had done. But they insisted on it, that it was not irregular. They then went away without concluding any thing.

"The next Monday, Nov. 6, the Committee met again by themselves, at another house, and concluded upon, and drew up, the following report:

"At a meeting of the Committee, chosen by the first Precinct of Northampton, to concert what measures are proper for said Precinct to take, in order to issue the dispute, between the Rev. Mr. Edwards, minister of said Precinct, and the Precinct, respecting the admission of persons to complete standing in the Christian Church; said Committee determined to report, that they judge that it is expedient, that the Precinct endeavour that there may be a meeting of the Church in said Precinct, to see if the Church will apply to some of the neighbouring ministers, for their advice and counsel, respecting measures to be taken by the Church in the said affair; which application to the ministers aforesaid, said Committee judge the best expedient in the present difficulty; which conclusion the Committee came into unanimously, having previously conferred with Mr. Edwards, that they might the better determine what would conduce to the end aforesaid.

"Ebenezer Pomeroy, John Clark, Joseph Wright, Noah Cook, Samuel Mather, Noah Wright, Ebenezer Hunt, Seth Pomeroy, Joseph Hawley.

"*Northampton, Nov.* 6, 1749."

"This writing was shown to me by one of their number, the Wednesday following, on the evening before the Precinct-meeting, to which they were to make their report.

"The next day, Thursday, Nov. 9, the Precinct met again, according to adjournment, to receive the Report of the Committee; and then I sent the following letter to the Precinct:

"Dear friends and brethren,

"I never heard that any such thing was proposed, or thought of by the Committee of the Precinct, as is proposed in their Report, until yesterday; their determination was shown me last night, by a messenger from them, one of their number; and I have had no opportunity to confer with the Committee about it, or to offer any objection to them against their proposal. I therefore think it requisite, that I should at this time signify to you the reasons, why the thing proposed by them appears to me not to be regular or reasonable.

"1. As the Proposal of the Committee is expressed, they desire that a church meeting should be warned, to see if the Church will not call a Council, or meeting of ministers, to advise to mea-

sures to be taken by the Church, in order to issue the dispute between *the minister of the Precinct* and the *Precinct*, which I think is not proper. If the *Church* call a Council, it will doubtless be in order to be assisted, with regard to some controversies or difficulties of *its own*, and not to remedy the disputes of the *Precinct*. The business of a Precinct-meeting is to manage the affairs of a Precinct; and the business of a Church-meeting is about the affairs of a Church, and not about the affairs of civil societies. It is not yet certain, that there is any dispute or difference between the Pastor and the Church, for this has never been properly tried.

"2. If I do not misunderstand the Report of the Committee, it is therein proposed, that the Church-meeting should, in the warning, be limited to a particular method of managing the business they meet upon, viz. To consider, whether to call a Council of neighbouring ministers, to advise to measures, etc. I am not against warning a Church-meeting, if you desire it, to consider of proper measures to be taken, to secure and promote the interests of religion, and the Church's own welfare, under its present circumstances. But I do not know, why the Church should be limited to any certain method of proceeding, which the Precinct has thought of. The Precinct has no more business to limit or direct the Church to a certain method, in managing its affairs, than the Church has to direct and limit the Precinct, in the management of its affairs. It is not yet known, that the Church will not themselves agree on some measures, to bring their own difficulties to an end, or that they will not think proper to choose a Committee of their own, to this end, who may be successful in contriving a method, to which the Church may agree, which may supersede the need of a Council.

"My purpose, in sending in this writing to you, is, not to perplex you, nor clog any reasonable proceedings, but to do my duty to you, as your guide in religious matters, and that I may do what is proper, to prevent any just blame, that you, or I myself, might hereafter fall under; and therefore, I hope that what I have said, will be taken in good part, from your affectionate pastor, who desires that you may go in the way of your duty, and in the way of God's blessing, and may be a people happy in his favour.

"Jonathan Edwards.

"*Northampton, Nov.* 9, 1749."

"The Precinct, notwithstanding this, at this meeting accepted the Report of the Committee, and passed the following vote:—"*Voted*, That Deac. Noah Cook, and Deac. Ebenezer Pomeroy, wait on Mr. Edwards, and desire him to call a meeting of the first Church in Northampton, to determine by a vote in said meeting, 1st. *Whether there be not a dispute, between Mr. Edwards, Pastor of the Church in said Precinct and the Church, respecting the ques-*

tion he hath argued in his book last published; and if it shall appear, that there is a dispute between him and them, respecting the question aforesaid, then, 2d. *To see if the Church will apply to some neighbouring ministers for advice, as to what course the Church shall take.*"

"They also added ten more to the Committee of the Precinct, chosen at their former meeting; so that the Committee for managing this affair for the Precinct, now consisted of *nineteen.* Those, who were added, were, Col. Dwight, Capt. Baker, Jonathan Strong, Capt. Roger Clap, Josiah Parsons, Capt. John Lyman, Increase Clark, Lieut. James Lyman, Lieut. Hunt, and Eleazer King.

"This meeting was still continued and adjourned for four weeks. The next day, Deac. Cook and Deac. Pomroy came to me, as they were directed, and brought a copy of the Vote of the Precinct, desiring me to warn a meeting of the church, etc. as aforesaid.

"The Sabbath following, Nov. 12, I warned a meeting of the church in the following general terms:—"I desire that there may be a meeting of this church, in this place, to-morrow, at one o'clock in the afternoon, to consider, *What course ought to be taken by this Church, under its present difficulties, with respect to the admission of members into the Church.*"—The church accordingly met the next day, Monday, Nov. 13th. The meeting was opened by prayer. And after some things were said, as much blaming me for warning the church meeting in such general terms, and not in the manner I had been directed by the Precinct, and being told that, if I still refused, the Precinct would warn a church meeting themselves, without me; I gave the reasons why I did not, when I warned the meeting, specify in the warning those particulars on which the Precinct insisted: As 1, That I judged it would be a bad precedent, and a thing of hurtful consequence, for a church thus to allow itself to be subject to the prescriptions of a Precinct-meeting; and said further to this purpose, that it was an unreasonable way of managing church affairs, to bring them first into a Precinct-meeting, and there to consider, and debate them, and come to a conclusion what should be done; and all this in the absence of the Pastor, he being designedly excluded; and then, after all things are settled, and ripened for execution in the Precinct-meeting, to send their orders to the Pastor, to call a church meeting, to pass those conclusions of theirs into church-acts, and execute what they had before determined should be done. It appeared to me a way, that had a tendency wholly to make void all the power of churches, and to render church meetings a mere nullity, and to set the Pastor aside altogether as a cypher, so that he shall not so much as be present, when ecclesiastical matters are debated, and

ripened, and brought to a determination, to have any opportunity to speak his mind, or say one word as attempting to enlighten the church with regard to what is to be done; but is only made their organ, or an instrument in their hands, and subject to their will, to bring things to execution, which they have settled and resolved on wholly without him.

"2. That as to the latter thing, for which I was directed to call a church meeting, viz.—*To see whether the church will apply to the neighbouring ministers for advice, as to what course the church shall take*—I looked upon it unreasonable; because all the neighbouring ministers, except one, were *professedly* on the side of my people, in the controversy between me and my people. And though it was only to give advice what course to take, yet their advice might be such as might, in effect, finish the whole affair. Such a foundation might be laid by previous advice, as might very much determine what remains.

"But I told the church that I would not dispute about the former of the particulars, and stood ready now immediately to put it to vote: and accordingly put the vote in the following terms:—"I desire that those, who have a dispute or controversy with the Pastor of this Church, respecting the question he hath argued in his book last published, would manifest it."—The major part of the church hereupon manifested that they had such a dispute.

"Then, instead of the other thing proposed by the Precinct to be put to vote, viz. *Whether the Church will apply to some neighbouring ministers for advice, as to what course to take;* I insisted, —"*That a Council should be called, mutually chosen, to consider of the present circumstances of this Church, relating to the controversy subsisting between the Pastor and people, concerning the Qualifications of communicants; and to give their advice, what course we shall take, to bring this dispute or controversy to an issue, and, in general, what is to be done, in our present circumstances, in order to the Church's peace and prosperity.*"—After much debate upon it, the meeting was adjourned for a week, and a Committee of five persons chosen to consider of the matter, and confer upon it with the Pastor, and report their opinion to the next meeting. The Committee were Major Pomroy, Col. Dwight, Increase Clark, Lieut. Noah Wright, and Mr. Joseph Hawley.

"The Committee, on consultation and conference with me, wrote their report on the backside of the paper, wherein I had written my proposal, as follows:—"The Committee of the first church in Northampton appointed, by the church to consider the within proposal, and report to the church what is best to be done, report as follows, viz. That the church do join with Mr. Edwards, according to the within proposal of choosing a council; and the Committee agree to the number of five, and would not be against a greater number, if the church think fit, to be mutually chosen, and

to be appointed to meet in this town, four weeks hence from next Thursday.

"Timothy Dwight, Joseph Hawley, Increase Clark, Noah Wright."

"Major Pomeroy refused to sign the report.

"On Monday, Nov. 20, the church met, according to adjournment; and, after prayer, Major Pomeroy stood up, and observed to the church, that his name was not to the report, and gave these two reasons why he did not sign it:—1. "That my proposal was in general terms, and, it being apparent, that I regarded my own temporal interest more than the good of the church, the church had reason to think that I designedly laid a snare, to ensnare the church by those general terms, and therefore warned the church, that they had best by all means to beware and see to it, that they were not ensnared;" and said much more to this purpose: 2. "If the report was complied with, there would be room for the council to give advice, with respect to the admission of those persons, who stood ready to make a profession of godliness, and might possibly advise that they should be admitted with such a profession; which would be giving me great advantage, contrary to the rights of the church, of which the church had better not run the risk; and, though the advice of the council would not be binding, yet if they should advise to their admission in this way, it might lay the church under great disadvantage."

"These things seemed greatly to alarm the church, and the church refused to vote the report of the Committee; and, after much discourse and debating, it was determined to add *ten* to the Committee of the church, so as to make the whole number *fifteen*, that they might consider what was to be done, and report to another meeting. And then, inasmuch as some had found fault with my appointing sacraments of the Lord's Supper, and some had turned their backs on the sacrament since this controversy, and the usual time for a sacrament being come, it was proposed to the church, Whether it was their mind that the administration of the Lord's Supper, should be continued or not? and after considerable discourse it was put to vote and passed in the negative. Then the meeting was adjourned for a fortnight.

"The persons now added to the Committee were the following: Messrs. John Baker, Jonathan Strong, Roger Clap, Deac. John Clark, Deac. Pomeroy, Joseph Wright, John Lyman, James Lyman, Gideon Lyman, and Eleazar King. The whole Committee, excepting Col. Dwight who was gone to Boston, met on the next Monday, Nov. 27, 1749, and passed several votes which were drawn up in writing; and the next Wednesday they all came together to my house, and showed me the writing they had drawn up containing the said votes, as follows:

"At a meeting of a Committee of the first church of Northampton, on Monday, the 27th day of November, 1749,

"*Voted*, That a council be chosen, previous to any endeavours after a separation, to advise on the articles hereafter mentioned:

"The first question that was put after some conference was,—Whether any members of a council to be chosen either by pastor or people, to advise us to what course we shall take, previous to any endeavours after a separation, shall be those who live out of the County of Hampshire? Voted in the negative.

"2. Whether any members of a definitive council, if finally there be need of such council, should come from any parts out of the County? Voted in the negative.

"Whether, if Mr. Edwards shall continue of the principles he has advanced in his late book, the Committee judge he ought to continue Pastor of this Church, or not? Voted in the negative, *nemine contradicente*.

"4. That, if there be a Council called to give advice, at present, previous to endeavours after separation, the particulars or articles upon which they are to advise, shall be determined and proposed to them.

"5. *Voted*, That one article which the Council shall have proposed to them, shall be—Whether the Church shall take any longer time to study or peruse Mr. Edwards' late book?

"6. It was put—Whether it shall be proposed to the Council, to advise whether Mr. Edwards should preach on his late principles? and it passed in the negative.

"7. *Voted*, That another article to be proposed to the Council, shall be—That, inasmuch as there is so great opposition, in the Church and Precinct, to Mr. Edwards' principles, advanced in his late book, whether the Church shall not use means immediately for a separation?

"8. *Voted*, That, if the Council shall think it best to use means for a separation, the question shall be proposed to them, What means shall be used therefor?"

"On another paper, which at the same time they delivered to me, was written the following vote, viz.

"Whereas our Pastor, the Rev. Mr. Edwards, having separated and departed from the principles which the great Mr. Stoddard brought in and practiced, and which he himself was settled upon, and a long time practised, with respect to the admission of members in complete standing into the visible Church, whether it be not the opinion of the Church, that those principles are inconsistent with the principles of religion, and the peace of the Church and Town, and therefore desire a separation, he continuing in his principles.

"The above written was voted to be proposed to the first Church in Northampton, for their acceptance, at a meeting of the Committee of said Church, on Monday, Nov. 27, 1749, provided the proposals of the Committee, respecting a Council for advice previous to endeavours after a separation, should not be agreed to by Mr. Edwards; or there be nothing else agreed to, by Mr. Edwards and the Committee, respecting said Council, and the ends for which they are to be called.

"*Voted further by the Committee*, That, provided the Church desire a separation, they should consider and determine upon choosing a Council, to dismiss Mr. Edwards from this Church, and dissolve his pastoral relation thereto."

"The papers containing these votes, were delivered to me by the Committee, at a meeting of theirs at my house, the Wednesday following; (Nov. 29,) and, I desiring time for consideration, they consented that I should have time, and appointed another meeting of the Committee, on Tuesday the week following, at the house of Major Pomeroy, to receive my answer in writing. It was agreed, that it should be put to vote in the Church the next Sabbath, that the church-meeting, which was adjourned to the next Monday, be put off a week longer.

"To the appointed meeting, on Tuesday, Dec. 5, I sent the following letter:

"DEAR BRETHREN,

"I would now lay before you some reasons, why I think that your votes at your late meeting, on Nov. 27, are not to be approved of; which I would do in the spirit of meekness, and desire that they may in the same spirit be weighed and considered:

"I. It is manifest that in these votes, you are in various instances very inconsistent with yourselves:

"1. Your votes imply that it is your mind, that a Council should be called, previous to any endeavours after a separation between pastor and people, and also previous to what you call a Definitive Council: that is previous to a Council, which shall determine whether pastor and people shall be separated or not: and yet, in your seventh vote, you have voted that it shall be proposed to the first Council, *Whether the Church shall not use means immediately for a separation:* which implies that this first council should pass their judgment, *Whether minister and people ought not to be speedily separated;* which is the very business of the last council, who, as you yourselves suppose, are to determine that matter. If the first council are to have no power to determine it, then why should they take it upon them publicly to enquire, and judge, and give their voice, how it ought to be determined? If there be a certain consistory, to whom it does not belong to decide a matter, and it is also

determined beforehand, that they shall not decide it, but that it shall be decided by other judges; I think they would but do the part of busy-bodies, to meddle with it so far as publicly to take cognizance of it, and pass their judgment in it.—According to Congregational principles, on which this church seem to insist, the utmost, which any Council under heaven has to do, is only to give their judgment, without laying any proper obligation on those whom they advise.

"2. In your concluding vote in your second paper, you have given your voice, *That, if I do not agree to what you shall finally insist upon, or to that purpose, it shall be proposed to the Church, immediately to call a Council to dismiss me.* And surely such a Council, if they have any thing to do as Counsellors, will have to judge—*Whether I ought to be dismissed, or not;* and, *Whether it be consistent with the interests of religion, and the peace of the Town and Church, that I should be continued here.* And yet, in the same vote, you have voted to propose it to the church, to take this work of the Council into their own hands, and to determine themselves, in the first place,—*Whether my continuance here is consistent with the interests of religion, and the peace of the Town and Church;* and, *Whether a separation ought not to be sought:*—which is first judging the very thing, which they are to call a Council to judge of, and direct them in. Herein you are inconsistent with yourselves; and, if you persist in such a vote, will be inconsistent with the rules of decency and order, and all usual methods of proceeding.—In so great an affair, as the separation of a pastor and a people, it is by no means proper for a people, whatever their private thoughts may be, to proceed to declare their judgment in public votes and acts, until they have had the voice of a Council to lead and conduct them.

"3. You yourselves, the gentlemen of the Committee, have taken it upon you to do that, which is properly the business of what you call the Definitive Council,—in your third vote; wherein you vote, *That, if I persist in my principles, I ought not to continue the Pastor of this Church.* This vote, you have passed, as a Committee of this Church; and, if you persist in it, it must be a part of your Report to the Church, intended for their direction; nor can such a vote of yours be of any other use. And so herein you give your judgment and direction to the Church directly, in that very matter, which the last Council is to judge of, and direct the Church in.

"4. You vote that a Council should be called, previous to any *endeavours* after a separation; and yet, in this third vote, you yourselves do at the same time, before any Council is called, immediately proceed to that which is properly and directly of the nature of an endeavour, that I should be separated, provided I do not retract my opinion. For it must be supposed, that you had some

end in it, and passed this vote as a means to some public effect; and the effect directly looked at, is no other than a separation in such a case.

"5. The only proviso made in the said third vote, wherein it is voted that I ought not to continue the pastor of this church, is—"If I continue of the principles which I have advanced;" without adding—Or the Church be brought *to be of my mind, or any thing of that nature;* whereby it is plainly supposed, that it is a thing already determined, and out of the question, that the church never will be of my mind. And yet you afterwards vote, That a Council shall be called for that very end—to judge whether the church shall take any longer time to study and peruse my book:—which, if they do advise to, it must be as requisite in order to a proper trial, whether the church, on proper information, will not be brought to be of my mind. So that, putting both these votes together, it comes to this,—that you would call a Council to judge, *Whether there has already been a fair trial, whether the Church, on proper information, will be brought to be of my mind;* and yet, you tell them, at the same time, *That you have decided this matter already, and have determined, that it is no longer worth the while to make a question of it, and that it is clear enough already, to be taken as a ground of public votes and acts.* And this is, in effect, to tell the Council, at the same time you call them, *That you do not need them;* having thoroughly determined the matter already yourselves, in which you have called them to advise.

"II. You are not only inconsistent with yourselves, but I think several of your votes are very inconsistent with reason and justice.

"1. Your votes imply, that I should be allowed to choose none who live out of the county of Hampshire, to be members of any Council, which shall have any thing to do in judging of our affairs, either in giving advice for our conduct, or to determine and finish our controversy; which, as the case stands, is contrary to plain reason, and universally established maxims of equity, and inconsistent with the most acknowledged rights of mankind. For it is apparent from your own statement, that the matters of difficulty, concerning which the judgment or advice of any Council is needed or proposed, are wholly things appertaining to a controversy between me and the church, concerning qualifications of candidates for christian ecclesiastical communion; and it is well known, that the ministers of the county are almost universally *on one side*, and *against me*, in this controversy. And I desire you impartially to consider, whether, if you should persist in these conclusions, it would be doing, as you would be done by? Supposing that it had happened on my side, as it has on yours, that the ministers of the county had been as generally and as fully on my side, in the original controversy, as now they are on yours; would you have thought it reasonable, if I should in that case have insisted upon it, that you

should not be suffered to go out of the county, to bring ministers for any Council, which was to have any hand in judging, advising or determining in our affairs?

"2. If I understand your Vote, you have determined, That the Council, which shall be called to advise us what course to take under our present difficulties, shall be so limited, that they shall have no liberty to judge of our circumstances in general, and so advise to proper expedients for our welfare as they shall think requisite; and That particular care shall be taken, that they shall not give any judgment or advice, with regard to some things, which have been matters of difficulty and controversy, between me and the church. And, I think you, in effect, have voted, That they shall be limited to that one single thing, viz. *Whether the Church shall take longer time, to study or peruse my book?* For, as was observed before, the other things which you mention, cannot belong to the business of the Previous Council, but are the proper business of the Last Council. Now against this, I object the following things:

"(1.) To call a Council, and limit them in this manner, does not at all answer the present circumstances and exigencies of this Church. The present sorrowful state of the Church greatly requires a Council, which shall have liberty to look into the whole state of our case, without keeping some parts of our difficulties out of their sight, that they may give us advice what course we shall take for our welfare. If ever it was requisite that the whole case of a patient, under a most terrible and threatening disease, should be laid before physicians, it is requisite that our whole case should be laid before a council, for their advice with regard to our difficulties in general. What we need a Council for, if we need any at all, before a Council comes to determine whether we shall be separated or not, is if possible, to find out a remedy for our broken, confused and perplexed, circumstances; so that, either pastor and people may walk together in peace, or, at least, that things may be so regulated, that there may be some peace while we are continued together. And, if finally, there should appear a necessity of a separation, that things may be prepared for an equitable and peaceable parting. But to tie up a Council to such a single particular, as is mentioned in your votes, is utterly to disable them from answering these ends.

"(2.) It would be very absurd, in itself, for the Church to come into such a determination. It would be for the Chursh to set itself up in a sort of supremacy and self-sufficiency, as above all controul and advice. It would be in effect to say,—'In these and these parts of the controversy between us and our pastor, we need no advice, nor will we allow a Council to give us any.'—And it would be indecorous treatment of any Council, under any circumstances, thus to tie them up. The language of it would be,—'We, in these things, are not willing to trust your judgment, esteeming ourselves

wiser than you."—If you say that those parts of our controversy, which the Council are tied up from meddling with, are very clear and plain; then so much the less reason have you to fear leaving them to the determination of a Council; unless you are confident that you are wiser than they.

"For you to insist on these limiting votes, will be very unequal and unfair dealing with me. As the Council is to be called to advise in matters controverted between you and me, one party has no more right to limit the other party, as to the controverted points which shall be referred, than the other party has to limit the one. If I should claim a power to decide in this matter, and should single out a particular point, such as I thought would best serve my purpose, and say,—'I will have this matter, and this only, judged of by a Council; and as to other matters, which you desire that they should advise in, I will not suffer it:'—would you hearken at all to it, or bear such treatment?

"One thing more I think it my duty to observe to you, before I conclude. After your other votes, you conclude all with this, as an enforcement of the whole:—"That, provided the proposals of the Committee, respecting a Council, etc. should not be agreed to by me, and there should be nothing else agreed to respecting said Council, and the ends for which they are to be called; you will propose it to the church to vote my principles so and so pernicious, and to manifest a desire of separation, and to call a Council to dismiss me." I think that this Vote, with these circumstances appended, is properly of the nature of a *Threatening*.—That if I do not comply with what you, the Committee, shall finally insist upon, you will propose to the church to deal thus with me.—As you are a Committee chosen to confer with me concerning a method of proceeding, I might reasonably expect that, as you are christians, and christians to whom I stand in the relation of a Pastor, you would first have seen, Whether, by friendly conference, we could not have amicably agreed on measures to be taken. If you had thought it proper to pass any such vote at all, and to let me see it; one would have thought that at least it should have been forborne, until you had found, by conference, that I would agree to nothing reasonable, and that this should have been the last thing you did. But, at the very first interview, to come with such menaces to terrify me into a compliance with you, before a word of conference between us: is indeed carrying things with a high hand; of which I entreat you calmly and seriously to consider.

"On the whole, I desire you would not persist in the votes you have passed, and that you would consider again, Whether the proposals, which were agreed to by me and the former Committee of the church, are not just and reasonable; and the measures therein proposed such as our circumstances require. But if not, if you can think of any other measures, which are equitable, and have any ten-

dency to answer the exigencies of our present circumstances; I hope you will not find me difficult or backward to a compliance.

"I am your servant, for Jesus' sake,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"*Northampton, Dec.* 5, 1749."

"The next day, being Wednesday, Dec. 6, the Committee came again to my house; and after they were come together, the chairman, Major Pomroy, told me,—That they had furtlrer considered of our difficulties, or to that purpose, and had read my long letter; and that it was abundance of trouble and difficulty the church was put to; and that it was the voice of the Committee that it was I, that was the occasion of all this difficulty.—"This," said he, "I say in the name of the Committee; and that, which I am now about to say, I will say in my own name, and that is, That it may well be matter of solemn consideration to you, that you should put the church to so much trouble and difficulty. And I would advise you to take the matter into your serious and solemn consideration and contemplation. And, as to the affair we are upon, we have determined that we will not dally about the matter; and therefore we are come to this conclusion;" or words to that purpose.—Then he handed me a paper, containing their conclusion in the following words:—"At a meeting of the Committee of the First Church in Northampton, on Tuesday, Dec. 5, 1749; Agreed by said Committee, that they will recommend to the church, that there be a Council mutually chosen by the church and Mr. Edwards, if Mr. Edwards desires to have a part in the choice, to consist of seven or nine churches, *all in the County of Hampshire;* to which Council the church shall represent and declare the difference and controversy, which subsists between the church and the said Edwards, respecting the Qualifications necessary to admission to complete standing in the Visible Church of Christ; and also to inform the said Council, that, since the opposition in the said church to Mr. Edwards' sentiments in the particular aforesaid is very general; and that, since Mr. Edwards, in this particular, has dissented from the church, and departed from the principles on which he was settled and ordained Pastor of said church; it is the desire of the church that Mr. Edwards may be dismissed from said church, and that his pastoral relation thereto be dissolved; and that the church shall supplicate the said Council to proceed to dismiss and release the said church and Mr. Edwards from each other, if they shall judge it best to be done; and the church shall humbly entreat the said Council, in the most impartial manner, to consider the case and desire of the church."

"After I had read this determination of the Committee, I told them that I desired opportunity for consideration until the next day,

when I would endeavour to come to a determination what I would do; which I would send them in writing, if they would meet at any place to receive it. Accordingly they appointed a meeting the next day, to receive my determination, and to conclude on their own report to the church.

"The next day, being Thursday, Dec. 7, the Precinct met according to adjournment, and adjourned themselves further until the next Tuesday, the day after the appointed church meeting.—The same day also the Committee of the church met, when I sent them a Letter, containing my determination, as I had proposed; which was as follows:

"To the Committee of the First Church in Northampton, at their meeting, Dec. 7, 1749.

"Dear Brethren,

"The reasons, which I have given, showing it to be just, that all Councils, called to judge or advise in our present affair, should be mutually chosen, and that I should have liberty to nominate some of the members out of the County, I think of most undeniable evidence, and that indeed the matter is so plain, that it does not properly admit of any dispute. Yet, since I find you are so resolved not to comply with what I so reasonably urge, I now, for the sake of peace, and to avoid great tumult and confusion, make you the following offer, viz.—That the ministers of this Association should be consulted, that is the *seven* ministers who live nearest, or the *five* nearest, if you think seven too many; and that it shall be left to their judgment, Whether it be not reasonable and best in this case, that I should be allowed to go out of the County for ministers or churches, to be some of the members of the Council who are to judge, whether I shall be dismissed from my pastoral office here or not?—and that, if they determine that it is best that this should be allowed, then their judgment be asked, Whether the state of things be now ripe for such a Council being called?—and, if they judge that we are not ripe for it, that we should ask their advice, How we shall conduct ourselves for the present?

"These ministers are, in the most proper sense, the ministers of the vicinity, and are all, save one, professedly on your side, in our main controversy. If we go from these, in the way of mutual choice, I insist on the liberty of going out of the County.—If you accept this offer, I now promise that, whatever the judgment or advice of these ministers shall be, in the forementioned particulars; I will make no objection against your choosing any of them to be of the future Council.

"As to your last conclusion of Dec. 5, my present determination is, not to consent to it, nor to put any such thing to vote, nor in any

respect to have any hand in the matter; unless first advised to it by these ministers. JONATHAN EDWARDS."

"P. S. I request of you that you would let me know what your report to the church shall be, when it is concluded upon, some time before the meeting."

"When the Committee had received and read this letter, they concluded on the following report to be made to the church; of which one of them brought me a copy the next day, as follows:

"At a meeting of the Committee of the first church in Northampton, chosen by said church to devise measures for the church to take, under their present difficulties, and to report to said church at their next meeting; the said Committee agreed to report, That they judge it prudence, and conducing to the welfare of the church, that a council of five churches in the County of Hampshire, mutually chosen by Mr. Edwards and the said church, be called, to consider and give their judgment,

"1. Whether the state of affairs in the church, or otherwise of the controversy, subsisting between Mr. Edwards and the church, be ripe for the calling of a council, to judge whether Mr. Edwards shall be dismissed from his pastoral office in said church, or not; which, if they shall determine in the affirmative, then to give their judgment,

"2. Whether it be reasonable and best in this case, and agreeable to the constitution of these churches, that Mr. Edwards should be allowed to go out of the County of Hampshire, for ministers or churches, to be some of the members of a council for the purpose aforesaid. But if they shall think the state of affairs is not ripe for the calling of such a council, then

"3. To consider and advise what course the church shall take, to ripen affairs in the said church, for such a council.

"The above is what the Committee agreed to report to the church, at their next meeting.

"Attest, EBENEZER POMEROY, *Ch'm. of the Com.*

"*Northampton, Dec.* 7, 1749."

"The next Monday, Dec. 11, the church met according to appointment, when, after the meeting was opened by prayer, my last letter to the Committee, containing my proposed offer to the Committe, and the Committee's report, were both read. And then I read to the church what follows, containing some objections to the report of the Committee:

"DEAR BRETHREN,

"You very well know that what has been insisted upon heretofore by my people, was that the neighbouring ministers should be

consulted, as a Previous Council, to give us advice what course we should take, before the calling of a Council to determine whether pastor and people should be separated; and that I objected against it—these ministers being almost universally, *by their open profession*, on your side in the grand controversy between you and me; —and that I insisted on it, as just and equal, that I should have a choice with you in this council of advisers; and that if those whom you chose were known to be on your side in the main controversy, I should have liberty to nominate as many who should be on my side; and that this was as just in a council, which should be called to give previous advice, as in a council which should judge concerning the affair of our separation; because such a foundation might be laid by the previous advice of the first council, as might in effect finish the whole affair. But, however, I have not been hearkened to in this matter; and one thing urged in opposition to what I insisted on, was, that according to the Platform of Church Discipline, such affairs should be judged of by those who, were of the vicinity, or neighbourhood. And finding after long urging what I looked upon as my due, and might claim as one of the common rights of mankind, that all my reasonings were in vain, I have now at length yielded that point, and for the sake of peace, which in the whole course of this affair I have earnestly pursued, have complied with that which you at first insisted upon,—viz. that the neighbouring ministers shall be desired to give us advice what course to take, previous to the council called to judge whether pastor and people shall be separated; and that I would leave it to them to judge, on a full view of our case, how we shall conduct ourselves. Now I think you ought not to reject what I offer, and attempt to constrain me to a compliance with the new measures, on which the Committee have agreed, for the following reasons:

"1. It would be a very unjust proceeding. The neigbouring ministers, on whom you first insisted, have indeed much to prejudice them against me in those affairs, being declaredly against me in the main controversy. But it is well known that many of the ministers of the County, who are out of the neighbourhood, have had much more to prejudice them. These neighbouring ministers are all Calvinists in their persuasion, and friends to the late revival of religion, and those who have lived in good neighbourhood and peace with me, which has not been interrupted by any remarkable breach between me and them, or any known affront or disgust which they have taken. But with regard to the other ministers of the County it is well known, that four or five of them have heretofore had the reputation of Arminians. Some others of them are known to have been strenuous opposers of the late revival of religion, for which I have been so public an advocate. And you know that the dispute about the late work in the land, is a controversy which has greatly engaged the feelings of men. There are no less

than six of them, who have either had a particular difference or controversy with me thereupon, or have in times past openly manifested towards me a personal hostility or aversion for the part I have taken therein. Another of them, one of the senior ministers of the County, has shown a strong prejudice, in this particular controversy between you and me, in something which he has said to two of the brethren of the Committee of this Church, as I have been well informed. Another of them has an own father in the town, who is one of the Committee; and several of his brothers are greatly engaged in this controversy.

"2. If the church, at the same time that they agreed to the Report of the Committee, should withal say, that, if I had any unreasonable objection against any particular minister, he should not be chosen; still, proceeding on this plan would be in many ways of unhappy consequence. It would necessitate me publicly to point out particular ministers of the County, and openly to object those things against them, which would naturally tend to excite unpleasant feelings between those ministers and me—to beget new prejudices and revive and establish old ones. And then it is wholly uncertain what the church would esteem *reasonable objections;* and this would open a door for new difficulties, and endless controversy about the particular members to be chosen, concerning the principles and past conduct of ministers, and probably with regard to some ministers, whether they be in the County or not: it being a matter of controversy, not yet decided, concerning *three*, who used to be reckoned to be of the County, whether they indeed be of the Province.

"3. If the church should now depart from what they had formerly insisted on, and I have now offered in compliance with them, and should act on the measures proposed by the Committee; they would act very absurdly and inconsistently. For the Platform has heretofore been insisted on, as directing to ministers of the neighbourhood, and seems still to be insisted on in the Report of the Committee, under the name of *the Constitution of these Churches;* and yet this same Committee, in this very Report, insist on liberty to go out of the neighbourhood, without being limited by any other bounds than those of the County. Whereas it is those ministers whom I have proposed, and they only, who are properly the ministers of the neighbourhood. The Platform speaks of *neighbourhoods*, but says nothing of *counties*. Many of the churches of the County are no more in the way of communication with us, than some churches out of the County. The churches in Sheffield, and some others in this County, are no more in the way of mutual concern and intercourse with us in our religious affairs, then the churches in Boston, and indeed not near so much. So that the Committee insist upon the Platform, and on our being confined to the neighbourhood, and yet at the same time insist on liberty to

deviate from the Platform, and to depart from the neighbourhood. Yea they are yet more absurd; for one grand point that is in controversy between us, is,—Whether we shall have liberty to go from the neighbourhood, for any Council? And yet they insist upon liberty to go from the neighbourhood, in the first place, for a Council, to determine, Whether we shall have liberty to go from the neighbourhood; which is the most gross and palpable inconsistency.

"As to the determination of your forefathers, thirty-six years ago, *That they would be subject to a Council of the Churches of the County;* you, of this generation, never looked on it as any constitution for you, nor have you ever, in one instance, conformed to it; For you never have yet in any one instance, since I have been your Pastor, referred any thing to a Council of Churches, but to Consistories of another nature. And besides the plain design of that vote was, that all the churches of the County taken together should be *consociated* as a Standing Council, agreeably to the Presbyterian Principles of Mr. Stoddard, who was the first mover in that affair, and drew that Vote.

"And moreover what I now offer, viz. That our affairs should be referred to the ministers of the Association, to which we belong, is much more agreeable to the design of that Vote, since the state of the County is so exceedingly altered from what it was then, being divided into different associations, and not only so, but become so much larger, the number of churches vastly increased, and more dispersed, at a great distance one from another. This alteration in the state of the County, renders it impracticable for the churches to abide by that determination, so as to be obliged, on every emergency wherein they need counsel, to call a Council of the whole County, consisting of near sixty members, from such distant places.

"On the whole, I renewedly insist upon it, that the offer I make you is in itself highly reasonable and fair, yea, that therein I evidently depart from my just right in compliance with you, that if possible, our affairs may be proceeded in with peace and without tumult. What I now propose, is what you yourselves have, until now, insisted on; and I apprehend there can be no imaginable reason why it should now be departed from, unless it be to lay me under still greater disadvantages, and to have opportunity to bring in such into the Council, as are still more prejudiced against me."

One thing further I objected, which was against the manner of the draught of the Committee's report, which it is needless now to rehearse.

"On this ensued much discourse. It was insisted that, in my mentioning the seven or five next neighbouring ministers, if these were allowed to be the Council, it would be my choosing all the Council myself: and inasmuch as I before appeared so much

against leaving these matters with them, but now complied, the church had reason to suspect that I had discovered something concerning these ministers, which the church knew not of; which was a sufficient reason why the church should not comply with my proposal.

"I added one thing further to my proposal, viz. That *five* should be taken out of the *seven* next neighbouring ministers by mutual choice. But there appeared no inclination to comply with this.

"After this, some of the people proposed to me, Whether I would be willing that a Council of churches should be called out of this neighbourhood, instead of a Council of Ministers. I replied that it seemed altogether needless and trifling, to put the churches to so much trouble, as to meet in Council, only to tell us whether we were ripe for a Council, and to advise us as to the manner of calling a Council. But however I would not break with the church on such a point, if they greatly insisted on it. But as soon as I had thus complied with it, no more was said about it at that meeting.

"After this it was once and again proposed to me, and by several persons, Whether I was willing that the matter should be referred to three ministers mutually chosen out of the seven?—because then it was urged that there might be somewhat of a choice. I somewhat hesitated about it, thinking the number too small; yet finally complied; but as soon as I complied, the matter was entirely dropped, and no more said about it.

"Last of all, it was proposed by one of the leading brethren of the church, that the whole eight ministers of which the Association consisted be called together, with liberty of objecting, on each side, against any of the members, after they were come together; the objections to be judged of by the rest. I also manifested my readiness to comply with this. But nothing was said by the church, whether they would comply with this or not; and nothing was done at this meeting, but the meeting was adjourned until the next day at two o'clock.

"The next day, Dec. 12, the Precinct met again, at one o'clock, according to adjournment, and adjourned themselves further to the next Monday, Dec. 16.

"The same day the church met again, according to their adjournment, at 2 o'clock; when, after long debating and much earnest talk till after sun-down, the church at length passed the following Votes:

"1. That a Council should be called to advise us under our present difficulties, previous to any Council that may be called to judge whether Pastors and People should be separated; and that it should be left to their judgment, *Whether it be not reasonable and best in this case, that I should be allowed to go out of the*

County for Ministers, or Churches, to be some of the members of the Council, who are to judge, whether I shall be dismissed from my pastoral office here or not; and that if they determine that it is best that this should be allowed, then their judgment be asked, *Whether the state of things be now ripe for such a Council being called;* and, if they judge we are not ripe for it, we should ask their advice, *How we should conduct ourselves for the present.*

"2. That the Council should consist of five ministers, mutually chosen out of the seven nearest ministers."

"After this vote was passed, it was urged that it should be five churches, instead of five ministers; to which I yielded, after some objecting; and then the following Vote was passed:

"3. That the Council shall be a Council of Churches. But only there shall be liberty given to both Pastor and People, if they have any objections against any of the Messengers that shall be chosen, as unfit persons to judge in these matters, to offer their objections before the Council when met, who shall judge of the validity or sufficiency of those objections."

"Then we proceeded to nominate churches. I first nominated the church of South Hadley; but this was objected against; and a writing was produced under the hands of Ebenezer Pomroy and his Wife, testifying some things which they had heard the minister of South Hadley, the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge, say, manifesting his mind in some of those things of which the Council were to judge. After considerable discourse on the matter, the church finally refused to allow that church to be of the Council. And the following churches were agreed upon, viz. the First Church in Hadley, the Church in Hatfield, the Church in Sunderland, the Church of Cold Spring, and the Second Church in Northampton.

"Then the church proceeded to choose agents to represent them and manage their cause before the Council, and they chose the Hon. Ebenezer Pomroy, Lieut. Noah Wright, and Mr. Joseph Hawley.

"Then several of the brethren earnestly urged, that the affair of our attending the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be reconsidered, insisting that this Ordinance ought to be upheld among us. After some discourse it was put to vote,—*Whether the Church, on second consideration, thought it best, that that Ordinance should be upheld, and accordingly a Sacrament speedily appointed?*—and it passed in the *Negative*, by a very great majority. Then the church meeting was dissolved.

"Mr. Joseph Hawley having been absent, when chosen one of the Agents of the Church, afterwards came to me, desiring me to inform the church, that he declined serving in that capacity. Ac-

cordingly, I stayed the church, on the Sabbath, Dec. 17, and informed them of it; when some of the brethren desired to know the reason why he declined serving. Upon which he gave this reason, That his judgment was so different from that of the church, in those points which were referred to the judgment of the Council, that he could not in conscience plead before the Council, for those things on which the church insisted, or to that purpose.—Then it was put to vote, whether the church would add any other to those who had already been chosen.*

"The next Monday, Dec. 18, the Precinct met again, according to adjournment; when it was proposed to the Precinct, and much urged by some of the principal men, that the Precinct should, by a vote, manifest their desire that I should not continue their minister, unless I altered my opinion, and a draft for such a vote was proposed by the Moderator; but others much opposing it, as not proper before the advice of a Council had been asked, it was not put to vote.

"At this meeting, the Precinct voted to send to Major Lyman, of Suffield,† and hire him to come and plead their cause at the approaching Council; and appointed a man to go to him for that end. Then the meeting was adjourned for a fortnight."

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* The result of this vote is not mentioned.

† The Hon. Phineas Lyman, an eminent Counsellour at Law, and afterwards Major-General, first in the Provincial Service, and then in the British Army. He declined the proposed service.

CHAPTER XXI.

Meeting of Previous Council.—Remarks of Mr. Edwards, on the question, Whether he ought not to be allowed to go out of the county, in the choice of the Final Council.—Remarks of Mr. Edwards, on the question, Whether the state of things was ripe for a Final Council.—Proposal of Mr. Edwards.—Result.—Adjournment.—Measures of both parties.

"The next week on Tuesday, Dec. 26, the Council that was chosen, met;* and this Narrative, viz. the preceding part of it, was read to them. And then they proceeded to hear both what the Pastor and the Agents of the Church had to offer on those articles, which the Council had been desired to judge of, and advise in." On the question, *Whether it was not reasonable and best, that he should be allowed to go out of the county, for Ministers or Churches to be some of the members of the Council, who were to judge, whether he should be dismissed from his pastoral office, or not;*—Mr. Edwards submitted to the Council the following remarks:

"In order to determine—Whether I ought to be allowed to go out of the county, in my choice of a part of the Council, which is to decide on the question of my dismission; it should be particularly considered—What the business of such a Council will be. And here I would observe,

"1. That the business of that Council will not be to judge, *Whether my opinion, on the point in controversy, be right, or not;* for that would be only to determine, *Whether my opinion and theirs be the same;* which is supposed to be a thing perfectly known before the calling of the Council. On such a point, the opinion of ministers and churches cannot easily be hid, and they will be chosen on each side, because they are either of the one opinion or of the other.

"2. Nor will it be the main business of that Council, to judge,—*Whether, or no, I should finally continue the pastor of this church, if the people, after all fair means used, and all proper steps taken to effect an accommodation, should finally desire that I should not*

* The ministers who composed this Council, were, the Rev. Chester Williams of Hadley, the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge of Hatfield, the Rev. Mr. Billings of Cold Spring, (Belchertown,) and the Rev. Mr. Judd of West-Hampton. The names of the Delegates are not known.

be their pastor?—I have never given this Church the least reason to suspect, that I had any such thing in view, by any of my conduct. And besides, I stand ready to save any Council the trouble of judging in that matter. If the Church would in the first place give me a fair hearing, and take all proper previous steps, and treat me in that respect with justice, and answerably to the obligations which they owe me as their pastor, and yet finally should desire my dismission; I should trouble a Council no farther, than barely to give me leave to relinquish my pastoral office.

"But, if I mistake not, the business of that Council will consist chiefly in the following things:

"1. In determining whether the pastor and church ought to be separated, they must have liberty to do what they can towards effecting an accommodation. It will be unreasonable to call a Council, to decide on the question of separation, and yet so tie up their hands, that they shall be obliged to proceed on the supposition, that the disease is desperate, without allowing them to judge of that matter for themselves, or to use any means or endeavours for a cure. The separating of pastor and people will be an important event—an event followed by great, extensive and very unhappy, consequences, and ought not to be done without obvious and irretrievable necessity. That necessity ought not to be determined, merely by the parties at variance; but by the Council, which judges whether we must be parted, or not. The desperateness of the disease should not be determined by the patient, but by the physician. That Council must have our whole case laid before them, and then they must judge, *Whether it will be worth the while to use any endeavours for an accommodation.* And, if they judge that it is worth the while, then they must have liberty to use their best skill, in order to effect it. For my part, though I confess there appears to me no probability of our difficulties ever being adjusted; yet I feel that I am not infallible, nor able certainly to determine that they cannot. I cannot certainly say that a Council cannot enlighten me, so as to make my conscience easy as to any point of practice, so as to proceed in it with a good conscience. Nor can my people, as I apprehend, certainly determine that no Council can ever satisfy them, as to any point on which we are now divided. It is worth the while to try the skill of some of the ablest divines in the land; and indeed it is necessary that it should be done, before we proceed to an act, fraught with such important consequences, as the separation of pastor and people. And here the question arises, What sort of a Council is proper to be employed in such an attempt?—a Council wholly consisting of divines on one side in the controversy?—or a Council consisting of some on both sides?

"2. If they conclude that there is no hope of an accommodation, they will then be called upon to decide—*Whether the parties are*

now ripe for a separation. And the grand point here presented to them will be, *What justice demands, with regard to each party.* The claims of both parties must be weighed by them, as in a balance. On the one hand, they must determine what are the just claims of the people, and whether my continuance here can be consistent with their rights. On the other, they must consider, what I can claim by virtue of my relation to the people as their pastor, whether the steps which ought to be taken previous to a separation have actually been taken; whether they have given me a hearing on the question in dispute, and have done me justice in this controversy, so that nothing remains which I can fairly demand of them, before they can fairly demand a release from all their obligations to me as their pastor. The case presented to them for their decision will therefore be a case of simple justice and equity, between two parties at variance. And here the question again arises, What sort of a Council is proper to be employed in deciding such a case?—a Council wholly consisting of divines on one side in the controversy? —or a Council consisting of some on both sides?

"3. If the future council should decide on an immediate separation between pastor and people, they must also set forth to the world, in their result, the reasons of their decision. They must explicitly declare, *Whether it is for any thing blame-worthy and scandalous in the pastor, which renders him unfit for the ministry, and worthy to be dismissed from it?* or—*Whether he is innocent in the affair?*—How far he has conducted himself well, and treated his people justly? and, How far they can recommend him as fit to be employed elsewhere in the work of the ministry? This is what is usual in such cases, and what the very nature of things renders just and necessary. But the state of the present case renders it necessary in a peculiar manner, and that on several accounts. One is, the well known fact, that many reports have been industriously circulated through the country, relative to my conduct in this affair, which are greatly to my disadvantage. It is continually asserted by my opposers, that I wish to Lord it over God's heritage, that I am contentious and quarrelsome, that I am obstinate, stiff and inflexible, and that I would not yield an ace in my opinion to save myself and my family from ruin.—Another is, that my people themselves, have rendered it absolutely necessary, in that, from time to time, I have been publicly blamed and highly charged, with regard to my conduct. As this appears evidently the prevailing disposition of my people, to cast blame upon me, and they do it here openly and publicly from time to time, I have no reason to think that they restrain themselves abroad. And as there is a great multitude of them, many mouths, to reproach me, and they are very much abroad in various parts of New England, and I have only my own single voice to defend myself with; so there seems to be no other way for my defence, than by the enquiry and judg-

ment of an impartial Council. And then, besides the reproaches of my people by word of mouth, their public conduct towards me is such, as casts a reproach upon me. The whole series of their conduct has this language, uttered too with a loud voice, that I am most insufferably criminal. This is particularly true of their openly refusing, once and again, to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at my hands. It has this look—that I am a scandalous person: this is the language of it: it has this appearance to the world. Of course this future Council will unavoidably have to judge between me and my people, in this matter. And here again the same question presents itself—What sort of a Council is proper to be employed, in deciding on my conduct and character?—A Council consisting wholly of those, who are known to be against me, and to side with my opposers; or a Council consisting of some on both sides?

"These three things, it is plain, will constitute the main business of the future Council; and the question—What kind of a Council is requisite to judge in such a case, and to decide on these points, —cannot, I humbly conceive, be a matter of any difficulty. It must be evident to every man of the least reflection, that an *Impartial Council* is indispensable, or at least, a Council so constituted, that it may be as near to impartiality as may be. This will appear, if each of these three points, on which the Council must judge, is duly considered.—If they are to attempt an accommodation, or to bring the two distant parties together; surely it is proper that the Council, which is to do this, should be themselves in the middle, and not all on one side, or with one of the distant parties.—If they are to decide,—Whether the Church have done me justice in this controversy, as to what I can demand of them, before they can demand a separation?—need I ask, whether the tribunal which is to decide a simple point of equity, between two parties at variance, in a case deeply interesting to both, ought to be impartial? And, if they are to judge between two parties, one of which blames and condemns the other in a very open manner, and it is their duty to decide, whether these accusations are just, and whether the accused is innocent, or guilty; does this venerable Council need an argument from me, to prove to them that impartiality is an essential qualification in the tribunal, which is to judge between two such parties, and that the members of it ought not, all of them, to be on the side of the party, which lays the blame and brings the charge; but a part of them on the side of the party blamed in the original controversy? Since, in this case, we cannot expect to obtain a Council, which shall be impartial in the most proper sense—in the sense that each member, taken singly, shall be impartial—but all must be supposed to be on one side or the other in the main controversy; there ought therefore to be that, which shall be in some measure an equivalent—there ought to be a balance in the Coun-

cil—so that, putting both parts together, the whole Consistory may be looked upon as it were impartial; and, if one of the parties choose those who are on their side in the main controversy, the other should also be allowed to choose such as are on his; and neither party tied up to such limits in his choice, that all opportunity of any tolerable degree of impartiality in the Council, should be precluded.

"Hence it must be reasonable that, in the choice of the future Council, I should be allowed to go out of the limits of this county, for some of the members; it being a fact perfectly well known, concerning the ministers and churches of the county, that they are almost universally on one side in the original controversy. And this is the point now to be determined by this reverend Council. I would endeavour therefore, in the first place, to show that it is reasonable and necessary that I should be allowed this liberty, as impartiality is to be sought in the Council; and in the second, would mention several circumstances, which render it highly expedient.

"I freely own that it is a good general rule, that Councils, which are to judge of difficulties arising in particular churches, should be constituted of neighbouring churches. But to say, that this is a rule so established by the word of God, or the reason and nature of things, and made so universal, that it never will or can admit of any exception, and never, in any case whatsoever, ought to be dispensed with, is carrying the matter to such an unreasonable length, as no one of the members of this reverend Council would sanction. Let us suppose a case, which is not impossible, that a whole neighbourhood of ministers were nearly related to one of two parties, between whom a Council was to judge; would any one say, in such a case, that they, and they only must be the judges, because they live in the neighbourhood? Would any one imagine, that the mere circumstance of vicinity, or of county limits, as fixed by the civil power, ought to outweigh such an essential circumstance as consanguinity; however the ministers of the neighbourhood might be men of wisdom and great integrity? Now, though perhaps it may be disputed, whether *unity of sentiment*, in matters of religion, has an equal tendency to prejudice the mind, in favour of particular persons and their behaviour, with *consanguinity;* yet I suppose it to be a point beyond dispute, that it has a powerful tendency; and that *diversity of sentiment* has an equally powerful tendency to prejudice the mind, not only against the doctrines which are opposite to those we embrace, but against the persons who introduce and maintain them. In all ages and nations, diversity of religious sentiment has occasioned uncharitableness and censoriousness in mankind, one towards another; and the strongest prejudices, which have appeared among men, have been owing to this cause. Very often has this been true, where the difference has been in things not fundamental. Such is the weakness of human nature on this

point, that few men get the mastery of this temptation. Here and there, an eminently great man appears to have conquered its influence. Yet, even among great men, such instances are rare. How evident is it, that men of distinguished learning and talents, and of eminent piety, are often powerfully influenced by this prejudice, and that insensibly to themselves. And if we examine the history of ages past, we shall find abundant evidence, that even consanguinity itself does not render us more liable to powerful prejudices, than this very cause.

"The prejudices, to which we are thus exposed, are not merely against the *persons* of individuals, but against their *conduct;* especially against that part of their conduct which is immediately connected with their opinions, in avowing and maintaining them, and in endeavouring to introduce and propagate them. How greatly have the members, and especially the ministers, of the Church of England, even those among them who are great and good men, been prejudiced against the persons and conduct of Dissenters; and how have they accused them of bigotry, blind zeal, and perverseness. And how fully has our liability to prejudices of this nature, been exemplified of late in New England, in persons of opposite opinions, respecting the late extensive Revival of Religion; how strong have been the prejudices occasioned thereby against the persons and conduct of many individuals. Especially is this true, when the controversy about the opposite religious opinions is in the height of agitation. Above all is the temptation great, with respect to the individual, who is the first and main occasion of the controversy, and appears as the head and spring of the whole debate, as moved and maintained in the given time and place; which is precisely my case in the existing controversy.

"And the influence of this cause to bias the minds of men, has been strikingly exemplified, in this very case, in ministers of good character, and such as in other respects have been very friendly to me. Since this controversy has existed at Northampton, I have had occasion to converse with many gentlemen in the ministry, on both sides of the question; and I find a vast difference, between those on one side and those on the other, in regard to their charity with respect to me and my conduct. Those on one side are more apt to give heed to reports, which they have heard to my disadvantage, and to be enquiring with concern into such and such parts of my conduct. They receive, with hesitation and difficulty, the explanations which I give, and the reasons which I offer, and entertain surmises and jealousies of my design, and of the motives by which I am governed. But with the ministers of the other side, I find nothing of this natnre.

"It is very obvious, that the members of this church themselves are perfectly aware of the tendency of religious opinions to bias the minds of men in this very controversy. When one of the brethren

at a late Church meeting, spoke in my favour, on one of the points now to be decided by the Council; one of the influential members, an officer in the church and one of the church Committee rose, and told the church, that what that brother had said was the less to be regarded, because he had manifested himself to be of my opinion with respect to the Qualifications for communion. And the public acts of this people, show how fully sensible they are of the strong tendency, which sameness or contrariety of opinion will have to prejudice ministers and churches. To what other cause but such a consciousness, shall we attribute the fact, that they strive so laboriously and perseveringly, to confine me exclusively, in the ultimate decision of this controversy, to judges who are on their side of the question; and that they have hired able Counsel, to plead in their behalf for this very purpose. If identity, or diversity, of religious sentiment has no tendency to bias the mind, why all this anxiety, and effort, and expence, and struggling to confine me to judges, who differ from me and agree with themselves?

"As to the neighbouring ministers, I sincerely profess a very honourable esteem of them, and desire to be thankful that I have lived in peace and friendship with them; and I doubt not that they are gentlemen of too much judgment and candour, to regard it as a personal reflection, when I suppose them, as well as others, liable to prejudices from this cause. I presume none of us are unwilling to own, that we are the subjects of the common infirmities of human nature; and doubtless we have found this the fact in so many instances, that we should in some cases not think it wisdom to trust our own hearts.

"This then being so evidently the case, if the Decisive Council are generally of an opinion contrary to mine, and the same with that of my opposers, on the matter in dispute, they cannot be regarded as *impartial;* and of course I shall have no fair chance for justice from them; and shall not, in debating and determining the matter in controversy, stand on equal ground with the other party.

"The point then is plain, beyond all question, that I ought not to be confined to such a Council.

"How tender does the wisdom and justice of all civilized nations teach them to be towards every one, who has a deeply interesting cause depending, with regard to the impartiality of his judges. When he has any objections against any one, proposed as a judge, how easily do they admit them, if there be the least appearance of any circumstance, tending to bias and prejudice the mind. How readily, for example, are such objections admitted against any who are nominated to be of a Jury?

"Local proximity, I fully admit, ought ordinarily to be regarded as a circumstance of weight in a Council who are to be judges in a religious controversy; but in no measure of equal weight with the essential qualifications of the judges themselves. And as to the

qualifications of a judge, what is so essential as Impartiality? What can be more essential in a balance, which is to determine the true weight of things, than that the scales be even?

"Thus I have given my reasons why I think the rules of equity and a regard to the common rights of mankind, do most evidently require, that I should be allowed to go beyond the limits of this County, in my choice of some of the members of the future Council. I now proceed to mention several circumstances, which render it highly *expedient* that I should have this liberty.

"This Rev. Council cannot but be sensible, that it deeply concerns my reputation and my future usefulness, as well as the subsistence of my family, that I should have justice done me in the result of the Future Council; and of course that that Council should be an impartial Council. The removal of a minister from his people ordinarily lays him under great disadvantages, and commonly hurts his reputation though indeed he be not to blame. There is left on the minds of the world some suspicion, whether something or other blame-worthy or unhappy in him, his temper, or conduct, was not the cause. People therefore are generally not so willing to employ such removed ministers. There is commonly a great deal said against them; and how much of it is true and just, and how much unjust and false, the world do not know, and do not think themselves obliged to be at the trouble of enquiring; but rather think it their province to have nothing to do with them. Hence, as I think I have been innocent, and conscientious, and fair and faithful, with my people in this affair, according to the best light which I enjoy; so it concerns me greatly, that I should have full justice done me, in the result of the Final Council.

"That some of the members of that Council should come from beyond the limits of this County, deeply concerns my future usefulness in another respect; viz. That if I am ever employed in the work of the ministry hereafter, it is not probable that it will be in this part of the country, or any where in these western parts of New England; and it will have a vastly greater influence as to my reputation, in other parts of the country, farther eastward than Hampshire, if some ministers of note, who belong in those parts, having had full cognizance of those affairs, do recommend me.

"It is the more expedient that the separation of the minister and people of Northampton, if it take place, should take place under the direction of a Council, having some of its members from distant places and of chief note in the country, as it will be an event of great and extensive influence on the interests of religion, and the Church of God. Northampton having been a place much heard of, and extensively observed by the church at large, as to its religious concerns, and the past state of things between minister and people, having been much known; the report of our separation must needs produce an extensive and great effect—as great, and on

some accounts much greater, on places at a distance, than on places that are near. People at a distance have been more ignorant of our former imperfections, and have been ready to look on Northampton as a kind of heaven upon earth. The result of the Final Council will undoubtedly be published to the world, and will be regarded with deep attention by many, not only in New England, but in the other provinces of North America, as well as by some perhaps in England and Scotland. Hence surely it is best, before this unhappy event of a separation shall take place, that some of the wisest and ablest men in the country, should have an opportunity to look into our affairs and give us their advice, and use their wisdom if possible to prevent this calamity, and that, if it must take place, a just report of it, with its causes and circumstances, may be given to the world by men whose characters are known and respected in other parts of the world. Both my reputation abroad, and the interests of religion greatly require this.

"It is the more reasonable that, in the determination of an affair of such extensive influence, I should not be confined to the limits of this particular neighbourhood, because, as things are constituted in this country, there is no appeal from one Council to another, no appeal from a Presbytery of a vicinity to a Council or Synod from larger limits. But, if the case goes to the vicinity, that is the last resort, and they will have as much power in the case, as the General Assembly of the whole nation would have in the like case, in Scotland.

"I beseech this Rev. Council, most deliberately and impartially to consider these things, and give them their due weight, as I doubt not they would govern themselves by those good rules of equity and charity,—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and, "Do unto others, as thou wouldst they should do unto thee."

"I now proceed to answer some Objections.

"In reply to all the arguments derived from the Platform of Church Discipline, as a constitution or establishment binding these Churches, I would suggest the following observations:

"1. I know of nothing possessing the force of a rule or establishment to bind particular Churches of Christ, without an express act or consent of their own, unless it be the Word of God. On the principles of Protestantism, I know not by what rule, a Council, which sat ninety years ago, could make a rule or establishment, which could bind the present churches, without any free act of theirs, or without making it their own rule.

"2. The present church of Northampton never made that platform their rule, or had the least regard to it in any one public proceeding, since I have been their pastor; and I know so much of their present and past state, that I may be bold to say, they have never pretended to make this rule a directory in ecclesiastical matters, since any one of the present members of the church was a

church-member. I never heard it mentioned by any of the church on any occasion until now; and I verily believe that, until a little while since, the great body of the members never knew there was any such thing in existence.

"3. It is inconsistent with the principles of the compilers of the Platform, who were all Congregationalists, as well as inconsistent with the very Platform itself, that it should be of the nature of a constitution, or establishment obligatory on future churches, or on present churches, any farther than by their own free acts; for the compilers of that Platform plainly show it to be their opinion, that each particular church has, under Christ, all power of discipline within itself, without being bound by the determinations of other churches; and that the government of the Church is Congregational, and not National, nor Provincial, nor Classical, and therefore not subject to the decisions and constitutions of national, provincial or classical Synods, unless by their own free act.

"4. The Platform itself allows expressly of departing from the vicinity, when the nature of the case leads to it. The words of the Platform are, "There should be liberty, without offence, to make use of other churches, as the nature of the case, and the advantage of opportunity, may lead thereto."—I think I have plainly shown already, that the nature of this case does lead to it, and absolutely requires it.

"As to the Vote of this Church, in the days of our fathers, thirty-five years ago,—That they would be subject to a Council of the Churches of the County, until some superiour Judicature were established in the Province,—it may be sufficient here to suggest the following brief considerations:

"1. No persons professing Protestant principles will maintain, that christians of the present generation are bound, in affairs of religion and the worship of God, by the determination of their forefathers, unless they have adopted the act of their forefathers, and made it in some way or other their own, by their own act and consent, either express or implicit.

"2. This appears still more obviously, in the present case, from the very different circumstances of the County, in this generation, and in the last. This change in the state of things, shows this act to be void, unless it has been renewed since. Had their circumstances been like ours, our forefathers, we have the best reason to believe, would never have formed such a determination. We have now two associations. The churches are far more numerous and more dispersed. And as the state of things, which was the ground of this act of our ancestors, has ceased, we must suppose the act itself to cease as to any obligation on us, unless it has been renewed.

"3. There has been no recognition of this act by us, either explicit or implied. Certainly there has been no explicit recognition.

Who can point out any act or vote of us, the existing church members, by which we have recognized its binding force. Neither have we implicitly consented to it. Since I have been the pastor of this Church, though we have on many occasions had the subject of Councils before us, we have never, in any one instance, paid the least respect to their act; nor do I remember that it has ever been once mentioned before the Church.

"4. We have implicitly renounced it in several ways. Our proceedings have always been inconsistent with it. The Vote refers to a Council of *Churches;* whereas we have been connected only with Councils of *Ministers.* The Vote refers to a *Stated* Council of the Churches of the County, according to Mr. Stoddard's known Presbyterian principles, and not to *Elective* Councils; whereas all the Councils with which we have been connected, have been *Elective.* We have also implicitly renounced *Presbyterianism,* which that Vote was intended to introduce; and have adopted *Congregationalism.*

"5. If it had not been renounced, but made our own act as much as we could make it so, it must be understood only as a general rule, and could not be of force in extraordinary cases, in which it would be contrary to reason and the rights of mankind to adhere to it; for as far as it is contrary to these, it is contrary to the law of nature, which is the law of God, and the law of Christ the great Head of the Church.

"6. In this very case, the Church themselves propose to renounce this act. The Vote speaks of a Council of *all the Churches* of the County, taking them as they are, without election; whereas the Church have only insisted on a small part of these Churches designated by election. But surely if all of the Vote is not binding, no part of it is binding.

"As to what I wrote fourteen years ago, in the controversy, concerning the settlement of Mr. B——, at Springfield, wherein I say,—That the affairs of Religion are not confined to single churches, properly belonging to the neighbouring churches;—I would observe as follows:

"1. It would be unreasonable to understand me otherwise than I really intended, viz. That this ought to be regarded as a general rule, and an ordinary point of regularity. I suppose that the neighbouring ministers think it a good general rule as well as I, and have perhaps, expressed themselves to that effect; yet I have no reason to think there is one of them, who thinks it a rule that will allow of no dispensation. Which of the Rev. Ministers here present, who knows what the state of things has been of late in Connecticut, with regard to some of the associations there, and especially with regard to one, would think that every church and every minister within its bounds, in all ecclesiastical affairs in which they needed the help of other churches and ministers, ought to be obliged in

every case to make use of, and submit, to the neighbouring ministers, and them only. Yet their Associations and Consociations have much stronger claims to be regarded as an establishment, than any thing of a like nature among us.

"2. It is not merely on this occasion, when I myself am concerned and my own interest touched, that I have insisted that there ought to be exceptions in extraordinary cases from this general rule; for I insisted on this in that very controversy respecting Mr. B——. There is abundant evidence also, that I expressed the same opinion long ago, before the controversy between me and my people was begun. Some of the ministers here present are my witnesses, that I expressed the same opinion, on occasion of the transactions of some of the associations in Connecticut. And this whole church are my witnesses to the same point: They know that I signified as much publicly in word and deed, when the Separate Society in New-Haven sent to this Church to assist them in Council, by their pastor and a messenger. And the Church themselves did, on that occasion, publicly consent to a departure from this general rule, without any objection made by even one individual; and accordingly a messenger was actually chosen by them, to go with me as a member of the Council at New-Haven.

"3. Suppose it could have been made to appear, that, in what I wrote fourteen years ago in that controversy, I expressed myself in universal terms,—That I declared it to be my opinion, that there ought to be no exception in no case whatever,—and that I could not prove that I had ever changed my mind until now, when it comes to be my own case; yet, even in that case, the question to be decided by this Council, as I humbly conceive, would be,—not what my opinion once was; but—what is really just and right in its own nature. The judgment is the Lord's, and the rules by which the judges are to proceed are the Lord's, and not mine, nor any other man's. They are to decide, according to the rules of reason and the word of God, what are God's rules; and not by what once was, or now is, my opinion. If a man had a cause depending before a civil tribunal, and it could be proved that, this man fourteen years ago had given it as his opinion, in another man's case, that such a thing was according to law; which opinion, if now adopted as a rule by the judges, would operate against him; I conceive that the judges ought not to be determined, even if he expressed himself in an unqualified manner, by what he then declared to be law, in his opinion; but, as they are to judge for the King and country, they must judge according to what they themselves find to be law, which is the rule they are to go by.

"If any shall say that it is but just, that I should be paid in my own coin, that I should be dealt with myself as I have dealt with others; I need not inform this venerable Council that the christian rule is, to deal by another, not as he hath dealt by me, or by his

neighbour, but as I would that he should have dealt by me, and as he ought to have dealt by his neighbour. But if any should insist that this is but a proper punishment for my dealing in that manner with Mr. B——; omitting many things that might be said concerning the difference of the two cases, I would only say, that my crime in that case, if there was any, for which I deserve to be punished, was *not doing or acting any thing whatever*, in opposition to Mr. B——'s being settled by ministers from a distance. I had no hand at all in opposing these ministers, in any thing they did; for all that was done of that nature, was done when I was not in New England, and when I was totally ignorant of any thing that was done until all was over. My crime was merely defending what others had done, at their request. What I wrote, was at the desire of my honoured uncle, Mr. Williams of Hatfield, and other ministers who had been concerned, to justify what they had done. So that, if what I then wrote, even supposing that I had expressed the opinion that there should be no exceptions to the rule, would hardly justify this Council in proceeding with me, in this case, on principles, which otherwise would not be righteous; it must be, because the Council esteem it a sufficient reason to depart from what is just and equitable in itself, in their dealings with me, to do according to an opinion which I expressed many years ago, in the vindication of others. Far be it from me, to entertain so low an opinion of the wisdom and justice of this reverend Council.

"Having made these observations, there is no need of my saying any thing further concerning a practical agreement of the churches of the County, to manage their ecclesiastical affairs among themselves. I would only briefly observe, that what I say of this, in what I wrote relative to the case of Mr. B., obviously had reference to the Ordination of ministers. That was a case of ordination, and I do not remember that I ever knew or had heard any thing of a Council of ministers in this County, on any other occasion but the ordination of ministers. But had my meaning been different, the preceding remarks are sufficient to show, that nothing could have been inferred from it, which ought to govern in the present case. If there has rarely been a Council of Churches in the County, in cases of controversy in particular churches; then the instances do not amount to an established rule for all cases, both ordinary and extraordinary. And if the instances had been ever so numerous, yet custom can establish nothing contrary to Christ's own rules—the rules of reason, and the rules of natural righteousness and equity.

"It is also objected, that to allow ministers to go out of the County for a Council, in cases like this, will open a door for error which cannot be closed; and that I assert the same in what I wrote concerning the ordination at Springfield. To this objection a very brief reply will be sufficient.

"1. What I assert in the communication referred to is this—

"That to allow one party to elect *all his own judges*, will be to open a door to error."—And it is very true that when that is done there can be no security to the other party against any injustice, or any thing else that is bad. But I never asserted that to call an Impartial Council, was the way in which either truth or justice could not be defended. Had I done so, I should obviously have asserted the grossest absurdity.

"2. If it had so happened that half of the ministers in the county had been of my opinion on the Qualifications for communion; according to this argument, it would as effectually have opened the door to error, to choose my part of the Council from within the County, as it will now to choose it from without; and if so, it would have been, in that case, a good argument against my having any choice at all. And this is in effect saying, that there ought to be no judges allowed in the controversy, except the people themselves, who constitute one of the parties; because, for them to have all their judges of their own choosing, is one and the same thing as to be their own judges. And if it had happened that the churches in the county had been almost all of my opinion, as now they are of theirs; then the argument would be just as strong for their going out of the county, as now for confining me to it. Can this Venerable Council lend their sanction to a rule which works such manifest injustice?

"3. This rule will no more defend truth than expose it. If a particular church is in the right, and the rest of the county happens to be in the wrong; then that church, in summoning a Council, receives, by adhering to this rule, just as much disadvantage, as they would receive advantage, if the reverse were the fact. And we all know that there are as many churches, and counties, and countries, which are erroneous, as orthodox—nay, many more.

"4. The objectors, in making this objection, implicitly admit, that those who are on one side in the original controversy, are not likely to be impartial, and therefore not likely to do justice to the other side. Otherwise, how would the cause of truth be exposed by a Council, though they should *all* be on my side, much less by *one half* of them being so. And if their being all on my side, will naturally bias them in favour of me and my conduct; then, by parity of reason, their being all on their side will naturally bias them in favour of them and their conduct. If this be so, it proves the necessity of a balance in the Council, to bring the whole, taken together, to an equilibrium.

"I will now take notice of an objection which may possibly arise in the minds of some of the Council, viz. That if I am allowed to go out of the county, on the ground that this is an extraordinary case, it will be a bad precedent, and others will insist on the like liberty, and will, on some pretence or other, claim that their case is also ex-

traordinary; and thus it will be difficult to maintain any rule or keep any bounds in any case. To this I would reply,

"1. If this be a case of such character, that righteousness plainly requires that I have this liberty, the fear of others claiming the same without reason, ought not to prevent justice from being now done to me. It is a very common thing, because exceptions and peculiar liberties are granted in extraordinary cases, to demand them in others where they ought not to be granted; but surely this is no good reason for not granting them in a case where it would plainly be the grossest injustice to refuse them. But, not to enlarge on this point, I observe

"2. That in this case, as it now stands, there can be no possible danger of a bad precedent, in allowing me to go out of the county, on the ground that justice imperiously requires it; because I have first submitted the decision of this matter to a Council of the neighbouring churches, who are to determine whether this be a case, which requires this liberty to be granted or not. So that, instead of its being a dangerous precedent, it is a precedent which will tend rather to screen the churches from all the inconveniences feared; because it is not an instance of going abroad for a Council, in neglect and contempt of the churches of the neighbourhood, but the churches of the neighbourhood are first applied to, and they themselves are made the judges whether the case is extraordinary or not. If we could actually form as strict and firm an establishment, with regard to a limitation of Councils to a neighbourhood, as any of us could desire, I should think no man could desire a greater strictness than this—that no minister or church should depart from such a strict consistory, even in extraordinary cases, but with the approbation and by the allowance of that consistory. If we wished to contrive a method, which should effectually prevent the mischief of extraordinary cases being made precedents for ordinary ones, we could not contrive one more effectual than this—That the churches of the neighbourhood themselves should be the judges of those extraordinary cases. In this way the neighbourhood has all the opportunity for self preservation, which it can possibly desire.

"I ask the pardon of the Rev. Council for being thus particular in my argument on this subject: the case being one, as may easily be seen, of vast consequence to me and my family. I hope notwithstanding, that every thing which has been said will have its due weight with the Council; and that, since I have submitted this question, so deeply interesting to myself, to judges who are all of a contrary opinion from me, in the main controversy between the two parties, between whom you are to judge, that I shall experience the happy effects of your steady and unshaken integrity, in your righteous determination of this important point."

WHEN the agents for the church had said what they thought

proper, in reply to the preceding remarks, Mr. Edwards presented to the Council the following considerations on the question,—*Whether the state of things was then ripe, for a Council being called to judge, whether he should be dismissed from his pastoral office or not?*

"I suppose the state of things not ripe for the calling of a Council to decide on the question of dismission for the following reasons:

"I. It is very apparent that my people have never yet given me a proper hearing on the great question, which is the origin of all our present debates and difficulties, and which must be the ground of their rejecting me from being their pastor, if ever this be done in the issue of the present controversy. I say the ground of their rejecting me—for if I am removed from being their pastor, they must reject me; they must first vote for my being removed. Though this alone will not dissolve the relation between me and them, yet, as a precedent step, it is indispensably requisite.

"But if any rules of reason or religion are to be regarded, this cannot be done, until they have first given me *a fair hearing* on that point, which is the cause of their demanding such a dissolution. In the solemn transaction of my ordination and settlement as their pastor, I on my part took the charge of their souls; and they, as in the presence of God, solemnly committed the care of their souls to me; and thus the relation which now subsists, was established between me and them by mutual covenant. Hence, if ever they reject me from being their pastor, and are active in withdrawing themselves from my ministerial care, it must be on one of these two accounts; either, 1, Because they suppose me obviously unfit to be a minister; or 2, Because they suppose that I fail of performing some of the essential duties of a minister,—such as are made essential by Christ's appointment. The former of these reasons has not been insisted on. If they suppose that I fail in the latter respect, and that I neglect to perform some of the essential duties of a minister; and I insist on my own justification, and plead that what I do is agreeable to the word and institutions of Christ, and therefore my duty as a minister of Christ; they are bound to give me a fair and full hearing, before I can be rejected by them, or they released from their sacred obligations to me as my people. Especially is this true, if the point, on which they insist, was never so settled in the Church of Christ, as to be regarded as indisputable, and still more, if a very great proportion of those, who have been universally esteemed orthodox christians and divines, have without dispute been on my side. In such a case as this, what pretence can a people have for bursting the sacred bonds of their covenant with their pastor, without hearing him.

"If the determination of no such important public act of theirs depended on their judgment of the matter, but I merely offered to

deliver the doctrine for which I insist, as part of the Counsel of God; on this account alone, my people would be obliged, on a disputable point, to give me an impartial hearing. A minister by his office is to be the guide and instructor of his people. To that end he is to study and search the Scriptures and to teach the people, not the opinions of men—of other divines or of their ancestors—but the mind of Christ. As he is set to enlighten them, so a part of his duty is to rectify their mistakes, and, if he sees them out of the way of truth or duty, to be a voice behind them, saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it." Hence, if what he offers to exhibit to them as the mind of Christ, be different from their previous apprehensions, unless it be on some point which is established in the Church of God as fundamental, surely they are obliged to hear him. If not, there is an end at once to all the use and benefit of teachers in the church in these respects—as the means of increasing its light and knowledge, and of reclaiming it from mistakes and errors. This would be in effect to establish, not the word of Christ, but the opinion of the last generation in each town and church, as an immutable rule to all future generations to the end of the world. Thus it would evidently be the duty of a people to their pastor, in such a case, if no such important act of theirs with respect to him, as their rejecting him from being their pastor, depended upon it. But when they are proposing to withdraw themselves wholly from him to cast off all the bonds of their covenant with him, to withhold his maintenance, casting him and his family on the wide world, and to renounce all the obligations and duties which they owe to him as their pastor; and their doing this depends on their judgment of the doctrine, which he offers to preach to them, as the mind of Christ; for them resolutely and finally to refuse so much as to give him a hearing, is one of the most flagrant instances of injustice, in a people towards their pastor, which perhaps has been heard of in these parts of the world.

"Surely, the state of things among a people, cannot be regarded as ripe for such important proceedings as these, till they are in a capacity to act in them understandingly, and as knowing what they do. But it is obvious that this cannot be, until they have given their pastor a fair hearing; nor can they ever be regarded as having prepared themselves for thus rejecting their pastor, as having no farther concern with him in a pastoral relation, until they have first discharged the debt or obligation due to him as their pastor; and this cannot be done, until they have heard him, until they have heard what he offers to teach them as the mind and will of Christ, have heard what he has to say for himself in this matter, wherein they are offended with him, as supposing that he fails to perform the duty of a minister of Christ towards them.

"This Church, in its first establishment, held the very principles for which I now contend; but Mr. Stoddard was of a contra-

ry opinion, and from the pulpit he freely and abundantly delivered what he supposed to be the mind and will of God. And was it ever doubted, whether the people were obliged to give him a hearing? In the days of Mr. Mather, the Church was *Congregational* in its principles and practice. Mr. Stoddard was a *Presbyterian*, and abundantly preached his Presbyterian principles; and did any body doubt of their obligation to hear him? Yea, it never entered into the hearts of the people, that any proceeding of theirs, so important as their rejecting him from being their minister, depended on their judgment of his doctrine.

"That my people have never given me a fair hearing on the point of controversy between us, is exceedingly apparent.

"They have never generally read the work, which I have published on the subject. This is publicly confessed. Only twenty copies have been procured. Many of those who might have read even these, have showed an utter aversion to reading it. One of my most strenuous opposers declares, that the people are in no way to be informed of the reasons of my opinion, for two years to come; while others have asserted, that they are never likely to be generally informed. Numerous witnesses declare, that some have altogether refused to read it, and that others have said, that they would not even let the book come into their houses. If the Council are at a loss on this point, or any one should call it in question, I suppose there are numbers present, who can say enough with regard to it, to satisfy any reasonable person.

"From the Narrative which has been given, the Council also see how stiffly and inflexibly the Committee, and the people, have ever declined hearing the reasons of my opinion from the pulpit, when proposed from time to time, before the printing of my book, and since; and how they have been so much engaged in the matter, that they have repeatedly refused to have the question, whether it was reasonable and best that I should preach upon the subject, submitted to the neighbouring ministers, or to any Council whatsoever. Before the publication of my pamphlet, they would not consent that I should preach, on the ground that it was best I should publish; and now I have published, they will not read.

"Finally. Though I have often desired it, they have never given me an opportunity to state the reasons of my opinion, even in private conversation.

"Thus, the great part of my people have refused to give me any hearing at all, or to suffer themselves to be informed in any way whatsoever, of the reasons of my opinion. Nay, they have industriously guarded against it, as what they have so much dreaded, that they would by no means allow of any advice, or any thing which they thought might open a door for it; but have been engaged to have me hastily thrust out, before there should be any farther opportunity for the people to be informed, lest it should make some

proselytes to my sentiments, and thus divide the people, and make parties among them. If this be not a violent proceeding for a Christian Church towards their pastor, I never expect to know what is. Herein, they have not only violated the rules of christian charity and gentleness, and acted inconsistently with moral righteousness, but very inconsistently with themselves. They themselves, from the beginning, have implicitly acknowledged, that I had a right to be heard by them, and that there was a necessity that the people should in some way or other be informed of the reasons of my opinion. If there was no need of this, then what need of their desiring me to print my reasons; and what need of their meeting together in July, to see if they should wait any longer for my book; and what need of their desiring Col. Dwight to enquire when the books were likely to be done, and to send them word; and what need of their determining, if the books were likely to come speedily, that they would wait for them; and what need, after the books came, of their forbearing to act for about two months?

"It may here be said that, although the people in general have not read my pamphlet, yet most of the leading men in the Church have read it. To this I answer; If I have a right to be heard by some, I have a right to be heard by the body, of the people. What need of any being informed, if there be no need of the people in general being informed? If one can be justified in refusing to read or hear, why not another; and why may not every one be justified, in refusing to hear or read a word. And thus, why might not the people have thrust me out immediately, as soon as they knew my opinion, without giving me any opportunity to print or speak any thing for myself? The controversy on this subject, is between me and the Church, and not between me and the leading men of the Church; and if I have any right to be heard at all, it is by them with whom I have this controversy. It is not merely the leading men, but all the brethren, who are to have a hand in the act of the Church, which must make way for a dissolution of my pastoral relation to them, if it be dissolved. They have lately, expressly and deliberately refused to leave the government of the Church to the leading men, in a public formal consideration of the matter; but would have it in the hands of the whole Society. If others beside the leading men are not set aside as cyphers in *acting*, with regard to my being turned away, they ought not to be set aside as cyphers in *learning* and *judging*.

"The grand reason continually urged and insisted on, why my reasons should not be heard from the pulpit, has been—*That there was danger of its making parties in the town.* Now I beseech the reverend Council to consider, for a moment, what sort of an objection this is.—The very reason, why it is thought just that a person, in a cause in which he is liable to suffer, should be allowed to

plead his own cause, is—that he may have fair opportunity, before he suffers, to convince others that his cause is good. What a strange reason then is it, why a man in such a case should not be allowed to plead his own cause, and why his plea should not be heard,—lest some of those to whom he offers his plea, should be convinced that his cause is good. So unreasonable is this opinion, that the very end of a man's pleading his cause, and the very thing which is the sole ground and reason why it is accounted fair and just, that a man should be allowed to plead his own cause, viz. a fair opportunity to convince others that his cause is good—is by the people made the main objection why I should not plead my own cause—viz. because if I do, there will be an opportunity, and so a possibility, of convincing some that my cause is good.

"The case would be the same, if it were a cause, on the issue of which my life depended, and the people, as at present, before a hearing, were generally united to condemn me. In that case, on hearing my plea for myself, the people might be divided. This discussion might occasion parties, and unhappy contentions. This is not only possible, but often has actually been the case, with regard to the execution of persons in a public capacity. How often have cities and nations been set into a ferment on such occasions. Must we therefore say, that the suspected person shall have no hearing, because the people—the judges on whose voice in the case his life depends—are united in condemning him; but there is danger of their being divided, if he is allowed to speak for himself.

"And besides, my people, in the very making of this objection, are condemned out of their own mouths. The objection, in the very terms of it, is an implicit acknowledgment, that there has been as yet no sufficient trial, what the minds of the people would be, on a fair and full hearing of what I have to say for myself—yea, a confession that they suspect, and that very strongly, that the opinions of many, if I should have a full hearing, would be far otherwise than now. For, if not, how would the people, after hearing me, be divided into parties, any more than they are now? But if, as they thus confess, there has been no sufficient trial, what the minds of the people would be after a full hearing, certainly there ought to be a sufficient trial, and they ought not to strive to hinder it; for in striving to hinder it, they do directly and avowedly strive to have me condemned and turned out of the ministry, and with my family deprived of maintenance, without a fair and proper trial; which is certainly the most barefaced injustice.

"But it may be asked—"Why did not you preach? Who has hindered you? If you have a right to preach, why did you not use your right, without waiting for the consent of the people?"—To this question, I have several answers.

"1. When, for the sake of peace, I have repeatedly proposed to the people that, with their consent, I would preach upon the sub-

ject, they have, as I just observed, uniformly refused it; and have also refused, from time to time, even to submit the point, whether it was reasonable that I should preach upon it, to the neighbouring ministers. After such refusals, this question should scarcely be asked, and certainly not by my people.

"2. The state of the people has been most obviously such, that, if I had taken any opportunity on the Sabbath, without their previous consent, it would have been the occasion of tumult on that holy day, to the extreme dishonour of Christ, and wounding the interests of religion. Noise and uproar have risen to such a height already, that I cannot think that it was my duty, or that it would have become the prudence and moderation of a minister of the Gospel. It would have had the appearance of great strenuousness; and I thought it better that the people should first be prepared by the advice of a Council, which would greatly tend to prevent the mischievous effects.

"3. If I had appointed Lectures, there was not the least probability that the people would have attended them. Of this the Rev. Council will be satisfied, by considering the account they have had of their conduct.

"On the whole, I thought it the most prudent course to wait for a more favourable opportunity.

"It may be said, That the people are the more to be justified in rejecting me, and turning me out from my office, without hearing me, because I was settled on the contrary principles.

"I answer, That this objection can be of no force, unless they mean by it, that I settled on Mr. Stoddard's judgment as my rule. If I did, I did not settle as a minister of Christ, but as a minister of Mr. Stoddard. Even if it had been so, that I had settled in this manner, on Mr. Stoddard's principles, this was one which I found among his principles, which he expresses in one of his works in these words—"He, who believes principles because our forefathers affirm them, makes idols of them; and it would be no humility but baseness of spirit, for us to judge ourselves incapable of examining principles which have been handed down to us. If we are any wise fit to open the mysteries of the Gospel, we are capable of judging in these matters."

"It was implied in my ordination vows, that I would study the Scriptures; that I would make the word of God, and not the word of any man, my rule in teaching my people; and that I would do my utmost to know what was the counsel of God, and to declare it. This was implied in my covenant with God and the people at my settlement; and it was implied in their covenant with God and with me, that, in my so doing, they would diligently and impartially hear and examine what I should offer to them, as the counsel of God.

"It is said, That Mr. Stoddard would never have consented to my settling here, if he had foreseen that I should so differ from him in my principles. To this it is sufficient to reply, that he

doubtless would have been as much against it, if he had foreseen in me any such departure from his principles, as has actually taken place in the church since his death, with regard to Church discipline. I had as much reason given me by the church in my settlement, to depend upon it, that they would allow me the same power in church government, which I yielded to Mr. Stoddard; as they had to depend upon it, that I would allow them the same open door to the Lord's table. The church allowed Mr. Stoddard a negative; and never, so far as I have heard of, disputed it, at least never in the then existing generation. Now they greatly find fault with me for claiming it, and have departed to the length of Brownism. They have as properly departed from the principles on which they settled me, as I have departed from those on which I accepted a settlement.

"If the objection should arise in the minds of any of the members of the Rev. Council,—That, if I should be allowed to preach my doctrine to my people, there might be some danger of infecting neighbouring churches; I hope I need not say much in answer to such an objection. Plain justice must not be hindered and suppressed, for fear of some imagined accidental inconveniences. The wiser Heathen could say, "FIAT JUSTITIA, RUAT CŒLUM."—The neighboring ministers have as much liberty to preach and defend their principles, among their people, as I desire to have among mine, and can do it with far greater advantages than I expect to enjoy. Doubtless they will use this liberty, and would take it ill if any one should attempt to restrain them. And I trust they are very willing to do to others, as they wish others to do to them.

"II. That the state of things is not ripe for calling the proposed Council, is apparent from the frame and temper of mind which my people have hitherto been in, and especially of late.

"I am sensible that an Ecclesiastical Council, in their advice, are not to proceed by any uncertain conjectures concerning the secrets of men's hearts. But yet, in adapting their advice to the state of a people, they doubtless are to have a regard to those things which are visible and notorious. What the temper of the minds of this people, at least of the governing part of them, has been hitherto and especially of late, has been as manifest, as any thing concerning the state of a people can be. It cannot be hid: it must needs be visible to all around us. It is manifest, not only from the customary conversation of the people in private houses, but from the whole tenor of their public proceedings—from the methods which have been taken, from the measures adopted, from the proceedings of Church meetings, and Precinct meetings, and their Committees, from the speeches which have been publicly made, and the acts which have been publicly done. It would occupy a great deal of time to set forth all the particulars. But this is needless; as the Council has heard the Narrative of our proceedings up to this day.

"The temper which the people have manifested, I humbly conceive, ought to be the more observed by the Rev. Council, and to have the greater influence on their determination, because I have never offered this people any provocation; unless yielding, and condescending, and taking the utmost care to avoid offending them, has been a provocation. I have sought peace, and pursued it, and have striven to my utmost to avoid occasions of strife. I never have clogged them in any reasonable proceeding in this affair, though against myself. I told them long ago, even at the very first interview with the church,—*That, if they insisted on calling a Council immediately, who should have power to finish our whole controversy, I would not oppose or hinder it, though I could not advise to it.* I have yielded to them, from time to time, in every thing, wherein I could do it with a good conscience. That after examining the subject by the aid of the sacred Scriptures, in the best manner I am able, I have adopted, and still hold, the sentiments which I have publicly professed, with regard to the Qualifications for full communion in the Visible Church;—and that too, with the fullest expectation of being driven from my ministerial office, and stripped of a maintenance for my numerous family;—I admit. Whether in all this I have acted in the fear of God, with a good conscience, and in the integrity of my heart, this Rev. Council may judge. This one thing excepted,—if it be an exception,—I have given my people no sort of occasion, in any respect whatsoever, for any violent proceeding, or the least vehemence; unless yielding and submitting, for peace sake, be just warrant for their insulting me the more. For evidence of all this, I appeal to the Narrative of our proceedings, which has been read here publicly, in the hearing of you all.

"Now I think the temper and frame of mind, which my people discover, and their violent manner of proceeding hitherto, must lay a bar in the way of taking the important step of dissolving the relation between me and them for the present; and that on two accounts:

"1. Such a temper and frame is, manifestly, utterly inconsistent with a proper and just hearing, and considering, the reasons which I have to offer for myself, in that thing which is the grand controversy between me and them. So that if it could be proved, that they had all read my book through, which it is apparent they are far from having done, yet merely in this, they do not discharge themselves. They ought to give a fair hearing at least, with some degree of calmness, candor and coolness of consideration; but from facts, which are open and public, it is evident that they have been notoriously far from it. Hearing, in a high degree of fermentation of mind, manifested by continued outward irregularity and precipitation of proceeding, is no fair hearing, and ought not to stand for any thing, or to be regarded as any hearing at all by wise and just judges. Hence it is most plain that my people are now bound

to give me a fair hearing, before they can justly demand a dissolution of my pastoral relation; and with equal clearness is it manifest, that means must first be used with them, to bring them to another temper of mind, before any such demand can be heard or accepted.

"2. It is in itself utterly unfit and unbecoming in a christian church, to proceed to an affair so deeply affecting their spiritual welfare, as the dismission of their pastor, in such a temper of mind: especially of one who has been so long their pastor, and between whom and them such a state of things has subsisted as between me and this people. The Apostle says to the Church of Corinth, "Let all things be done with charity;"—and surely it is unbecoming churches of the Lamb of God, to manage their religious affairs of the greatest importance, in a ferment and tumult; which ought to be managed with great solemnity, deep humiliation, submission to the awful frowns of heaven, and humble dependence on God, and with fervent prayer and supplication. But for a church to undertake such an affair, in such a manner as this, will be most unbecoming the Gospel, greatly to the dishonour of God and religion, and eminently calculated to prevent the divine blessing.

"The reverend Council will also perceive, that the consequence of my being driven away in this manner will be in many respects exceedingly pernicious.

"1. It would be a great and most extensive injury to the credit and interest of religion. For the story to be circulated, that the people of Northampton,—a people heretofore so often and remarkably distinguished by the divine favour,—drove away their minister in the midst of so much heat and contention; I need not say how it will wound religion abroad.

"2. It will be a great wrong to this Church; not only as they will thereby bring guilt on themselves, but will exceedingly wound their own reputation and interest in the country, and render difficult the future settlement of the ordinances of the Gospel among them.

"3. It will be a great injury to me.

"4. If the people are countenanced in these measures by a Council, so far as to advise to such an issue, which the people seek with such a temper, and in such a tumultuous manner; it will in its consequences be a great injury to other churches and ministers, as it will directly encourage similar proceedings in case of differences between minister and people. This case is likely to be very famous; the eyes of the whole country are greatly drawn upon it, to observe the management and issue of it. It will be likely to be long remembered, and will therefore be so much the more likely to be of extensive and lasting influence as a precedent.

"Hence I humbly conceive that there is no ripeness in the present state of things, for any immediate measures, in order to bring

about this event, unless violence of spirit and of conduct be regarded as the ripeness of a christian church for managing their religious concerns of the most solemn nature, and of the greatest importance. Indeed this seems to be the notion, which many of the church have had, of such a ripeness, from their earnestly driving the matter, at the last Precinct meeting, to have me voted out of town before this Council assembled; i. e. to have it voted, that the people desired that I should be gone,—so that the Council might see that they were ripe. But I trust that this reverend Council have greater wisdom, than to entertain the same notion of a ripeness for such a proceeding; and I humbly conceive that they will see it to be indispensably necessary, that first the utmost endeavours be used to bring the people to juster views and a better temper, before they advise to any steps in order to an immediate separation. And I beseech the Council to use their utmost and most prudent endeavours, that, if finally we are separated, we may part with one another fairly and peaceably.

"I also request of this reverend Council that they would do me the justice in their Result,—not merely to advise the people *disjunctively, either* to read my book, *or* to hear my reasons from the pulpit;—but to give it as their opinion that *I have a right to preach*, and that, if I do preach, *the people are obliged to hear me.* I humbly conceive, that this will be no more than the case requires, for three reasons:

"1. If such disjunctive advice be left, it will not tend so much in any measure to ripen our affairs for an issue; for then indeed they will neither hear me preach, nor be likely to read my book. It will be said that the number of copies is small. The disinclination is great. It will be supposed that the Council do not wish a very strict scrutiny, whether they have read it or not. The whole matter will be left at loose ends, and in great uncertainty. Thus it will tend greatly to embarrass our affairs, and lengthen out our controversy.

"2. My people complain, many of them, that on this subject they cannot understand me. Now if, unawares, I have spoken to them a language they cannot understand, let me have an opportunity to explain myself. Surely it will not be proceeding with christian moderation and charity—to say at once, "You have been mistaken in your manner of pleading your cause; you have spoken to us inadvertently, so that we have wholly misapprehended your meaning; but since you have thus failed of making us understand you, your mouth shall now be stopped, and we will give you no farther opportunity to speak for yourself."

"3. I ought, before I leave this people, to whom I have so long stood in such a relation, to have an opportunity given me, to leave with them a testimony for myself, in that matter which proves so great an offence to them, not only with those who are in the

Church, but with others, both male and female, to whom I have stood in so sacred a relation, of whom it can never be expected, that they should generally read my pamphlet. The laws of nature, and the laws of Christ, require me to love this people, to whom I have been so related, and to value their charity and esteem. I have reason also to think, that there are many of my spiritual children, who are God's dear children, in this congregation, who now entertain hard thoughts on account of my opinion. Now I ought not to be driven from hence, without opportunity to exhibit a testimony for myself before them, and so with the people at large. When I have done so, I demand nothing of them but an impartial hearing. I desire not to lord it over their consciences. They have a right to judge for themselves, and may use what means they please, to see the strength of arguments on the other side, by reading books, or conversing with ministers who differ from me in judgment.

"I humbly trust therefore, that this reverend Council will not fail to leave behind, in their Result, *a direct and full expression of their judgment on this important point.*"

"After the Agents for the Church had replied to these remarks, the Council adjourned. The next morning, I delivered in to the Council the following writing:

"I the subscriber do make the following declaration and offer:—That if my people, being so advised by the Council of Churches now sitting, will hear me deliver the reasons of my opinion from the pulpit, and consider further of the matter in controversy between me and them until the spring, when it shall be comfortable travelling, laying aside all public agitation until then, and then desire a Council of Churches in order to bring our controversy to a final issue; and will consent, being also so advised by this Council, that I shall have an equal hand in the choice of the Council with them, and that I should go out of the county into the other parts of New-England for my choice; and this Council, on a full hearing and thorough consideration of our case, can find out no way for a composition or accommodation, either by satisfying my conscience in yielding some points to the people, or by making them easy in some things in a compliance with me, or any other way which the Council in their wisdom may devise; but the people shall, after all, declare their unwillingness that I should be their pastor; I will declare it before the Council as my desire, that the people should be left entirely at their liberty, as to my continuing their pastor; and will move it to them to gratify the people's desire, in dissolving my pastoral relation to this Church,—provided the Precinct will first engage to free me from rates,—and will, the Council so advising, resign my pastoral office.—This is that, to which I humbly propose and desire this reverend Council to ad-

vise this people to consent; withal strongly advising, that, in the mean time, quietness and peace be maintained, and jangling agitations and public proceedings, tending to enkindle or uphold strife, be laid aside; and that the Lord's Supper be restored, if the people can find it in their hearts freely to consent to it, on the advice of the Council; and that this Council also endeavour to find out a way, that those, who are able and willing to make a profession of godliness, may be admitted into the Church, in a way consistent with a good conscience in both pastor and people; and that all parts of the public service of God be quietly, steadily and regularly, upheld and attended.

"JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"*Northampton, Dec.* 27, 1749."

"The Committee or Agents of the Church were allowed some time to consider of this proposal, and were afterwards heard in their objections against it.

"The next day, Dec. 28, the Council drew up and declared the following Result."

[A blank was left here, for the insertion of the Result of Council, but it was not filled. I have sought in vain for a copy of the Result of this Advisory Council; and have been able to ascertain, only, that they recommended,

That there should be a restoration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper;

That Pastor and People should converse freely together, about the point in controversy;

That there should be no *public* proceedings of any kind whatever, relative to the point in controversy; and that they also expressed the opinion,

That the Church Committee opposing Mr. Edwards' delivering his principles from the pulpit, was one probable occasion of the great uneasiness, and dissatisfaction, which had arisen between the pastor and the people.]

"Then the Council adjourned themselves to the first Wednesday in February, 1750.

"The next Sabbath, Dec. 31, I publicly read the Result of the Council to the whole congregation, and declared a readiness on my part, to comply with that result; and desired the Church to take the subject of the restoration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper into their consideration until the next Sabbath, when I proposed to put it to vote in the Church, Whether the Lord's Supper shall be administered the Sabbath following.

"The next Monday, being Jan. 1. 1750, the Precinct met again according to adjournment, and having understood that the Rev.

Peter Clark of Salem Village, had undertaken to write an Answer to my book on Qualifications for Communion, they determined to write to him, desiring him to expedite what he had undertaken. They also chose a Committee to converse with me, pursuant, as they supposed, to that clause of the result of Council, wherein they advise that the pastor and people should converse freely together, about the point in controversy. The Committee chosen, were Ebenezer Pomroy, Noah Wright, Dr. Mather, Roger Clap, Increase Clark, Deac. Cook, and Ebenezer Hunt. The Precinct meeting adjourned themselves to Monday, Feb. 12.

"Deac. Cook came to me that evening, and informed me of the appointment of this Committee, and of their design of coming to converse with me, the Wednesday following. I objected against it as a *public* proceeding, and so plainly contrary to the advice of the Council; but told him that I would nevertheless take the matter into consideration, until the next evening, when I would send him my thoughts and determination on the affair in writing. Accordingly, the next evening I sent him the following letter:

"To Deacon Noah Cook, in Northampton.

"On mature consideration I am confirmed in the same mind, which I expressed the last night, concerning the Committee chosen to confer with me. It appears to me altogether of the nature of a *public* proceeding, with respect to the present controversy. The appointment and choice of the Committee was a public proceeding. The Committee are the representatives of a public society. And if you come and confer with me, as a Committee of the Precint, you therein act in a public capacity, in the name and behalf of the Precinct; and all from beginning to end will be a public proceeding, and so plainly contrary to the advice of the Council. The appointed interview of the Committee with me cannot be understood otherwise, than as a meeting appointed for a public dispute; for though the whole parish will not be actually present, yet they will be present by their representatives, and it is to be a debate or discourse managed in behalf of the whole. The Committee are to hear my arguments, in some sort, as the ear of the society, that the whole may be influenced by it; otherwise I do not see how they can, in hearing, act in behalf of the Precinct; and if they do not act in behalf of the Precinct, how do they act as a Committee for the Precinct. This I think is not a reasonable way of proceeding, for the information of the whole parish, not tending to light and peace but the contrary, and contrary to the express words of the Council's advice, and disagreeable to the plain design of it—tending to supersede and set aside the thing at which they aimed. Therefore I must decline conferring with such a body of men together, chosen

as a Committee of the Precinct; but stand ready at any time to confer with freedom and friendliness with each of these brethren, or any others, coming in a private capacity, and in their own name only.

"I am your friend and servant,
"for Jesus' sake,
"JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"*Northampton, Jan.* 2, 1750."

CHAPTER XXII.

Adjourned meeting of the Preparatory Council.—Remarks of Mr. Edwards on the question, Whether he ought not to go out of the County, in the choice of the Final Council.—Council refuse to express their opinion on this point.—Mr. Edwards' Lectures on Qualifications for Communion.—Attempted interference of neighbouring Clergy.—Difficulties relating to choice of Final Council.—Choice of that Council, May 3.—Meeting and Result of that Council, June 19.—Protest of Minority.

On Wednesday, Feb. 7, 1750, the Council met again, and the subject of the pastor's going out of the County, in the choice of his part of the Decisive Council, was again very largely debated before them, by the Pastor, and the Committee of the Church, and also by some private members of the Church. Mr. Edwards' remarks upon the subject were as follows:

"If I should attempt to prove that a vicinity of churches have no jurisdiction over particular churches within their bounds, established by a universal, unalterable rule, which ought never to be dispensed with, in any case whatever; I presume this Rev. Council would regard the attempt as wholly impertinent—a needless burdening them with proofs of what nobody would ever dispute. I shall therefore take it for granted, unless it shall be questioned, that the rule of confining Councils to a vicinity, is only a general rule, from which exceptions are to be made in cases especially requiring it. Hence the only question is, Whether this be such a case or not?

"In order to determine this question with clearness and certainty, we must, as I observed at the session of the Council in December, previously ascertain what will be the *business* of the proposed Future Council. The *business*, obviously must determine the *qualifications;* and if, on a strict comparison of business and qualifications, it be found that a different Council is really requisite, from that which may be constituted of churches of the vicinity; then it will follow that a different Council must be allowed, and cannot be denied; and that, whatever may be said of any customs of churches, or of any parallel customs with regard to civil tribunals; the nature of this particular case must be looked into, and that, and that alone, must determine the matter. What the nature of the case requires, that the law of reason and justice requires, and that the Law of God requires.

"If I may be allowed to recapitulate very briefly some of the remarks then made, in order to refresh the memories of the Council, I observe, That the business of the Future Council will not be, to decide, *Whether my opinion, On the Qualifications for Communion, is right or not?*—because we know the opinion and practice of every man, who will be chosen, before he comes. Nor will it be, *Whether I shall remain the minister of Northampton, if, after all proper steps are taken to effect an accommodation, the people still desire my dismission?*—because, when that shall have been done, I will trouble no Council any farther, than barely to give me leave to relinquish my pastoral office. But their business will be to decide, 1, *Whether they ought not to make some attempts to effect an accommodation of our difficulties?* and, if this be decided in the negative, 2, *Whether all has been done by both parties, which justice requires to be done, previous to a separation?* and, if this be decided in the affirmative, to state in their result, 3, *What are the grounds of my dismission; how far I am innocent; and how far I may be recommended, as deserving future employment in the ministry.* If this Rev. Council will closely consider the matter, they will easily see that these things must constitute their business.

"And if this be so, the question,—What qualifications does this business require?—amounts to simply this.—Is Impartiality, as to the two contending parties, a qualification absolutely necessary in those who are to judge between them?—To determine this, let each of the points, which must be submitted to the Future Council, be viewed. If means of accommodation are to be used, ought not those, who are to act as *mediators*, to be *in the middle* between the parties to be reconciled. If they are to judge with regard to the mutual rights and claims of the two parties, and to decide whether each has done all that the other may fairly require, previous to a separation; does not settling points of equity, between two parties at variance, require even balances. And if they are to pronounce before the world, on the conduct of the pastor in this controversy, as well as on his general character; may he not justly demand that the tribunal which is to do this shall be impartial?

"If these things are plain, and I cannot but think that every person of sober thought will own them to be self-evident; then the only things to be determined are these two, 1, What constitutes an essential defect of impartiality as to the two parties in this case? 2, Whether the defect can be supposed to belong to a Council constituted of the churches in this vicinity?

"As to the first point, it must obviously be admitted, to be a radical defect in the impartiality of the Council, if the members of it are *all on one side*, or are all known to side with one of the parties against the other, on the main point in controversy. What can be more plain than, that a balance cannot be even, and therefore

cannot be fit to adjust matters of equity between two parties, if all the previous weight is in one scale. And is it not equally evident that a Council, who are all on one side in the controversy, are not *in the middle* between the two parties, as mediators to reconcile them. And since a Council cannot in this case be obtained, that is impartial as to individuals, because all the members are chosen, and chosen with reference to their opinions; it is plain that the consistory ought to be so constituted, that one part may balance the other. If we cannot find a balance, which has no previous weight in either of the scales, yet surely we should seek one which has not all the weights in one scale, but equal weights in both, that the balance may be even.

"I need not remark again, that mankind in general, both the wise and unwise, are liable to the strongest prejudices against the persons and conduct of those around them, who differ from them in matters of religion; that this is as true with regard to points not fundamental, as with regard to those which are; that it is especially true, when the controversy is at the height of agitation; that it is pre-eminently true with regard to those, who are the movers and managers of the controversy; and that nothing, from age to age, has been found to excite prejudices equally strong with this. These points are too clear to admit of denial or doubt. Hence, if the future Council be all on one side, as to the main controversy between me and my people, it is an apparent and sensible defect of impartiality; and of course, it is most unrighteous to confine the other party to such a Council, and oblige him to be judged by them and no other.

"As to the other question, Will a Council, taken wholly from the County, have this defect?—it is a fact perfectly known, that the ministers and churches of the County are almost universally against me on the point, which now divides me and my people, and makes us two parties. Perhaps there may be one or two ministers who are partly of my mind; but then their churches are all of a contrary mind, and on the same side with my people. I suppose that there is not more than one minister fully of my mind, with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and not one church of my mind with regard to either of the sacraments. Of course, a Council cannot be obtained wholly from within the County, without the forementioned essential defect.

"It having been thus established, as I humbly conceive, that the future Council cannot be qualified for the business which will be laid before it, unless it is strictly impartial; that an impartial Council cannot be chosen, unless I am permitted to select from beyond the limits of the County of Hampshire; and that to deny me this liberty, would therefore be direct and palpable injustice; I shall proceed to remark on some of the objections which are brought against this measure.

"It was urged at the former sitting of the Council—"That if there actually is a jurisdiction over particular churches and ministers, established in a vicinity, the reason alleged cannot be a sufficient reason for an exception; and that, if there is no such jurisdiction actually established by agreement, yet if there ought to be, it alters not the case. For, if it ought to be established, we may fairly look upon it as really established in the law of reason; and, if so, this case has nothing in it to require an exception from such a jurisdiction, any more than a case growing out of any other error, fundamental or non-fundamental. If a church should complain of its minister for turning Arminian, and all the ministers and churches of the vicinity were Calvinists, it is said he ought not therefore to be allowed to go from the vicinity, to get half of the Council of his own opinion, in order that it might be impartial."—In answer to this objection, I would observe,

"1. That in order to judge of its force, the business of the future Council must be kept in mind. And I hope it will be remembered, that the business of the Council will not be, to try me with regard to my opinion respecting the qualifications for communion, to find me guilty or not guilty, or to justify or condemn that opinion. The fact, that a difference of opinion, on this point, subsists between the pastor and church, will indeed be taken into consideration, as well as the question, whether on the whole it is best that we should be separated: but doubtless they would regard it as useless and impertinent, to try me on the question, *Whether this opinion is Heresy or not?*—In such a case, they would be called to try a minister as a delinquent; to examine the fact; and openly to censure the doctrine.

"If this were the business of the Council, it might make a great difference as to the manner in which it ought to be constituted; for the case of such a minister would be like the case of a person accused of some crime for which he was to be tried. In such a case the impartiality requisite is impartiality as to the *fact*, but not as to the *nature of the crime*. Thus, if a man were accused of drunkenness, the judges ought to be strictly impartial as to the question, —*Whether he was guilty of the Fact?* but not as to the question, *Whether drunkenness be a Crime?* The crime they ought to abhor, and such abhorrence renders them not the worse but the better judges. Virtue of course prejudices men against vice; and the more virtuous judges are, and the more zealously opposed to vice, the fitter are they to be judges of vicious persons. Hence in such a case, it would be ridiculous for the accused to insist that half his judges should be men who approved of drunkenness—and that, whether there were any established jurisdiction or not. And it would not alter the case, whether it were proposed that his judges should be of the vicinity, or brought from some other continent. From whatever places collected, they ought all in strict justice to

be men, who had an entire abhorrence of the crime of drunkenness.

"The seeming force of this objection, arises from a confusion of thought in those who urge it, in losing sight of the real point in question, in forgetting the proper business of the future Council, and inadvertently supposing it to be like that of judges who are called to try a criminal. The question of Fact, *Whether I hold a given opinion?*—will not come up before them: It is admitted beforehand. Neither will the question, *Whether that opinion be Heresy?*—no man pretends it. That opinion will not be presented to them as a crime or fault to be judged and punished; but merely as the ground of an alleged difference of opinion between pastor and people. It is not on the merits of the cause, i. e. of my opinion, that they will decide, but on the case of difficulty, growing out of a difference between that opinion and the opinion of my people; and, as was observed before, they will be called to act as mediators between the disagreeing parties, to settle matters of equity between them, and to judge of the character and conduct of the pastor with regard to the controversy. And with regard to all these points, it has been shown, that to be on either side, has a most obvious and powerful tendency to bias the mind against the other.

"That the seeming force of this objection, in the minds of those who urge it, arises from losing sight of the true state of the case, and the proper business of the Council, is obvious from the very example adduced by way of illustration, viz. That in a civil action, it is no valid objection against the justices of the vicinity, who have an established jurisdiction, that their opinion on a given point of law is already known:—because in the present case, the business of the future Council will not be, to try the merits of the cause, or to judge whether my opinion be agreeable to the Law, that is, the word of God, or not. And with respect to this example, I would further observe the following things.

"1. If it were really so, that the proposed Council were to judge the very merits of my cause, that is, the soundness of my opinion, the instance adduced would not be at all parallel, or of any force in the present argument. Let the case be put thus: Suppose a man has done something towards a given individual, which many regard as a breach of law, exposing him to be disfranchised; and the question turns on a point of law, which has long been matter of warm controversy among judges and jurists; and suppose there is no stated tribunal, but it is the custom of the country, in cases of controversy, for each party to choose half of the judges; and it is known that there are as many jurists on one side, in the controverted point of law, as on the other; and there is no appeal from the tribunal chosen, but their judgment will be final;—Would it not be reasonable in this case, if one party chose half of the judges favourable to his side of the question, that the other should

choose the other half favourable to his side; and that, although all the jurists of the immediate vicinity were opposed to him. If one party had actually chosen his half of the judges who were all on his side, would it not be mere mockery to tell the other party that he also might have the liberty of choosing half of the judges, as well as his adversary, but only he must choose all of them from the side which were opposed to him. Now this is precisely my case. Councils are elective, and to be appointed by joint or mutual choice, according to uniform practice. This has been the practice of both parts of this county. It was pursued in the lower part of the county, in the case of Mr. Allis; and in the upper part of the county, in the case of Mr. Rawson, in the Council of May 3, 1737, of which I was the Scribe, and have the original papers now by me, as well as in the subsequent Council convened at the same place. My people too, do not pretend that any stated Consistory exists, or that the Council is not to be elective. They offer me a choice of one half of the Council, but only would confine me to Churches and ministers of their opinion.

"2. In civil affairs, appeals are allowed from the justices of the county, to others, who come from a distance, appointed without any regard to vicinity; and the determination of those more remote judges supersedes and sets aside that of the judges from the vicinity. Indeed, many important cases are carried directly to those more distant judges, without suffering the judges from the vicinity to meddle with them, any further than to refer them to the judgment of the distant judges; and that too, on account of the great importance of the case. And so it would be here, in our ecclesiastical affairs, if we had regular inferior and superior tribunals, like those of Scotland.

"3. Difference of opinion on a mere point of law, has very little tendency to prejudice the mind against the persons and conduct of others, compared with difference of opinion in matters of religion. No one will dispute the fact, that the latter has in all ages excited the deepest prejudices in mankind, against each other. But who ever heard of such prejudices and alienations in individuals, in parties, and in nations, merely because they differed in opinion on a point of law.

"4. Civil tribunals are not appointed to act the part of mediators between contending parties; except in cases of arbitration, in which each party has equal liberty of choice. Their office is to see that the laws be executed; and there is not therefore the same necessity that there should be some of the judges on each side, as in the present case.

"But to return to the objection itself. It is asked, If a minister should be complained of by his people, for embracing Arianism, or any other heresy, or for turning to another denomination, for example to the Church of England; and a Council should be required to

adjust the difficulty; why might he not in such a case, as well as in the present, insist on the liberty of going out of the county, to get half of the Council who embraced the same heresy, or who belonged to the Church of England, that they might be impartial? To this I answer,

"1. In such a case, the Council would not come together to consider the question, Whether the individual, if he had embraced the alleged heresy, or had changed to another denomination, might be lawfully continued as the minister of a Congregational Church? This point is settled before hand. They would come simply to find, Whether the charge against him was true, or false? Hence I suppose, that the following will be found, on the most careful enquiry, to be the reasons, and the only reasons, why he could not claim to have some of the judges of his own side.

"(1.) Because, in the case of acknowledged Heresy, those who are on his side are not fit to be members of the Christian Church. Fundamental errors are scandalous; and the Church cannot therefore, consistently with their own profession, call such, as constituent members of a Christian Council, and leave their ecclesiastical affairs with those who embrace them. For they, who are not duly qualified to be members of the Christian Church, cannot be fit members of a Christian Council, to direct and manage the affairs of the Christian Church. Or,

"(2.) Because in the case of turning to a different denomination, that of the Episcopalians, or the Anabaptists, the individual is now *statedly* of a different communion. For, although christians of these denominations may *occasionally* and *transiently* join with Presbyterians and Congregationalists in some parts of worship; yet, as to what is *stated*, there is a division openly established. It is a point perfectly settled, that, as to their stated worship, and their ecclesiastical proceedings, they must act apart. And there would be an obvious inconsistency in a Church employing those, who are already of a distinct sect, and have no ecclesiastical connexion with them, to order and settle their ecclesiastical affairs.

"These I suppose to be the only reasons, why it is not proper that a minister, who embraces heresy, or joins another denomination, cannot choose from his own side half of the Council; which is convened, not to judge of his doctrines, or to mediate, or do justice between the parties, but to investigate an alleged fact, and on finding it, to vacate the office; unless, in such a case as that of embracing Popery, there might be this additional reason against Papists being allowed to sit on the Council,—That Papists are bound to injure, persecute and destroy the Protestant Church, as much as in them lies; and we cannot be bound to entrust our affairs to those, whose avowed design it is, before hand, to injure and destroy us.

"2. The reason, why a minister in such a case may not go out

of the vicinity, to get half of the Council of his own side, is, not the existence of any established jurisdiction, or of any established rule respecting the vicinity, or the county, but of a totally different nature; as will appear from a slight examination. Suppose a minister settled over an orthodox Church to turn Arian, and all the Churches and ministers of the vicinity to be professed Arians; it is admitted, not only that the Church are not bound to the vicinity, but that the minister has no right to choose from it, because the vicinity are all unfit to be of any Council. So if he should turn Episcopalian, and all the vicinity are Episcopalians; it is a point conceded, that the Church is not limited to the vicinity, and that the minister cannot choose a single member of the Council from the vicinity. Vicinity, therefore, makes no alteration in these cases; which demonstrates the objection to be wholly without force; for it plainly shows, that it is not any established right in the vicinity, which is regarded in the cases alleged. On the contrary, it is the nature of the case in itself considered, and that alone, which governs in this matter, and sets aside all considerations of vicinity; which is the very point that I have asserted and urged. For I have insisted, all along, that the nature of this case, as it is in itself, must be considered; and what that demands, must be allowed as wholly paramount to the bare circumstance of neighbourhood. So that this objection, carefully examined, oversets the position it is brought to prove, and establishes and demonstrates the grand point on which I insist.

"3. It is the Natural Right of the people, and their Liberty of conscience, and not Vicinity, which governs in the instances alleged. But in the present case, as it is not an established jurisdiction in the vicinity, so it is not the rights of conscience, which should confine me to the county; and therefore nothing at all. It cannot be the rights of conscience, which should confine me; for it is as much against the rights of conscience for me to choose ministers of my own opinion in the county, as out of it. The thing, which invades the rights of conscience, if they are invaded at all, is not the circumstance of nearness, or remoteness, but my having a part of the Council of my opinion, whether brought from the vicinity or elsewhere. But it has never been disputed or questioned, that I have a right to choose half of the ministers and churches of my opinion, if I can find so many within the county. And my people have urged that some of the ministers in the county are of my opinion, and that I may choose them as far as they go; though I must not go out of the county. Now let us turn the tables and suppose that all the churches and ministers in the county were of my opinion; would I not have liberty to choose my half of the Council from the vicinity, any rights of conscience in the people to the contrary notwithstanding? Certainly all, who would allow me any liberty of choice at all, must admit this. So that it

is in effect granted, that it is neither any right of jurisdiction in the vicinity, nor any right of conscience in my people, which ought to confine me to the limits of the county in my choice. And what then, I ask, beside these two things can be conceived of, which ought thus to confine me?—I am not aware of any fallacy in this reasoning, and I wish it to be examined to the bottom.

"4. If there be any such thing as an Established Jurisdiction in the churches of the vicinity, either by argument, or the word of God, or the nature of things; then it will follow that all our ecclesiastical judicatories must be stated, and not elective. For if there be a settled power or right of jurisdiction, then the subject of this power, or the body in which it inheres, is also settled. If it be settled at all, it is settled some where, or in some subject; and that subject of course is not left at loose ends, to be determined from time to time by the choice of the parties concerned. But such an established jurisdiction as this, has not been pretended nor acted upon, either by this church, or by any of the neighbouring churches or ministers; but the churches and ministers of this neighbourhood have proceeded on the contrary principle, very lately in various instances; for they have acted in Councils convoked by election without an objection, or even an intimation that any established judicatory of the neighbourhood ought to have been convoked. Why then should any such establishment be first mentioned and insisted on in my case; where, as we have seen, it works the grossest injustice? That usually it is convenient and proper that Councils should be of the neighbourhood, I freely acknowledge; but that there has been any such uniform usage, as establishes the right now for the first time pretended, I utterly deny; and from those who assert it, I unhesitatingly demand the evidence. No such established jurisdiction,—established either by agreement, or custom, or the law of God, or the law of reason,—was ever maintained, either in our day, or the days of our fathers. In the days of our predecessors in the ministry in this county, nothing like it was known; for Mr. Stoddard, and Mr. Williams of Hatfield formerly went, when invited, to a Council at Norwich in Connecticut, and, if I mistake not, to another Council at Lebanon; which surely they would not have done, if they had thought the law of God and nature settled such an establishment in vicinities. And if any such thing be now insisted on, in order to limit me to the vicinity, it will in fact be a new rule, unheard of until now, invented for my case, to deprive me of my plain right,—in a case, which has much more that is peculiar to require an exception from such a rule, than other cases in which it has never been pretended.

"If it should be insisted, that the Council ought not to be elective at all; but that we should take the churches as they come; or that we should take the whole county;—though this is a point not referred to this Council,—I observe, that it will be the first instance

of objecting to an election, where the question has been the dismission of a minister, certainly during the present generation, and, as I suppose, since the county was formed. In the case of Mr. Allis, the Council was by joint choice, as was that in the case of Mr. Rowson. In the latter, of which I was the scribe, the question was, Whether Mr. R. was qualified for the work of the ministry as to his learning, his orthodoxy and his morals; the Council was called by mutual election; Mr. Williams of Hatfield, and Mr. Chauncey, were members; and no person thought of objecting against the mode of convocation as irregular or improper. In the second Council, in the case of Mr. Rowson, the churches of the Association were indeed convoked; yet it was by a free mutual agreement on prudential considerations merely, and not with reference to any supposed rule binding them to it; as I know from a particular and full enquiry. Elective Councils and not Stated ones, have hitherto been made use of in all parts of the county, both in settling, and in unsettling, ministers. Very lately, Mr. Webster was settled in the upper part of the county, by an elective Council; and the election was not confined to the county, for only two or three were taken from this county to join others from abroad; although it was known beforehand that it was a matter of dispute whether he ought to be settled. Hence most evidently, if it be now insisted on as a rule, that the members of a Council must be of the county; it will be *a new rule* introduced for my sake.

"And if my church should now insist upon it, which they have never yet done, that we should convoke a Council of all the churches of the county, without distinction, it would be peculiarly injurious in my case, not only because they embrace the opposite opinion to mine in the present controversy, but because it is well known that numbers of them have manifested a particular dislike of me:—some, on account of the supposed rigidness of my Calvinism; some, a dislike more directly personal, in consequence of my disapproving of their settlement; and some, in consequence of the disputes which have arisen, respecting the late religious excitement throughout New-England. These dislikes I do not wish to revive and establish, by being obliged to object against them by name, as improper members of a Council in my case. Still such things may most reasonably be considered in the present affair.

"With regard to the objection,—*That this Church, thirty-five years ago, voted to be subject to a Council of the churches of the County;*—if it has any seeming force, I desire that it may be brought to the test of an exact enquiry, in order to determine whether it is now obligatory on the church of the present generation, or whether it is null and void. It is certainly one or the other. It is either in force for the existing pastor and members, or it is not. It is either alive, or dead. If it be alive and in force, then the whole of it is alive; but if it be not alive, then it is dead as to every

part of it; and we are obliged to observe none of its premises, except as the laws of God and nature, independently of that vote, bind us to observe them. Now the question,—*Whether that vote is dead or alive?*—is easily resolved; and depends on the resolution of another question, viz. *Whether, on Protestant principles, the determination of ancestors, as to matters of religion and the worship of God, binds future generations, without their consent, either express or implied?*—The present members of this Church, at least *nine out of ten*, are a new generation. As to any *express* confirmation of that vote, it is notorious that there has been no such thing. As to any *implied* confirmation of it, if there has been any, it must have been by conforming to it in practice. But this, to my knowledge, has not been done by the present church of Northampton. Since I have been their pastor, they have uniformly, in their practice, implicitly rejected and annulled it; and that not merely in circumstantials, but in the substance and main scope of it. The thing mentioned in the vote is a Council of *Churches* and not of *Ministers*. The first Association of Ministers in this county, was formed some time after my settlement. Yet this church never convoked a Council of *Churches*, in this generation, until now.—The main design of that vote, too, was to have a Stated Judicatory, and not an Elective Council, according to the Presbyterian principles of Mr. Stoddard; yet this main design has never been regarded, but wholly counteracted. So that it is evident to a demonstration, that this church now has no such constitution, and that the ancient vote is in fact dead. The neighbouring ministers and churches, also, have customarily neglected and counteracted that old argument of some of our forefathers.—If it is now held to bind this church, it will be the first time during the present generation. It will be revived out of the dust purely for my sake, after it has been long dead and buried; which will be tantamount to making a constitution to meet my individual case. If that vote be really no establishment for us, then I am bound by no part of it; and, if so, no argument ought to be drawn from it with regard to any thing either less or more pertaining to the present case.

"It is objected, That the present Council can have no reference to any supposed business of the future Council, except that mentioned in the votes of the church—to judge whether pastor and people shall be separated;—and that they are simply to determine what sort of Council is proper to do that business. To this I answer,

"1. The business, expressly mentioned in the Vote, will not depend on judging the correctness of my opinion on the Qualifications for communion; but on judgment of the rights of the people as to liberty of conscience, and of the rights of the pastor as to what he can fairly demand of the people; and so will consist in settling points of justice between the parties.

"2. The business, expressly mentioned in the vote, does certainly imply what is necessarily connected with it, considering the state of the case; and so must therefore be considered by this Council as implied in that business. Considered thus, it includes all the three things, which were first mentioned. If a surgeon is sent for to judge, whether a limb shall be amputated, the message implies that he is to judge, Whether amputation may not be dispensed with; if not, Whether it shall take place immediately or be postponed; and if so, In what manner it is to be done, with the least injury. In the same manner, the expression in the vote of the church cannot be understood, to limit the business of the decisive Council, any further than to their doing what is proper for a Council to do, which is called on the business expressed in the vote.

"It is objected that, if diversity of religious sentiment, on account of the prejudices which it usually occasions, disqualifies men from being judges in an Ecclesiastical controversy, in the case of those who differ from them, then it also disqualifies them from being judges in a Civil controversy; and of course, that the judges of our courts in New England, being chiefly Congregationalists, would be improper judges in any case where either of the parties was an Episcopalian, an Anabaptist or a Quaker; and that the justices in England, being all of the Church of England, would be improper judges of Dissenters.

"Answer. If there were no Judicatories in the nation, but merely justices commissioned to be convoked for each cause, by the election of the parties, and there were as many lawful justices on one side as on the other; it would obviously be most just for one party to be allowed to chose as many on his side, as the other on his;—especially if the controversy were of a religious nature, and the conduct to be judged of, had reference to that very question in which the judges differed from each other. For example, suppose the Test-Act were taken off in England, and half of the justices were Dissenters, and in all controversies the common law of the nation gave each party the right of choosing one half of his judges; and suppose that a controversy arises between an Episcopalian and a Dissenter, concerning the Dissenter's turning Dissenter, and writing in defence of Dissenters, and endeavouring to propagate Dissent, and that the point to be judged of is the conduct of the two parties in the management of this controversy, and the Episcopalian has chosen half of the judges, who are on his side; would it not be equitable that the Dissenter should choose the other half of his side: especially if a part of the business of the judges was to act the part of mediators.—I readily admit that, in deciding religious controversies, the judges actually employed have, in point of fact, been usually all on one side; and the well-known effect has been the grossest unrighteousness, and the most violent persecution. This has been true in Romish, and Lutheran, countries, as well as

in England, and Scotland, and almost every where, as every one acknowledges.

"Two or three of the objections, touched upon at the former sitting of the Council, deserve some additional comments.

"It was objected that, on this plan, *There can be no defence against error, because a minister can find some who will justify his opinions;* as I am said to have asserted in my Remarks on the Springfield controversy. To this I reply

"1. In this objection, the actual state of the present case is wholly forgotten; for, as has been often observed, the Council will not meet either to justify, or to condemn, my opinion, whether it be truth or error.

"2. What I assert, in my remarks on that controversy, is merely this,—*That, if one party is allowed to choose all his own judges, there can be no defence against error.* And I say the same now; and it is very true, that if one party has all the judges on his side, there can be no defence for the other party, against error, or injustice, or any thing else that is bad, because such a Council must of course be partial. What I there assert, therefore, instead of being inconsistent with what I now urge, establishes my grand point, and overthrows the very position it is brought to prove, viz. *That all the Council ought to be on one side.*

"3. All the force in the objection, if it has any, lies—not against my going out of the county for a choice, but—against my having any choice at all, that is, against any elective Council whatever. For, if a minister has any advantage in his choice to defend himself in error, it arises from his having liberty to choose half his judges, and not from the place where they are chosen, whether in or out of the County. The rule of confining him and the church to the county where they live, will no more defend the truth than expose it. It will do one or the other just as the county is. If the churches of this county had happened to be of my side, this rule would have defended me in my supposed error, and would have disabled the church from defending themselves just as much, as going out of the county will now. Indeed the rule would more generally expose orthodox churches than defend them, for there are more erroneous vicinities in the world than orthodox ones.

"It may be objected that, by thus insisting on the liberty of going out of the county, I cast a reflexion on the neighbouring ministers, as though they had not honesty enough to do me justice. To this I answer that, if any individual is in circumstances, which powerfully tend to prejudice his mind in favour of, or against, either of the parties in a given case; it is no reflexion on him to object against him, as improper to be employed as a judge in that case. Thus, if a man is nearly related to one of the parties; or where a town is a party, and he is an inhabitant of that town; he cannot sit as judge or juror in such a case. But there is far more reason to

object against all the judges being wholly on one side, to judge of the conduct of two parties in a religious controversy, than to object against near relations; as will appear if we consider two things:

"1. Men are as prone, in religious differences, to favour their own party, as they are to favour their near relations. This is true all the world over, in every age, with both learned and unlearned, that men are friends to their own party, and commend their persons and justify their conduct. How widely different are the opinions of two opposite parties of the same points of conduct. Thus, how different are the opinions of Presbyterians from those of Episcopalians, concerning the conduct of the Presbyterians in the time of the Long Parliament; and so I might adduce innumerable other instances.

"2. Difference in religious sentiments excites one kind of prejudice which nearness of relation does not; for, though the latter prejudices us in favour of those who are related to us, yet it does not prejudice us against those who are not related to us; whereas we are not only prejudiced in favour of those who agree with us in sentiment, but we are strongly prejudiced against those who differ from us. And the strongest prejudices ever known in the world have arisen from this cause. Hence the question, with regard to the neighbouring ministers and churches, is not, whether they are just and upright men, but whether these circumstances naturally tend to bias them in this controversy. If they do, then it is obviously against the plain rights of mankind, to oblige me to be judged only by them.

"It was objected, *That, to allow me to go out of the County, will be a bad precedent, and greatly expose the peace and good order of the County, in its ecclesiastical affairs.*

"I desire this objection to be thoroughly examined; and we shall be able to determine whether it has any force by resolving these two questions: 1, Whether the rule to confine Councils to a vicinity, be so universal and unalterable, that it is absolutely without exceptions, and ought never to be departed from in any case, ordinary or extraordinary; and if not; then, 2, Whether this case be so far an extraordinary one as to require an exception from the general rule.

"As to the first of these questions, I should affront this Rev. Council by suggesting that any one of them would affirm it; for it would contradict their own practice and that of all our churches; as well as the sentiments which they have advanced respecting the Consociations in Connecticut.

"The only remaining question is, Whether this case be so far extraordinary, as to require an exception from the general rule. And if the Council will reflect on what has been said, it will I think be plain to a demonstration, that the most obvious rules of justice do absolutely require it. We are two controverting parties, and we want a

council, because we want judges to judge between us; and for what, unless to do justice between us. We want a balance to weigh both parties; and is it not essential that the scales be even? If both parts of the Council are all on the side of one party; is it not evident that the scales are not even? Why then oblige me to be weighed against the other party, when their scale is so much the heaviest before we are put into the balance. It is the law of God, *Thou shalt have a just balance;* and his strict injunction, *That, which is altogether just, shalt thou follow.* The prudence and justice of this Council teaches them in other respects not to give one side an advantage above the other—particularly not to hear one side in the absence of the other; to have the same rules respecting evidence for both; and to give each equal opportunity to plead his own cause. Now if justice require, that such an exact equality be maintained in *circumstantials*, how much more does it require that, in a point so essential as the choice of the *Tribunal* which is to decide the main controversy, there be a perfect equality, and that neither party be allowed to have all the judges on his own side. How highly my people estimate the advantage of having all the judges on their own side, is abundantly evident from their strenuous and persevering efforts to secure it; and if it be so great an advantage, why should we not be placed on the same footing? My people have never pretended, that I ought not to choose half of the Council; nor have we submitted the question to this Council, whether our case shall be referred to the whole county, without any choice in the case. I say, we have not submitted this question, because it was never once mentioned, and I suppose never entered into our hearts. I am sure it did not into mine. This point was never controverted between us; and it is absurd to suppose, that we summoned a Council of Churches to decide a point, which we had never even once disputed, but had always been agreed in. That I should have a choice in the Council, was fully admitted by the Church; and the point debated between us was, Whether I should go out of the county in my choice? But if I be allowed a choice as well as they, why should I not be allowed to choose those who are on my side, as well as the Church those who are on their side. To deny me this, is utterly inconsistent with the pretence of allowing me a choice; for the pretence is an equality of advantage, or an equal chance for justice. To allow me an equal choice, is an implicit acknowledgment that I am in justice entitled to an equal advantage; but to tie me up to judges who are of their opinion, is grossly inconsistent with this acknowledgment. To tell me with a great show of fairness, "You shall stand as good a chance for justice as we; you shall choose one half of the Council, and we will choose the other;—but then we will choose those who are on our side, and you also shall choose those who are on our side, and opposed to yourself on the main point in controversy;" is only

mocking and insulting me. This Council, in their former Result, intimate, that a part of the business of the future Council will be, to endeavour to reconcile us; and, in the very nature of the case, the Council, which comes with power to separate, must have power to decide, Whether the separation shall be immediate, or, Whether it is not their duty to act as mediators, and attempt a reconciliation. And what is more obvious to common sense, than that a mediator should be impartial; one in whom both parties confide, and have an equal interest. If it be lawful to compare little things with great ones, did not the Most High himself, when he was pleased to appoint a Mediator between God and man, take care that he should partake of both natures, to qualify him for that office?

"And, besides the grounds already mentioned, requiring an exemption from the ordinary rules of proceeding, this case is in other respects extraordinary, not merely in some of its circumstances, but in its very nature; so much so, that no such case, I apprehend, has occurred in New-England, or even in the Christian Church. The proposed Council will convene to decide on a new question—a question which I suppose was never before submitted to an ecclesiastical tribunal. And certainly, in the decision of such a case, it cannot but be allowed, that a number of the senior ministers of the country should be engaged.

"The circumstances of the country ought also to be considered; we having no appeal from one Council to another. Such a state of things makes a great alteration, as to what is reasonable in many particular cases, and requires some things to be allowed, which need not be allowed, if here, as in Scotland, we could appeal from the Churches of the Vicinity to those of the Province, and ultimately to the Assembly of the whole Nation. It is a strange way of arguing, that, because there *ought to be* a regular establishment in the country, we ought therefore to bind ministers and Churches to the same measures as if there *were* one; and yet not allow them the privileges which an establishment secures, and which alone can render those measures tolerable. If we had a regular establishment, there would be here, as in Scotland, no elective Councils. There would have been none of late in Hatfield, nor in this town, in the case of Mr. Hawley. Yet, as we have no establishment, every one allows the necessity of such Councils in many cases; and the same fact involves us in the necessity of going out of the vicinity, because we have not the right of appeal.

"On the whole, admitting it to be a good general rule, *That Councils should be selected from the neighbourhood*, no reason, can be assigned, why this case should not be exempted; unless we take the broad ground, that no exemptions from general rules shall ever be allowed, however just, expedient and necessary in themselves, for fear of a bad precedent. But was this broad ground

ever taken, or can it ever be observed in human society? No such uniform observance of general rules was ever known in our ecclesiastical concerns. It is a general rule, that the alleged delinquency of a private brother, ought first to be tried by the church; yet the church may refer it directly to a Council, as was lately done in Hatfield, with the approbation of the Churches, and with no fear of a bad precedent. And with regard to this very point, to go from the vicinity in the choice of Councils, so far from being a new thing, has been customary, where the peculiar circumstances of the case required it, and that not only in this province, but even in Connecticut. The aggrieved party at Goshen, in their controversy with Mr. Heaton, passed by the Consociation to which Goshen belongs, and summoned a Council from the remote parts of Connecticut, by the advice of Col. Williams of Wethersfield, and of the Rev. Mr. Williams of Lebanon. Mr. Searl, also, neglecting the Consociation with which Sharon is connected, by the advice of the best judges, summoned a Council, to settle him at that place. But what I desire, is, not to go from the vicinity in a neglect of the Churches of the vicinity, but to select half the Council from abroad, first asking the leave and approbation of these Churches.

"As to the danger of this case being pleaded as a precedent, for the same liberty in ordinary cases; the danger is less, than perhaps in any other case, because all the world regard this case as wholly new and extraordinary.

"And it is a great mistake, that an exemption from a general rule, in a singular case which imperiously requires it, tends to weaken that general rule. The very contrary is true, that to grant the exemption strengthens, and to refuse it weakens the rule; for the injustice which men suffer by an over exact observance of the rule, is ascribed to the badness of the rule itself, and thus we are inclined to renounce it. The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Connecticut has of late been evidently weakened, by thus overstraining the general rules; and to refuse reasonable exemptions, where plain justice requires them, will tend to deter the country from ever coming into a regular establishment.

"If then the whole matter be duly weighed by this reverend Council, I cannot but think they will judge, that no ill consequences will follow from granting me this equal liberty of choice, which I claim as a matter of obvious justice; and that there will be many good consequences:—as there will be opportunity to obtain a just and impartial Council, by bringing the whole of the Consistory to a proper balance; as we shall be able to employ a number of the senior ministers, and gentlemen of chief note in the country, in determining this new and extraordinary affair; as there will be a proper Consistory, to attempt a reconciliation between the parties; and as the proceedings will be better stated abroad, and more to the satisfaction of the world.

"I beseech the reverend Council not suddenly to pass over these things, but to weigh them with thorough deliberation. I trust to their justice, that they will use great care and diligence, that there be no unequal and hard dealing as to the terms I am bound to, in the hearing and determining this affair of such vast importance."

"After the preceding Remarks had been submitted by the Pastor; the Committee of the Church, and some of the private members of the church, addressed the Council on the same subject; when, after long consideration, the question being put, the members of the Council were equally divided upon it; and the following writing was drawn up by them and read to the Pastor and Church Committee:—"

[The blank left in this place for the writing is not filled up.]

"Several of the members of the Council did then, as christian friends, advise, that Pastor and People, should, in this affair, condescend to each other, each departing in some degree from what they had insisted on; that the Pastor should no longer insist on going out of the county for half of the Council; and that the people should not insist upon his being confined wholly to the county, but that they should consent that he should go out for a minor part, the major part of the Council being of the county. This seemed to be the coucurring sentiment of the members of the Council, and this reason was given why it was not voted in Council, that they did not look upon finding out any such expedient for an accommodation.

"I then manifested before the members of the Council my disappointment, in that the Council had never given their judgment, *Whether it was the duty of my people to hear the reasons of my opinion from the pulpit;* although that matter had been particularly debated before them. Upon which one of them, viz. Mr. Partridge, replied, That although the Council had said nothing expressly about that matter, yet there was something in their Result, which was drawn up at the first sitting of the Council, which was supposed to be a sufficient intimation of the mind of the Council, *that my people ought to hear me*, viz. that passage, wherein they speak of *the Church Committee opposing my delivering my principles from the pulpit, as one probable occasion of the great uneasiness and dissatisfaction, which had arisen between the Pastor and the People.*

"I then made a declaration before the members of the Council, and also in the presence of the Committee of the Church, to the following purpose: "I judge that there is a great prospect of our controversy issuing in a separation between Pastor and People; and, on long and mature consideration, I have determined that I

cannot leave this people, without first making trial, *Whether my people will hear me give the reasons of my opinion from the pulpit*, unless I am advised to the contrary by a Council; being fully persuaded, on the best enquiry I can make, that a very great part of the people have never read my book, nor have by any means been informed of my reasons, and are not likely to be informed in any other way than from the pulpit. However I am willing to refer this matter to this Council, as a case of conscience to be resolved by them, *Whether I have a right to deliver my reasons from the pulpit, or not?* and, if they determine that I have not, I can be easy to forbear."

"On hearing this, the Council at first talked of desiring to be by themselves, to consider of this matter. But it was presently said by some of them, That it was a matter, which was indisputable, that I had a right, and a right which I ought not to put out of my hands, and ought not to leave the matter to any Council; and so they put by the thoughts of entering into any particular consideration of the subject. Upon which I declared, That I judged that I had a right to preach on the subject on the Sabbath; but, that I might do it in the way which would least offend, I would first make trial whether my people would hear me on Lectures appointed for that end, and that I proposed to have my first Lecture the next Thursday, Feb. 15, at 2 o'clock, P. M.; and, if I found that my people would not hear me on Lecture days, I would reserve liberty to myself to do it on the Sabbath. None of the members of the Council said any thing by way of objection against any part of this, which I had thus declared.

"The next Sabbath, at the conclusion of the afternoon exercise, I informed the Congregation of this which passed before the members of the Council and the Committee of the church, viz. of this declaration which I then made; and renewed my declaration of preaching Lectures, and appointed the first Lecture to be the next Thursday.

"The next day, Monday, Feb. 12, the Precinct met according to adjournment, and a vote was passed, by a small majority, to choose a Committee to come to me, and desire me not to preach Lectures on the subject in controversy, according to my declaration and appointment. They proceeded to choose Deacon Cook, Deacon Pomroy and Capt. John Lyman for this purpose, and then adjourned themselves to the first Monday in March.

"The Committee that was chosen, came to me the same day, at evening, on their appointed errand. But, after considerable discourse with them, I informed them, that I could not think I should be in the way of my duty, without preaching my appointed Lectures to such as were willing to hear me.

"Accordingly the next Thursday, Feb. 15, I preached my first Lecture, which was thinly attended by own people; but there were

present a very great number of strangers;—I suppose much more than half the Congregation;—which was partly owing to the fact, that the County Court was then sitting. And I would observe, by the way, that the justices of the Court adjourned themselves to attend my Lecture; which greatly provoked the Clerk of the Court, and occasioned his uttering himself very openly and publicly in some very harsh expressions, wherein he called me a tyrant, one who lorded it over God's heritage, etc.

"The next Saturday, Feb. 17, a little before night, came to me Dea. Cook and Dea. Pomroy, and told me, that it was the desire of some of the brethren of the church, that I would stay the church the next day, to see if the church would not call the ministers of this Association, to advise them what course to take under their present circumstances. I objected, That it was but a little more than a week since we had had a Council, who were called on this very business, to direct us how we should conduct ourselves for the present; and that there was nothing remarkable or new in our circumstances, nothing but what was visible to the Council before they went away. And I told them that I was fixed in it, to have no hand in calling any more Councils in our affairs, unless I might have a choice with the people, and might choose some out of the County, and might have some in the Council favouring my own opinion, so that there might be somewhat of a balance in the Council: on which they went away.

"On Monday, Feb. 19, Dea. Cook and some others went round to get subscriptions to a paper, drawn up and directed to the Ministers of this Association, setting forth to this purpose,—That I had been applied to for a Church meeting, to see if the church would not call the Association together for their advice, etc. etc., and that I refused; and that I, at the same time, declared that I never would have any hand in calling any Council in our affairs, unless I might choose one half out of the county, as I had heretofore insisted, and therefore desiring them to come together and give them advice. To this paper they obtained a considerable number of subscribers, so far as I can learn about fifty; and then carried it to the Rev. Mr. Williams of Hadley; who undertook to send to the members of the Association, and accordingly did send to most of them. I saw two of the letters which he sent, which were very much to the same purpose. The following is a copy of one of them:

"The Northampton people are desirous of having some minister preach on the opposite side of the controversy to Mr. Edwards. They have brought an application to this Association for advice, and lodged it with ——; and at their desire, and at the advice of some of our brethren in the ministry, I have written to the ministers, to desire them to meet at my house, on Thursday, early in the morning. I hope you will come, for you can't easily think what posture things are in.

And unless we do concert some measures, we are in danger of being overrun; and Northampton will proceed to extreme measures, being conducted by some gentlemen not over tender of ministers or churches; which may prove of pernicious consequence to us, and all our churches. I have the promise of some gentlemen to come, and hope you will not fail.

"From your brother, etc.

"CHESTER WILLIAMS.

"*Hadley, Feb.* 20, 1750."

"Six of the ministers came together on this notification, viz. Mr. Partridge of East Hadley, Mr. Billings of Cold Spring, Mr. Ashley of Sunderland, Mr. Ashley of Deerfield, Mr. Woodbridge of Hatfield, and Mr. Williams of Hadley. That day, being Thursday, Feb. 22, I had my second Lecture; which was also attended thinly by my own people, but by a great number of strangers: as it appeared to me, more than half of the congregation being strangers.

"In the evening, three of the forementioned ministers came to my house, viz. Mr. Partridge, Mr. Billings, and Mr. Woodbridge; and showed me the paper, which had been lodged with Mr. Williams, directed to the Association, subscribed by a number of the members of this church; and also showed me a vote, which they had passed among themselves—"*That they would proceed to give some advice to the people of Northampton, as they desired.*" I informed them, that there was a great misrepresentation in the paper sent to them, in representing me to have declared—"That I utterly refused to have any hand in calling any Council, unless I might choose *half* of the members out of the county;"—whereas all that I said was—"That I would have no hand in calling any Council, unless I might choose *some* of the members out of the county;"—and that I had no thought of insisting on half, when the Deacons were here; but all I had thoughts of, was only choosing a minor part, agreeably to the private advice of the members of the late Council. After much more conversation with them on our affairs, the next morning these gentlemen returned to their brethren at Hadley; and after long consideration, they broke up and did nothing.

"March 5, the Precinct met again, according to adjournment. This being also the day of the Town-meeting for choosing town officers, the Precinct-meeting was adjourned to the next day. The next day, they met, and adjourned themselves until half past four o'clock P. M. That was the day of my fourth Lecture on the subject in controversy; which being the last I intended but one, and the Public Fast being appointed on the Thursday following, which would put by my last Lecture a week longer, I sent the people word at this meeting, that if they insisted on my calling a Church-meeting, in order to my calling a decisive Council, before

my last Lecture was past, I would warn one the next Monday; though I chose, if they were willing, that it should be deferred until after my last Lecture. Accordingly, they consented that it should be so deferred; and appointed Deac. Cook to come to me, and desire me to call a Church-meeting the week after my last Lecture, and then adjourned themselves to March 22, at half past 4 o'clock, the day of my last Lecture; when they met, and adjourned themselves to April 2, 1750.

"On the next Sabbath, March 25, I warned a Church-meeting for the next day, at 1 o'clock, to see if Pastor and People could not agree upon a Council, to advise us under our difficulties, and, if they thought fit, to bring our controversy to a speedy issue.

"Accordingly, the next day, March 26, the Church met, and, at the request of some of the brethren, I desired that those who were of the same principles, on which the Church had proceeded in their former practice, in the admission of members to full communion in the church, would manifest it by holding up their hands; and it appeared that there was a great majority still of those principles.

"We next proceeded to consider the business on which a Council should be called, and I proposed the following draft of a vote for consideration—"That a Council be called, to give us their best advice for a remedy from the calamities, arising from the present unsettled broken state of this church, by reason of the controversy here subsisting, concerning the Qualifications for full communion in the church. And if, upon the whole of what they see and find in our circumstances, they judge it best, that Pastor and People be immediately separated, that they proceed to dissolve the relation between them."

"There was much discourse concerning this draft. It was read publicly and distinctly, three or four times, and it was desired that each particular passage of it might be considered and scanned. It was offered to such as desired to view and examine it, and handed from one to another. Some amendments were proposed; but the amendments did not seem to be liked so well as the first draft. It was then put to vote; and it was questioned whether it was a vote. Then it was desired that all might sit down, and hold up their hands for some considerable time, and then it appeared plainly to be a vote, was generally acknowledged to be so, by such as had appeared most to oppose it, and was not questioned by more than one or two. And one of them, viz. Major Pomeroy, said it was generally allowed to be a vote, and therefore intimated it to be his mind, that it should pass as such, and that we should therefore proceed to other business.

"Then I declared to the church, what I should insist upon with respect to the Council that should be chosen—viz. To choose half

the members of the Council; and to choose *three* ministers or churches without the bounds of the county, and should not insist on more than three, unless the whole Council consisted of more than *fourteen*. I also told them, that I should insist on a provisional choice of some others out of the county, to come in case any of the three first pitched upon should fail; so that I might indeed have three from other parts of the land.

"It was then strongly insisted on by the Church, that I ought not to be allowed to choose *any* out of the county; so that the consideration of the *number* to be chosen out of the county, was for the present laid aside. And the matter debated was, "Whether I should be allowed to bring *any at all* from without the bounds of the county?" After much talk, it was put to vote in the following words:—"Whether or not you do consent, that in choosing the Council now under consideration, I, in my choice, should go out of this county for any part of the Council? Let those, who do consent, manifest it, by holding up their hands."—It was not voted.—Upon which I told the church, that the business of the meeting was come to an end; as it was apparent that Pastor and People could act in nothing together, in calling a Council. After some discourse, I told them, that I stood ready to yield to have but *two* of the Council from abroad, unless the Council consisted of more than *ten;* but should insist on *three*, if the whole was more than ten, and on *more*, if the Council was above *fourteen*. It being moved by some of the brethren, that the meeting should be adjourned one day, for further consideration; it was accordingly adjourned to the next day, at one o'clock.

"Accordingly the next day we met again; and the last subject of consideration, concerning my going out of the County for any part of the Council, was proposed again; and, supposing they had now had sufficient consideration of the matter, I was about to put it to vote again. But then it was desired by some, that there might be a reconsideration of the first vote that had passed the day before, concerning the business of the Council; and suggested that, if some alteration were made in that vote, there was a probability that the latter vote, concerning my going out of the county, would pass without difficulty. Then Major Pomroy declared that a number of the brethren had met together, and drawn up something determining the business of the Council: which draught he read, which was to this purpose, viz., "That the Council should come, and propose terms of accommodation between pastor and people; to which, if the people did not consent, the Council should proceed immediately to dissolve the relation between pastor and people." I objected much against setting aside what had been already voted, to make way for any new projections, as only tending to open a door for new contests and difficulties, and greatly to entangle and lengthen out our affairs; and also because there was nothing in what had been already voted but

what was essential, what the nature of things and the state of our affairs did necessarily require, and therefore what I must insist upon. And I particularly objected to what Major Pomroy proposed, as limiting the Council, without referring any thing to their judgment or advice, and not so much as suffering them to act their own judgment in determining, whether it was best immediately to proceed to separate between pastor and people. The same things were strongly objected by some others; and on the whole I manifested that I should wholly decline putting it to vote; on which, after much earnest talk, I put the other matter to vote, viz.—Whether I should be allowed to go out of the County for any members of the Council; which again passed in the negative.

"Upon this I informed the Church, that I was not against their having farther time for consideration, if they desired it, and farther conference with them, or with a Committee they might choose; but it would not be worth the while to make any farther attempt to act in concert, if they were fixed and resolved in these two things:—Not to leave it to the discretion of the Council, whether to separate; and, Not to allow me to choose any members of the Council out of the County.—Some of them declared they were fixed in these things; upon which I asked, if any had any thing to object against my dissolving the meeting, seeing we were come at present to a stop, as to acting any thing together; and told them withal that, if afterwards, on further consideration, a church meeting was desired to reconsider these matters, I would not refuse warning one. On this occasion, there was much earnest talk about the power of the Church to act without me, and to call a Council themselves. Finally some of the brethren thought I had best to dissolve the meeting, and accordingly I dissolved it; immediately after which, as the people began to move, in order to go out of the meeting house, some individuals called out very earnestly to them to stay, and proceed to act without me, and see if they could not have Maj. Pomroy's draught, (aforementioned) put to vote. I then came away; and the people that stayed behind differing among themselves, gradually dispersed, and did nothing.

"The next Friday, March 30, 1750, I sent to Deacon Cook the following declaration.

[The blank intended for the copy of the declaration is not filled up.]

"The Monday following, being April 2, the Precinct met according to adjournment. It was a very thin meeting consisting of about forty-four persons. It was proposed by some, that the Precinct should send a Messenger to the Association of the lower part of the County, who were to sit that week at Springfield Mountains, for their advice,—Whether they had best

to consent to what I insisted on, with regard to going out of the County, or not?—and it was put to vote whether they should send such a messenger; but they were not able to determine whether it was a vote or not, until they divided, when it appeared to be voted by a majority of 26 against 18. Accordingly Major Pomroy, Senior, and Mr. Joseph Hawley, were appointed a Committee to write to the Association in behalf of the Precinct; and Josiah Pomroy was appointed the messenger to carry the letter, and bring the return. The meeting was then adjourned until Tuesday, April 10. Accordingly this Committee wrote and sent to the Lower Association.

"On this occasion, the day before the Association met, I sent the following letter to Mr. Hopkins of Springfield.

[The blank left for the copy of this letter is not filled up.]

"The Association, on occasion of the message sent to them, and of my letter to Mr. Hopkins, sent a letter to me and another to the Committee which are as follows.

[The blank left for the copies of these letters is not filled up.]

"Tuesday, April 10, the Precinct met again according to adjournment. It was a thin meeting of about forty-one members. The moderator read my declaration, aforementioned, sent to Deac. Cook, and also the letters of the Lower Association to me and to the Committee; and after some discourse it was voted to desire me to call a Church meeting the next Monday, in order to some farther attempts for an agreement of pastor and people on some measures for bringing these affairs to issue, or that purpose. Then the meeting was adjourned to the next Tuesday, April 17.

"Accordingly the next Sabbath, April 15, I warned a meeting of the church for the next day at 3 o'clock, P. M. Agreeably to this warning the church met on Monday, April 16. After the meeting was opened by prayer, Major Pomroy read the letter, which the Committee of the Precinct had received from the Lower Association of this County. After this ensued some new disputes concerning the reasonableness of my being allowed to go out of the county for some of the Council, which should have power to issue our controversy. I also read the forementioned declaration, which I had sent to Deac. Cook, of March 30. I then told the church, if they had any thing to propose concerning another Previous Council, agreeably to the advice they had received, I stood ready to hear it and consider of it, and told them, if there appeared a disposition to call another Previous Council to determine—*Whether it was not reasonable, that I should be allowed to go out of the county, in the choice of a Decisive Council?*—I would take the matter into

consideration, and would ask the advice of my friends. But, from what was said, there did not appear to be any prevailing inclination to it, but the contrary.

"Then it was put to vote again—"*Whether they were willing I should go out of the County for any members of the Council, which should have power to issue our controversy?*—and the church dividing upon it, there were about one hundred and nine against it, and fifty-six for it.

"After this, I put it to vote,—*Whether the Church were willing, that another Previous Council should be called, in some way mutually chosen, in order to determine whether I might be allowed to go out of the County, for some members of a Decisive Council; and whether in that case they did consent that I should take time to consider of this matter, and ask advice of my friends?*—and I saw but three or four hands up for it. So the meeting was dismissed.

"The next day, April 17, I went a journey down the country. The same day, after I was gone, the Precinct met again according to adjournment; when was read the following Letter from the Rev. Mr. Clark of Salem Village, directed to Major Pomroy, to be communicated to the Precinct.

[The blank, left for the copy of Mr. Clark's Letter, is not filled up. In it he doubtless declined complying with the request of the Precinct to answer Mr. Edward's Treatise on the Qualifications for communion.]

"At this meeting it was determined, That the brethren of the church should be called together by the warning of the Deacons the next Friday; and the Precinct meeting was adjourned to Wednesday, May 2.

"Accordingly, on Friday, April 20, there was a meeting of many brethren of the church, in the meeting-house, in my absence. Maj. Pomroy was chosen Moderator of the meeting; and then they proceeded to take into consideration the propriety and expediency of the brethren proceeding to act separately, i. e. without their pastor, in calling a Council. After some discourse, Mr. Joseph Hawley offered some proposals in writing, which, for substance, were,—*That a number of gentlemen, not exceeding seven, ministers or laymen, or both, should be mutually chosen from any part of the country, to come, not as sent by their churches, or as an Ecclesiastical Council, but as a number of advisers, to see if they could devise some way, in which the Pastor and Church might consist together, notwithstanding their difference in opinion.* And to know the minds of the meeting, a vote was proposed by some; but others objected, and thought it better for the church to choose a Committee to consider of the proposals, and, if they saw needful, to amend it and present it to the pastor, and see if he would agree to it, and,

if he did, then to present it for their approbation. Upon this it was objected, since the proposal took its rise from the church, that it was improper that they should present it to the pastor for his approbation, before it was known whether the church would consent to it or not, if the pastor should. Hence it was urged that a vote should be put, whether the church would consent to it or the substance of it. The vote accordingly was put, and it passed in the affirmative by a great majority, as the moderator declared, and then the brethren present chose a Committee, viz. Maj. Pomroy, Col. Dwight, Mr. Joseph Hawley, Dea. Pomroy and Ebenezer Hunt, to consider what circumstantial alterations might be made in the proposal; and then the meeting was adjourned to the next Friday. The Committee met; but could not agree as to their business for which they were appointed; whether it was to consider of the proposal not only as to circumstantials but also as to the substance; and three of the Committee thought it not best for the church to act any further on the aforesaid proposal, but that it was better for the church to comply with what the Pastor had insisted on, of choosing some of the members of the Council without the limits of the county.

"Friday, April 27, the brethren met again according to their adjournment, and voted, by a great majority, to comply with what I had insisted on, as to choosing some members of the Council without the bounds of the county, and appointed Dea. Pomroy to come to me to desire me to call a church meeting to prosecute that affair. Accordingly the next Sabbath I warned a church meeting, to be the next Thursday, May 3, at three o'clock, in order to another trial, whether Pastor and People could not agree on measures tending to bring our controversy to an issue.

"Wednesday, May 2, the Precinct met again according to adjournment and adjourned themselves further to the next day, at the meeting-house, to be held there after the church meeting.

"Thursday, May 3, the church met according to my appointment, and the former vote respecting the business of the Council, which passed at the church meeting, March 26, was read. Then I proposed that a vote should be put again, respecting my going out of the county for two ministers or churches of the Council; and it was insisted that there should be a saving clause added, intimating that it was not proposed that this vote should be used as a precedent for the future. Then I put the vote to the brethren thus, "Do you consent that, in choosing the Council to transact the forementioned business, I in my choice should choose two ministers or churches without the bounds of this county, not intending that this shall hereafter have the force of a precedent?"—It passed in the Affirmative. Then I desired that I might make a provisional choice of two more, who might be applied to, in case those I might first choose should fail, or could not be obtained. This also was voted.

"Then it was proposed, Whether the Council should be a Council of *Ministers* or *Churches;* and it was determined by a vote, that it should be a Council of Churches. And then with respect to the *number of Churches* of which the Council should consist, it was voted that it should consist of *ten* churches.

"Then we proceeded to a nomination and choice of particular ministers and churches, of which the Council should consist. I first proposed Mr. Billings and the church of Cold Spring, which were voted. Then it was moved that a Committee of the brethren should be chosen to go aside, to consider whom to nominate to the church to be chosen on their part. Accordingly a committee was chosen, viz. Maj. Pomroy, Mr. Joseph Hawley, Lieut. Wright, Dea. Pomroy, and Dea. Cook; and after they returned, we went on with the choice. On the whole, of those whom I nominated were chosen the following Ministers, with their churches:

"*Within the County.*

Rev. Mr. Reynolds of Enfield,
Rev. Mr. Billings of Cold Spring, } with their churches;
Rev. Mr. Abercrombie of Pelham,

and provisionally, in case either of these should fail, the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge of South Hadley, and his church.

"*Without the County.*

Rev. Mr. Foxcroft of Boston } with their churches;
Rev. Mr. Parkman of Westborough,

and provisionally, in case of the failure of these,

Rev. Mr. Wigglesworth of Ipswich Hamlet, } with their
Rev. Mr. Hobby of Reading, } churches.

"By the nomination of the Committee, were chosen on the part of the church,

Rev. Mr. Woodbridge of Hatfield,
Rev. Mr. Breck of Springfield,
Rev. Mr. Hubbard of Sheffield, } with their churches;
Rev. Mr. Williams of Hadley,
Rev. Mr. Ashley of Sunderland,

and for a reserve, in case of failure of either of these,

Rev. Mr. Williams of Long Meadow, } with their churches;
Rev. Mr. Leavitt of Somers,

"Then it was voted, That the day for the opening of the Council should be the 19th of June next.

"Then the brethren proceeded to choose a Committee, to be their agents, to represent them, and manage their cause before the Council; and the persons chosen were Major Pomroy, Lieut. Wright, and Mr. Joseph Hawley.

"Then the church meeting was dismissed, and the Precinct meeting was opened, who determined to defray the charge of en-

tertaining the Council; and desired the Committee of the church to procure some person, either a minister or a layman, to act as an advocate for the brethren and plead their cause before the Council."

Thus far the Journal of Mr. Edwards.

"Accordingly," observes Dr. Hopkins, "the churches were applied to and the Council was convened on the 19th of June. Nine churches were represented by their pastors and delegates: one of those selected by Mr. Edwards, that of Cold Spring, did not see fit to join the Council; but the minister of that church, being at Northampton, was desired by Mr. Edwards and the church to sit in council and act, which he did. Yet, as there was no delegate from that church, the council was not full; and there was a majority of one in the council opposed to Mr. Edwards. After they had made some fruitless attempts for a composition between the pastor and church, they passed a resolution, by a majority of one voice only, to the following purpose: "That it is expedient that the pastoral relation between Mr. Edwards and his church be immediately dissolved, if the people still persist in desiring it." And it being publicly put to the people, "Whether they still insisted on Mr. Edwards's dismission from the pastoral office over them?" a great majority, (above two hundred against twenty,) voted for his dismission." Accordingly on the 22d of June the Council came to the following result:

"The Result of a Council of nine Churches, met at Northampton, June 22, 1750; with a Protest against the same, by a number of the said Council.

"At a Council of nine Churches, viz.

"The church in Enfield, Rev. Peter Reynolds, pastor; Mr. Edward Collins, delegate.

"Sheffield, Jonathan Hubbard, pastor; Mr. Daniel Kellogg, delegate.

"Sutton, David Hall, pastor; Mr. Jonathan Hall, delegate.

"Reading, William Hobby, pastor; Mr. Samuel Bancroft, delegate.

"The first church in Springfield, Robert Breck, pastor; Mr. Thomas Stebbins, delegate.

"Sunderland, Joseph Ashley, pastor; Mr. Samuel Montague, delegate.

"Hatfield, Timothy Woodbridge, pastor; Oliver Partridge, Esq. delegate.

"The first church in Hadley, Chester Williams, pastor; Mr. Enos Nash, delegate.

"Pelham, Robert Abercrombie, pastor; Mr. Matthew Gray, delegate.

"Convened at the call of the first church in Northampton, to-

gether with the elder of the church in Cold Spring,* added by the consent of both the pastor and church of Northampton, in order to advise to a remedy from the calamities, arising from the unsettled broken state of the first church in Northampton, by reason of a controversy subsisting about the qualifications for full communion in the church.

"The Rev. Mr. Hubbard was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Mr. Williams, Scribe.

"The Council, after seeking the Divine presence and direction, had the matter in controversy laid before them, and finding the sentiments of the pastor and church, concerning the qualifications necessary for full communion, to be diametrically opposite to each other; the pastor insisting upon it as necessary to the admission of members to full communion, that they should make a profession of sanctifying grace; whereas the brethren are of opinion, that the Lord's Supper is a converting ordinance, and consequently that persons, if they have a competency of knowledge, and are of a blameless life, may be admitted to the Lord's table, although they make no such profession: And also finding that, by reason of this diversity of sentiment, the doors of the church have been shut for some years, so that there has been no admission: And not being able to find out any method, wherein the pastor and brethren can unite, consistent with their own sentiments, in admitting members to full communion: The Council did then, according to the desire of the church, expressed in their letters-missive, proceed to consider of the expediency of dissolving the relation between pastor and people; and, after hearing the church upon it, and mature deliberation of the case, the questions were put to the members of the Council severally;

"1. Whether it be the opinion of this Council, that the Rev. Mr. Edwards, persisting in his principles, and the church in theirs in opposition to his, and insisting on a separation, it is necessary that the relation between pastor and people be dissolved? Resolved in the affirmative.

"2. Whether it be expedient that this relation be immediately dissolved? Passed in the affirmative.

"However, we take notice, that notwithsthanding the unhappy dispute which has arisen, and so long subsisted, between the pastor and church of Northampton, upon the point before mentioned, that we have had no other objection, against him, but what relates to his sentiments upon the point aforesaid, laid before us: And although we have heard of some stories spread abroad, reflecting upon Mr. Edwards' sincerity with regard to the change of his sentiments about the qualifications for full communion; yet we have

* The Rev. Mr. Billing.

received full satisfaction, that they are false and groundless: And although we do not all of us agree with Mr. Edwards in our sentiments upon the point, yet we have abundant reason to believe, that he took much pains to get light in that matter; and that he is uprightly following the dictates of his own conscience, and with great pleasure reflect upon the christian spirit and temper he has discovered, in the unhappy controversy subsisting among them; and think ourselves bound to testify our full charity towards him, and recommend him to any church or people agreeing with him in sentiments, as a person eminently qualified for the work of the Gospel ministry.

"And we would recommend it to the Rev. Mr. Edwards, and the first church in Northampton, to take proper notice of the heavy frown of Divine Providence, in suffering them to be reduced to such a state as to render a separation necessary, after they have lived so long and amicably together, and been mutual blessings and comforts to each other.

"And now, recommending the Rev. Mr. Edwards, and the church in Northampton, to the grace of God, we subscribe,

"JONATHAN HUBBARD, *Moderator*,

"In the name of the Council.

"*Northampton, June* 22, 1750.

"A true copy, examined by

CHESTER WILLIAMS, *Scribe.*

The vote on this result stood as follows:

AFFIRMATIVE.

Pastors.—Jonathan Hubbard, Robert Breck, Joseph Ashley, Timothy Woodbridge, Chester Williams.

Delegates.—Daniel Kellogg, Thomas Stebbins, Samuel Montague, Oliver Partridge, Enos Nash.

NEGATIVE.

Pastors.—Peter Reynolds, David Hall, William Hobby, Robert Abercrombie, Jonathan Billing.

Delegates.—Edward Collins, Jonathan Hall, Samuel Bancroft, Matthew Gray.

"The dissenting part of the Council entered their protest against this proceeding, judging that it was too much in a hurry, considering the past conduct and present temper of the people. And some part of the Council, who were for the separation, expressed themselves surprised at the uncommon zeal manifested by the people, in their voting for a dismission; which evidenced to them, and all

discerning spectators, that they were far from a temper of mind, becoming such a solemn and awful transaction, considered in all its circumstances."

The following is the Protest of the minority of the Council.

"PROTEST.

"We cannot agree to the dismission of the Rev. Mr. Edwards, at least for the present, for the following reasons: previous to which we observe, that, though we presume not to infringe the rights of others' consciences, yet we beg leave to enjoy our own; and being sought to for advice in the Council at Northampton, we are constrained to say to the church, that,

"1st. We disapprove of the separation of the Rev. Mr. Edwards from his people; because that, in the nature of the thing, there is no just cause therefor; his sentiments being, as we apprehend, perfectly harmonious with the mind of our Lord Jesus Christ, and strictly conformable with the practice of the Apostles, and that of the Reformed Church in general through the world:

"2d. On the supposition, that Mr. Edwards was in the wrong in the present controversy, yet there is, as we apprehend, no proportion between the importance of the controversy, and that of his dismission:

"3d. That it appears to us, that there have been no proper essays, in the way of fair reasoning with or before the parties, to convince either of them of the truth or falseness of their principles; which, love to the truth itself and their souls requires:

"4th. Because the church, or at least its committee, while they offer us reasons for separating them from their pastor, yet will not suffer us so to enter into the grounds of those reasons, as to offer to them that light which the word of God affords: which we esteem an imposition upon our consciences, and which doth but tend to keep them in the dark.

"These, brethren, are some of the reasons, for which we can by no means approve of a separation, at least at present. But if such separation should eventually come on, we bear a free and cheerful testimony in favour of our dearly beloved brother, your once dearly beloved pastor, though now esteemed your enemy, because, as we apprehend, he has told you the truth. He needs not, indeed, any recommendation of ours, which is more properly a commendation of ourselves than of him. Nor need we say much to others, for that his praise is in most of our churches through the land: yet we are constrained to say to the world, that God has furnished him with those ministerial gifts and graces, by which he has hitherto shone as a burning and shining light. And though his people in general cease to rejoice in his light; yet we hope and trust others may rejoice in it, for a long season. So, wishing that the dear people of God in this place, may take the point in contro-

versy into a meek, calm, serious and prayerful, consideration; and that so, peace, with truth and holiness, may greatly prevail in this place;

"We subscribe,

"Yours in the bonds of the Gospel,

Jonathan Hale,	David Hall,
Matthew Gray,	William Hobby,
Samuel Bancroft,	Edward Billing,
	Robert Abercrombie.

"*Northampton, June* 22d, 1750."

' N. B. This copy, though not attested by the Scribe, who is at an hundred miles distance, is yet, by a careful comparing of it with the original, which is now in my hands, attested by me.

"William Hobby."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Result of Council, and Protest, read.—Farewell Sermon.—Postscript of Letter to Mr. Gillespie.—Letter to Mr. Erskine.—Letter to Mr. M'Culloch.—Marriage of two of his daughters.—Forbidden to preach at Northampton.—Exemplary conduct of Mr. Edwards.—Proceedings of his Friends.—Council.—Proceedings of Church.—Letter of Mr. Hawley.

On Friday afternoon, June 22d, 1750, the Result of the Council, and the Protest of the Minority, were publicly read to the people, assembled in the church. On the next Sabbath but one, July 1st, Mr. Edwards delivered to them his Farewell Sermon; which was soon afterwards published, at the request of some of the hearers. This Sermon, with the facts stated in the Preface, is too intimately connected with some of the most important events of his life, and too illustrative of his character, not to be inserted in this volume;* and should be read at this point of the author's history. It has been extensively and deservedly styled, "the best Farewell Sermon, that was ever written;" and has been the source, from which subsequent discourses, on occasions and in circumstances generally similar, have, to a great extent, been substantially derived. Had it been written in the case of an indifferent person, instead of his own, it could not have discovered less of passion, or of irritation, or have breathed a more calm and excellent spirit. Instead of indicating anger under a sense of multiplied injuries, it appears in every sentence, to have been dictated by meekness and forgiveness. Instead of manifesting the signs of alienation towards his persecutors and enemies, the writer appears throughout, to desire their subsequent prosperity, as an ecclesiastical community, and their individual acquittal and acceptance on their final trial. At the same time, it presents an exhibition of the scenes of the Last Judgment, singularly solemn and awful. Few indeed are the compositions, which furnish so many, or so unequivocal, marks of uncommon excellence in their author; and very few are so well adapted to be practically useful to churches and congregations.

The following Postscript to the letter to Mr. Gillespie,† of April 2, 1750, and the letters to Mr. Erskine and Mr. M'Culloch, all written immediately after the separation of Mr. Edwards from his

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* See Farewell Sermon, at the close of the Life.

† For the Letter itself, see p. 237.

people, exhibit also, in a very striking manner, the calm and tranquil state of his mind at the time when they were written.

"P. S. *July* 3, 1750. Having had no leisure to finish the preparation of my letters to Scotland, before this time, by reason of the extraordinary troubles, hurries and confusions, of my unusual circumstances, I can now inform you, that the controversy between me and my people, which I mentioned in the beginning of my letter, has issued in a separation. An Ecclesiastical Council was called on the affair, who sat here the week before last, and by a majority of one voice determined an immediate separation to be necessary; and accordingly my pastoral relation to my people was dissolved, on June 22d. If I can procure the printed accounts from Boston of the proceedings of the Council, I will give orders to my friend there, to enclose them with this letter, and direct them to you.—I desire your prayers, that I may take a suitable notice of the frowns of heaven on me and this people, between whom there once existed so great an union, in bringing to pass such a separation between us; that these troubles may be sanctified to me; that God would overrule the event for his own glory, (in which doubtless many adversaries will rejoice and triumph;) that he would open a door for my future usefulness, provide for me and my numerous family, and take a fatherly care of us in our present unsettled, uncertain circumstances, being cast on the wide world. J. E."

"To the Rev. Mr. Erskine.

"*Northampton*, *July* 5, 1750.

"Rev. and dear Brother,

"I now acknowledge the receipt of three letters from you since I last wrote to you; one of Sept. 12; another of Sept. 20; another of Dec. 22; all of the year 1749. The two first I received in the winter, with Mr. Glass' Notes on Scripture Texts, Ridgeley on Original Sin, Wheatley's Schools of the Prophets, Davidson's Sermon occasioned by the death of Mr. Harrison, and Mr. M'Kaile's Sermon. Your letter written in December, I received a little while ago. I have greatly regretted the want of opportunity to answer you, till now: but such have been my extraordinary circumstances, the multitude of distracting troubles and hurries that I have been involved in, (which I cannot easily represent to you,) that I have had no leisure. I have been very uneasy in neglecting to write to my correspondents in Scotland; and about two months ago I set myself to the business; but was soon broken off; and have not been able to return to it again, till now. And now, my dear Sir, I thank you for your letters and presents. The books you sent me, were entertaining to me, and some of them will be of advantage to me, if God should give me opportunity to prosecute the studies I

had begun on the Arminian Controversy. There were various things pleasing to me in Glass' Notes, tending to give some new light into the sense of Scripture. He seems to be a man of ability; though I cannot fall in with all his singularities.

"The account you say Mr. Davidson gave of the absurdities of the Moravians, are not very surprising to me: I have seen, here in America, so much of the tendency and issue of such kind of notions, and such sort of religion, as are in vogue among them, and among others in many respects like them, that I expect no other than that sin, folly, absurdity, and things to the last degree reproachful to christianity, will forever be the consequence of such things. It seems to me, that enough and enough of this kind has lately appeared, greatly to awaken the attention of christian divines, and make them suspect that the devil's devices in the various counterfeits of vital, experimental religion, have not been sufficiently attended to, and the exact distinctions between the saving operations of the Spirit of God, and its false appearances, not sufficiently observed. There is something now in the press in Boston, largely handling the subject. I have had opportunity to read the MS. and, in my humble opinion, it has a tendency to give as much light in this matter, as any thing that ever I saw. It was written by Mr. Bellamy, minister of Bethlehem, in Connecticut; the minister whom Mr. Brainerd sometimes speaks of as his peculiarly dear and intimate friend, (as possibly you may have observed, in reading his Life.) He was of about Mr. Brainerd's age; and it might have been well, if he had had more years over his head. But as he is one of the most intimate friends that I have in the world, and one that I have much acquaintance with, I can say this of him; that he is one of very great experience in religion, as to what has passed between God and his own soul; one of very good natural abilities, of closeness of thought, of extraordinary diligence in his studies, and earnest care exactly to know the truth in these matters. He has long applied his mind to the subject he has wrote upon, and used all possible helps, of conversation and reading. And though his style is not such as is like to please the polite world; yet if his youth, and the obscurity of his original, and the place that he lives in, etc., do not prevent his being much taken notice of, I am persuaded his book might serve to give the church of God considerable light as to the nature of true religion, and many important doctrines of christianity. From the knowledge I have of him, I am fully satisfied that his aim in this publication is not his own fame and reputation in the world; but the glory of God and the advancement of the kingdom of his Redeemer.

"I suspect the follies of some of the Seceders, which you mention in both your letters of Sept. 20, and Dec. 22, arise in considerable measure, from the same cause with the follies of the Moravians, and the followers of the Wesleys, and many extravagant

people in America, viz. false religion, counterfeit conversions, and the want of a genuine renovation of the spirit of their minds. I say as to many of them, not to condemn all in the gross. The spirit seems to be exactly the same with what appears in many, who apparently, by their own account, have had a false conversion. I am a great enemy to censoriousness, and have opposed it very much in my preaching and writings. But yet I think we should avoid that bastard, mischievous charity, by which Satan keeps men asleep, and hides their eyes from those snares, and crafty works of his, which it is of the utmost consequence to the church of God to discern and be aware of; and by which, for want of their being discovered, the devil has often had his greatest advantages against the interest of religion. The Scriptures often lead us to judge of true religion, and the gracious sincerity of professors, by the genius, the temper and spirit, of their religion: Jam. iii. 17. Eph. v. 9. Gal. v. 19, 25. 1 Col. xiii. 4, etc. Rom. viii. 9. 1 John iv. 16. John xiii. 35. 1 John ii. 10. 1 John iii. 14 and 18, 19, and 23, 24. chap. iv. 7. v. 12, 13, and very many other places. I have been greatly grieved at a spirit of censoriousness; but yet I heartily wish that some sorts of charity were utterly abolished.

"The accounts you give of Archbishop Herring, of the moderate, generous, truly catholic and christian principles appearing in him, and some other of the dignified clergy, and other persons of distinction in the Church of England, are very agreeable. It is to be hoped that these things are forerunners of something good and great to be brought to pass for the church of God.

"I have seen some accounts in our public prints, published here in America, of those conversions and baptisms in the Russian empire, which you mention in your last letter; and should be glad of further information about that matter. We have had published here, an extract of a letter, written by Dr. Doddridge to Mr. Pearsall of Taunton, in Somersetshire, and transmitted by him to Boston, in a letter to Mr. Prince; giving a surprising account of a very wonderful person, a German by nation, a preacher of the Gospel to the Jews, lately in London; whom he, (Dr. Doddridge,) saw and conversed with, and heard preach (or rather repeat) a sermon there; who had had great success in preaching to those miserable people in Germany, Poland, Holland, Lithuania, Hungary, and other parts; God having so blessed his labours that, in the various parts, through which he had travelled, he had been the instrument of the conversion of about six hundred Jews; many of whom are expressing their great concern to bring others of their brethren to the knowledge of the great and blessed Redeemer, and beseeching him to instruct their children, that they may preach Christ also. I should be glad, if you hear any thing further of the affair, to be informed of it by you. I think such things may well be improved to animate and encourage those who have engaged in the Concert

for Prayer, for the Reviving of Religion. I rejoice to hear what you write of some appearances of awakening in Mr. Gillies' church in Glasgow, and if it continues should be glad to be informed.

"I am very glad to hear of what Mr. McLaurin informs me of the encouragements likely to be given from Scotland to New Jersey College; a very hopeful society; and I believe what is done for that Seminary is doing good in an eminent manner. Mr. McLaurin tells me of some prospect of your being removed to a congregation in Edinburgh, which I am pleased with, because I hope there you will act in a larger sphere, and will have more opportunity to exert the disposition that appears in you, to promote good public designs for Zion's prosperity.

"I thank you for the concern you manifest for me under my difficulties and troubles, by reason of the controversy between me and my people, about the terms of christian communion.

"This controversy has now had that issue which I expected; it has ended in a separation between me and my people. Many things have appeared, that have been exceedingly unhappy and uncomfortable in the course of this controversy. The great power of prejudices from education, established custom, and the traditions of ancestors and certain admired teachers, and the exceedingly unhappy influence of bigotry, has remarkably appeared in the management of this affair. The spirit, that has actuated and engaged my people in this matter, is evidently the same, that has appeared in your own people in their opposition to winter communions, but only risen to a much higher degree; and some of the arguments, that have been greatly insisted on here, have been very much of the same sort with some of those urged by your people in your affair. There have been many things said and done, during our controversy, that I shall not now declare. But would only say, in the general, that there has been that prejudice, and spirit of jealousy, and increasing engagedness of spirit and fixedness of resolution, to gain the point in view, viz. my dismission from my pastoral office over them, upheld and cherished by a persuasion that herein they only stood for the truth and did their duty, that it has been an exceedingly difficult thing for me to say or do any thing at all, in order to their being enlightened, or brought to a more calm and sedate consideration of things, without its being misinterpreted, and turned to an occasion of increasing jealousy and prejudice; even those things wherein I have yielded most, and done most to gratify the people, and assuage their spirits, and win their charity. I have often declared to the people, and gave it to them under my hand, that if, after all proper means used and regular steps taken, they continued averse to remaining under my ministry, I had no inclination to do any thing, as attempting to oblige them to it. But I looked on myself bound in conscience, before I left them, (as I was afraid they were in the way to ruin,) to do my endeavour, that pro-

per means should be used to bring them to a suitable temper, and so to a capacity of proceeding considerately and with their eyes open; properly, and calmly, and prayerfully examining the point in controversy, and also weighing the consequences of things. To this end I have insisted much on an impartial Council, in which should be some of the elderly ministers of the land, to look fully into our state, and view it with all its circumstances. with full liberty to give both me and them such advice as they should think requisite and proper. And therefore I insisted, that the Council should not wholly consist of ministers and churches, that were professedly *against me* in the point in controversy; and that it should not consist wholly of ministers and churches of this neighbourhood, who were almost altogether in opposition to me; but that some should be brought from abroad. This I also insisted on, as I thought it most likely an impartial Council would do me justice, in the public representation they would make of our affairs, in their result. The people insisted that the Council should be wholly of the neighbourhood: undoubtedly because they supposed themselves most sure, that their judgment and advice would be favourable and agreeable to them. I stood the more against it, because in this country we have no such thing as appeals from one Council to another, from a lesser to a larger; and also, because the neighbouring ministers were all youngerly men. These things were long the subject matter of uncomfortable troubles and contests. Many were the proposals I made. At last they complied with this proposal, (after great and long continued opposition to it,) viz. That I should nominate two churches to be of the Council, who were not within the bounds of this county. And so it was agreed that a Council of ten churches should be called, mutually chosen; and that two of my half should be called from abroad. I might have observed before, that there was a great and long dispute about the business of the Council, or what should be left to them: and particularly, whether it should be left to them, or they should have liberty, to give us what advice they pleased for a remedy from our calamities. This I insisted on, not that I desired that we should bind ourselves beforehand to stand to their advice, let it be what it would; but I thought it absurd to tie up and limit the Council, that they should not exercise their own judgment, and give us their advice, according to their own mind. The people were willing the Council should make proposals for an accommodation; but that, if they did not like them, the Council should be obliged immediately to separate us, and would not have them have any liberty to advise to wait longer, or use any further means for light, or to take any further or other course for a remedy from our calamities. At last a vote was passed in these words,—"That a Council should be called to give us their last advice, for a remedy from the calamities arising from the present unsettled, broken state of the church, by reason of the controversy

here subsisting, concerning the Qualifications for full communion in the church: and, if upon the whole of what they see and find in our circumstances, they judge it best that pastor and people be immediately separated, that they proceed to dissolve the relation between them." Accordingly a Council was agreed upon, to meet here on this business, on June 19th. I nominated two out of this county, of which Mr. Foxcroft's church in Boston was one. But others were nominated provisionally, in case these should fail. Those that came, were Mr. Hall's church of Sutton and Mr. Hobby's church in Reading. One of the churches that I nominated within the county, refused to send a delegate, viz. Mr. Billing's church of Cold Spring. However Mr. Billing himself, (though with some difficulty,) was admitted into the Council. The people, in managing this affair on their side, have made chief use of a young gentleman of liberal education and notable abilities, and a fluent speaker, of about seven or eight and twenty years of age, my grandfather Stoddard's grandson, being my mother's sister's son, a man of lax principles in religion, falling in, in some essential things, with Arminians, and is very open and bold in it. He was improved as one of the agents for the church, and was their chief spokesman before the Council. He very strenuously urged before the Council the necessity of an immediate separation; and I, knowing the church, the most of them, to be inflexibly bent on this event, informed the Council that I should not enter into the dispute, but should refer the matter wholly to the Council's judgment; I signified, that I had no desire to leave my people, on any other consideration, than their aversion to my being their minister any longer; but, they continuing so averse, had no inclination or desire that they should be compelled; but yet should refer myself to their advice. When the church was convened, in order to the Council's knowing their minds with respect to my continuance, about twenty-three appeared for it, others staid away, choosing not to act either way; but the generality of the church, which consists of about 230 male members, voted for my dismission. My dismission was carried in the Council by a majority of one voice. The ministers were equally divided; but of the delegates, one more was for it than against it, and it so happened that all those of the Council, who came from the churches of the people's choosing, voted for my dismission; but all those who came from the churches that I chose, were against it, and there happening to be one fewer of these than of the other, by the church of Cold Spring not sending a delegate, (which was through that people's prejudice against my opinion,) the vote was carried that way, by the vote of one delegate. However, on the 22d of the last month, the relation between me and this people was dissolved. I suppose that the result of the Council, and the protestation of some of the members are printed in Boston by this time. I shall endeavour to procure one of the printed accounts, to be sent with this letter to

you, together with one of my books, on the point that has been in controversy between me and my people. Two of the members of the Council, who dissented from the result, yet did not sign the protestation, viz. Mr. Reynolds and his delegate, which I suppose was owing to Mr. Reynolds' extraordinarily cautious and timorous temper. The last sabbath I preached my farewell sermon. Many in the congregation seemed to be much affected, and some are exceedingly grieved. Some few, I believe, have some relentings of heart, that voted me away. But there is no great probability that the leading part of the church will ever change. Beside their own fixedness of resolution, there are many in the neighbouring towns to support their resolution; both in the ministry and civil magistracy; without whose influence I believe the people never would have been so violent as they have been.

"I desire that such a time of awful changes, dark clouds, and great frowns of heaven on me and my people, may be a time of serious consideration, thorough self-reflection and examination, and deep humiliation with me. I desire your fervent prayers for me, and for those who have heretofore been my people. I know not what will become of them. There seems to be the utmost danger, that the younger generation will be carried away with Arminianism, as with a flood. The young gentleman I spoke of, is high in their esteem, and is become the most leading man in the town; and is very bold in declaiming and disputing for his opinions; and we have none able to confront and withstand him in dispute; and some of the young people already show a disposition to fall in with his notions. And it is not likely that the people will obtain any young gentleman of Calvinistic sentiments, to settle with them in the ministry, who will have courage and ability to make head against him. And as to the older people, there never appeared so great an indifference among them, about things of this nature. They will at present be much more likely to be thorough in their care to settle a minister of principles contrary to mine, as to terms of communion, than to settle one that is sound in the doctrines of grace. The great concern of the leading part of the town, at present, will probably be, to come off with flying colours, in the issue of the controversy they have had with me, and of what they have done in it; for which they know many condemn them.

"An end is put, for the present, by these troubles, to the studies I was before engaged in, and my design in writing against Arminianism. I had made considerable preparation, and was deeply engaged in the prosecution of this design, before I was rent off from it by these difficulties, and if ever God should give me opportunity, I would again resume that affair. But I am now, as it were, thrown upon the wide ocean of the world, and know not what will become of me, and my numerous and chargeable family. Nor have I any

particular door in view, that I depend upon to be opened for my future serviceableness. Most places in New-England, that want a minister, would not be forward to invite one with so chargeable a family, nor one so far advanced in years—being 46 the 5th day of last October. I am fitted for no other business but study. I should make a poor hand at getting a living by any secular employment. We are in the hands of God; and I bless him, I am not anxious concerning his disposal of us. I hope I shall not distrust him, nor be unwilling to submit to his will. And I have cause of thankfulness, that there seems also to be such a disposition in my family. You are pleased, dear Sir, very kindly to ask me, whether I could sign the Westminster Confession of Faith, and submit to the Presbyterian form of Church Government; and to offer to use your influence to procure a call for me, to some congregation in Scotland. I should be very ungrateful, if I were not thankful for such kindness and friendship. As to my subscribing to the substance of the Westminster Confession, there would be no difficulty; and as to the Presbyterian Government, I have long been perfectly out of conceit of our unsettled, independent, confused way of church government in this land; and the Presbyterian way has ever appeared to me most agreeable to the word of God, and the reason and nature of things; though I cannot say that I think, that the Presbyterian government of the Church of Scotland is so perfect, that it cannot, in some respects, be mended. But as to my removing, with my numerous family, over the Atlantic, it is, I acknowledge, attended with many difficulties, that I shrink at. Among other things, this is very considerable, that it would be on uncertainties, whether my gifts and administrations would suit any congregation, that should send for me without trial; and so great a thing, as such a removal, had need to be on some certainty as to that matter. If the expectations of a congregation were so great, and they were so confident of my qualifications, as to call me at a venture, having never seen nor heard me; their disappointment might possibly be so much the greater, and they the more uneasy, after acquaintance and trial. My own country is not so dear to me, but that, if there were an evident prospect of being more serviceable to Zion's interests elsewhere, I could forsake it. And I think my wife is fully of this disposition.

"I forgot to mention, that, in this evil time in Northampton, there are some of the young people under awakenings; and I hope two or three have lately been converted: two very lately, besides two or three hopefully brought home the last year.

"My wife and family join with me in most respectful and cordial salutations to you, and your consort; and we desire the prayers of you both for us, under our present circumstances. My youngest child but one has long been in a very infirm, afflicted and decaying,

state with the rickets, and some other disorders. I desire your prayers for it.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your most affectionate and obliged

"Friend and brother,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

"P. S. For accounts of the state of religion in America, and some reasons of my conduct in this controversy with my people, I must refer you to my letters to Mr. Robe, and Mr. M'Laurin."

"To the Rev. Mr. M'Culloch."

"*Northampton, July* 6, 1750.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"It is now long, since I have received a letter from you: the last was dated March 10, 1749. However, you having heretofore manifested that our correspondence was not unacceptable to you, I would not omit to do my part towards the continuance of it. Perhaps one reason of your neglecting to write, may be the failing of such agreeable matter for correspondence, as we had some years ago, when religion was flourishing in Scotland and America, and we had joyful information to give each other, of things pertaining to the City of our God. It is indeed now a sorrowful time, on this side of the ocean. Iniquity abounds, and the love of many waxes cold. Multitudes of fair and high professors, in one place and another, have sadly backslidden; sinners are desperately hardened; experimental religion is more than ever out of credit, with the far greater part; and the doctrines of grace, and those principles in religion that do chiefly concern the power of godliness, are far more than ever discarded. Arminianism, and Pelagianism, have made a strange progress within a few years. The Church of England, in New-England, is, I suppose, treble of what it was seven years ago. Many professors are gone off to great lengths in enthusiams and extravagance, in their notions and practices. Great contentions, separations and confusions, in our religious state, prevail in many parts of the land. Some of our main pillars are broken; one of which was Mr. WEBB of Boston, who died in the latter part of last April. Much of the glory of the town of Boston is gone with him: and if the bereavements of that town should be added to, by the death of two or three more of their remaining elder ministers, that place would be in a very sorrowful state indeed, like a city whose walls are broken down, and like a large flock without a shepherd, encompassed with wolves, and many in the midst of it.

"These are the dark things that appear. But on the other hand, there are some things that have a different aspect. There have in some places appeared revivals of religion. Some little revivings

have been in some places towards Boston. There has been some reformation, not long since, in one of our Colleges. And by what I hear, there has been much more of this nature in some other parts of British America, than in New-England: something considerable in several towns on Long Island; and also in some other parts of the province of New-York, near Bedford river; something in several parts of New-Jersey, particularly through the labours of Mr. Greenman, a young gentleman educated by the charitable expenses of the pious and eminent Mr. David Brainerd, mentioned in his life; which I think I sent to you the last summer. And since I last wrote to Scotland, I have had accounts of the prevailing of a religious concern in some parts of Virginia.

"And I must not forget to inform you, that, although I think it has of late been the darkest time in Northampton, that ever was since the town stood, yet there have been some overturnings on the minds of some of the young people here, and two or three instances of hopeful conversion the last summer, and as many very lately.

"When I speak of its being a dark time here, I have a special reference to the great controversy that has subsisted here, for about a year and a half, between me and my people, about the forms of communion in the visible church; which has even at length issued in a separation between me and my people; for a more particular account of which, I must refer you to my letters to Mr. Robe and Mr. Erskine.—Besides, I shall endeavour to procure the printed copies of the Result of the Council, that sat here the week before last, with the Protestation of some of the members, that these may be sent to you with this letter, together with one of my books, published on the point in debate between me and my people; of which I crave your acceptance.

"I am now separated from the people, between whom and me there was once the greatest union. Remarkable is the Providence of God in this matter. In this event, we have a striking instance of the instability and uncertainty of all things here below. The dispensation is indeed awful in many respects, calling for serious reflection, and deep humiliation, in me and my people. The enemy, far and near, will now triumph; but God can overrule all for his own glory. I have now nothing visible to depend upon for my future usefulness, or the subsistence of my numerous family. But I hope we have an all-sufficient, faithful, covenant God, to depend upon. I desire that I may ever submit to him, walk humbly before him, and put my trust wholly in him. I desire, dear Sir, your prayers for us, under our present circumstances.

"I am, Sir, your respectful

"and affectionate friend and brother,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

"P. S. My wife and family join with me, in cordial salutations to you and yours."

On the 11th of June, Mr. Edwards married his eldest daughter, Sarah, to Elihu Parsons, Esquire, and on the 8th of November, his fourth daughter, Mary, to Timothy Dwight, Esquire, both of Northampton.

After Mr. Edwards was dismissed from his people, several months elapsed, before he received any proposals of settlement. During this interval, the Committee of the Church found it very difficult to procure a regular supply of the pulpit. When no other preacher could be procured, Mr. Edwards was for a time applied to by the Committee, to preach for them; but always with apparent reluctance, and only for the given Sabbath. He alludes to these circumstances, in the following letter; in which the reader will find, that he was a decided advocate for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, every Lord's day.

Letter to Mr. Erskine.

"*Northampton, Nov.* 15, 1750.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"Some time in July last I wrote to you, and ordered one of my books, on the Qualifications for Communion in the Church, to be sent to you from Boston, with the letter. In my letter, I informed you of what had come to pass, in the issue of the late controversy between me and my people, in the dissolution of my pastoral relation to them; and ordered the printed Result of the Ecclesiastical Council, that sat on our affairs, and the Protest against the said Result, to be put up with the letter; and also, at the same time, sent letters to my other correspondents in Scotland, with the books, etc. I have as yet had no call to any stated business elsewhere in the ministry; although, of late, there has been some prospect of my having invitations to one or two places. The people of Northampton are hitherto destitute of a minister. They have exerted themselves very much, to obtain some candidate to come and preach to them on probation, and have sent to many different places; but have hitherto been disappointed, and seem to be very much nonplussed. But the major part of them seem to continue without any relenting, or misgiving of heart, concerning what has been done; at least the major part of the leading men in the congregation. But there is a number, whose hearts are broken at what has come to pass; and I believe are more deeply affected, than ever they were at any temporal bereavement. It is thus with one of the principal men in the parish, viz. Col. Dwight; and another of our principal men, viz. Dr. Mather, adheres very much to me; and there are more women of this sort, than men, and I doubt not but there is a number, who in their hearts are with me, who durst not appear, by reason of the great resolution, and high hand, with which things are carried in the opposition, by the prevailing part. Such

is the state of things among us, that a person cannot appear on my side, without greatly exposing himself to the resentments of his friends and neighbours, and being the object of much odium. The committee, that have the care of supplying the pulpit, have asked me to preach, the greater part of the time since my dismission, when I have been at home; but it has seemed to be with much reluctance that they have come to me, and only because they could not get the pulpit supplied otherwise; and they have asked me only from Sabbath to Sabbath. In the mean time, they have taken much pains, to get somebody else to preach to them.

"Since I wrote to you in July last, I received your letter, dated the 30th of April last, with your generous and acceptable presents of Fraser's Treatise of Justifying Faith, Mr. Crawford's Manual against Infidelity, Mr. Randal's Letters on Frequent Communicating, Mr. Blair's Sermon before the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, with an Account of the Society, and the Bishop of London's Letters to the cities of London and Westminster. The view, the last mentioned gives of the wickedness of those cities, is very affecting; and the patience of God towards such cities, so full of wickedness, so heinous and horrid in its kinds, and attended with such aggravations, is very astonishing. That those cities, and the nation, and indeed Christendom in general, are come to such a pass as they are, seems to me to argue that some very remarkable dispensation of Divine Providence is nigh, either of mercy, or of judgment, or perhaps both: of mercy to an elect number, and great wrath and vengeance towards others; and that those very things, you take notice of, in Isa. lix. are approaching, appears to me very probable. However, I cannot but think, that, at such a day, all such as truly love Zion, and lament the wickedness that prevails in the earth, are very loudly called upon to united and earnest prayer to God, to arise and plead his own cause, that he would make bare his arm, that *that* may bring salvation; that now, when the enemy comes in as a flood, the Spirit of the Lord may lift up a standard against him. When the Church of Christ is like the ship, wherein Christ and his disciples were, when it was tossed with a dreadful tempest, and even covered with waves, and Christ was asleep; certainly it becomes christians, (though not with doubting and unbelief,) to call on their Redeemer, that he would awake out of sleep, and rebuke the winds and waves.

"There are some things, that afford a degree of comfort and hope, in this dark day, respecting the state of Zion. I cannot but rejoice at some things which I have seen, that have been lately published in England, and the reception they have met with in so corrupt a time and nation. Some things of Dr. Doddridge's, (who seems to have his heart truly engaged for the interests of religion,) particularly his Rise and Progress, and Col. Gardiner's Life, and also Mr. Hervey's Meditations. And I confess it is a thing, that

gives me much hope, that there are so many on this side the ocean united in the concert for prayer, proposed from Scotland; of which I may give a more particular account in a letter to Mr. M'Laurin, which I intend shall be sent with this. I had lately a letter from Governour Belcher, and in the postscript he sent me the following extract of a letter, he had lately received from Dr. Doddridge. "Nor did I ever know a finer class of young preachers, for its number, than that which God has given me this year, to send out into the churches. Yet are not all the supplies, here as elsewhere, adequate to their necessities; for many congregations, in various parts of England, remain vacant; but I hope God will prosper the schemes we are forming for their assistance. I bless God, that, in these middle parts of our island, peace and truth prevail in sweet harmony; and I think God is reviving our cause, or rather his own, sensibly, though in a gentle and almost unobserved manner."

"This, which the Doctor speaks of, I hope is a revival of religion; though many things in many places, have been boasted of as glorious revivals, which have been but counterparts of religion, so it has been with many things that were intermingled with and followed our late happy revival. There have been in New England, within these eight years past, many hundreds, if not thousands, of instances, very much like that of the boy at Tiptry Heath, mentioned by Mr. Davidson, as you give account in your letter. We ought not only to praise God for every thing, that appears favourable to the interests of religion, and to pray earnestly for a general revival, but also to use means that are proper in order to it: and one proper means must be allowed to be, a due administration of Christ's ordinances: one instance of which is that, which you and Mr. Randal have lately been striving for; viz. a restoring the primitive practice of frequent communicating. I should much wonder, (had it not been for what I have myself lately seen of the force of bigotry, and prejudice, arising from education and custom,) how such arguments and persuasions, as Mr. Randal uses, could be withstood; but however they may be resisted for the present, yet I hope those who have begun will continue to plead the cause of Christ's institutions; and whatever opposition is made, I should think it would be best for them to plead nothing at all short of Christ's institutions, viz. the administration of the Lord's Supper every Lord's day—it must come to that at last; and why should Christ's ministers and people, by resting in a partial reformation, lay a foundation for a new struggle, and an uncomfortable labour and conflict, in some future generation, in order to a full restoration of the primitive practice.

"I should be greatly gratified, dear Sir, by the continuance of your correspondence, and by being informed by you of the state of things, relating to the interests of religion in Europe, and especially in Great Britain; and particularly whether the affair of a comprehension is like to go on, or whether the Test act is like to be taken

off, or if there be any thing else done, or published, in England or Scotland, that remarkably affects the interests of religion.

"I have, with this letter, sent Mr. Bellamy's *True Religion Delineated*, with a sermon of mine at Mr. Strong's ordination; of which I ask your acceptance, as a small testimony of gratitude for your numerous favours to me. I ask a constant remembrance in your prayers, that I may have the presence of God under my unusual trials, and that I may make a good improvement of all God's dealings with me. My wife joins with me in most cordial salutations to you and Mrs. Erskine.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your affectionate and obliged

"friend and brother,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

"Mr. Erskine."

"At length," observes Dr. Hopkins, "a great uneasiness was manifested, by many of the people of Northampton, that Mr. Edwards should preach there at all. Upon which, the Committee for supplying the pulpit, called the town together, to know their minds with respect to that matter; when they voted; *That it was not agreeable to their minds that he should preach among them.* Accordingly, while Mr. Edwards was in the town, and they had no other minister to preach to them, they carried on public worship among themselves, and without any preaching, rather than invite him.*

"Every one must be sensible," observes Dr. Hopkins, who was himself an occasional eye-witness of these scenes, "that this was a great trial to Mr. Edwards. He had been nearly twenty-four years among that people; and his labours had been, to all appearance, from time to time greatly blessed among them: and a great number looked on him as their spiritual father, who had been the happy instrument of turning them from darkness to light, and plucking them as brands out of the burning. And they had from time to time professed that they looked upon it as one of their greatest privileges to have such a minister, and manifested their great love and esteem of him, to such a degree, that, (as St. Paul says of the Galatians,) "if it had been possible, they would have plucked out their own eyes, and given them to him." And they had a great interest in *his* affection: he had borne them on his heart, and carried them in his bosom for many years; exercising a tender concern and love for them: for their good he was always writing, contriving, labouring; for them he had poured out ten thousand fervent prayers; in their

* This vote appears to have been passed in the latter part of November, a few weeks only before Mr. Edwards received proposals of settlement, which he ultimately accepted.

good he had rejoiced as one that findeth great spoil; and they were dear to him above any other people under heaven.—Now to have *this people* turn against him, and thrust him out from among them, stopping their ears, and running upon him with furious zeal, not allowing him to defend himself by giving him a fair hearing; and even refusing so much as to hear him preach; many of them surmising and publicly speaking many ill things as to his ends and designs! surely this must come very near to him, and try his spirit. The words of the psalmist seem applicable to this case, "It was not an enemy that reproached me, then I could have borne it; neither was it he that hated me, that did magnify himself against me, then I would have hid myself from him. But it was THOU—my guide and mine acquaintance. We took sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company."

"Let us therefore now *behold the man!*—The calm sedateness of his mind; his meekness and humility in great and violent opposition, and injurious treatment; his resolution and steady conduct through all this dark and terrible storm, were truly wonderful, and cannot be set in so beautiful and affecting a light by any description, as they appeared in to his friends, who were eye-witnesses.

"Mr. Edwards had a numerous and chargeable family, and little or no income, exclusive of his salary; and, considering how far he was advanced in years; the general disposition of people, who want a minister, to prefer a young man, who has never been settled, to one who has been dismissed from his people; and what misrepresentations were made of his principles through the country; it looked to him not at all probable, that he should ever have opportunity to be settled again in the work of the ministry, if he was dismissed from Northampton: and he was not inclined, or able, to take any other course, or go into any other business to get a living: so that beggary as well as disgrace stared him full in the face, if he persisted in his principles. When he was fixed in his principles, and before they were publicly known, he told some of his friends, that, if he discovered and persisted in them, it would most likely issue in his dismission and disgrace; and the ruin of himself and family, as to their *temporal* interests. He therefore first sat down and counted the cost, and deliberately took up the cross, when it was set before him in its full weight and magnitude; and in direct opposition to all *worldly* views and motives. And therefore his conduct, in these circumstances, was a remarkable exercise and discovery of his conscientiousness; and of his readiness to deny himself, and to forsake all that he had, to follow Christ.—A man must have a considerable degree of the spirit of a martyr, to go on with the steadfastness and resolution with which he did. He ventured wherever truth and duty appeared to lead him, unmoved at the threatening dangers on every side.

"However, God did not forsake him. As he gave him those inward supports, by which he was able in patience to possess his soul, and courageously row on in the storm, in the face of boisterous winds beating hard upon him, and in the midst of gaping waves threatening to swallow him up; so he soon appeared for him in his providence, even beyond all his expectations. His correspondents, and other friends, in Scotland hearing of his dismission, and fearing it might be the means of bringing him into worldly straits, generously contributed a considerable sum, and sent it over to him.

"And God did not leave him, without tender and valuable friends at Northampton. For a small number of his people, who opposed his dismission from the beginning, and some, who acted on neither side, but after his dismission adhered to him, under the influence of their great esteem and love of Mr. Edwards, were willing, and thought themselves able, to maintain him: and insisted upon it, that it was his duty to stay among them, as a distinct and separate congregation, from the body of the town who had rejected him.

"Mr. Edwards could not see it to be his duty to remain among them, as this would probably be a means of perpetuating an unhappy division in the town; and there was to him no prospect of doing the good there, which would counterbalance the evil. However, that he might do all he could to satisfy his tender and afflicted friends; he consented to ask the advice of an Ecclesiastical Council. Accordingly a Council was called, and met at Northampton on the 15th of May 1751.—The town on this occasion was put into a great tumult. They, who were active in the dismission of Mr. Edwards, supposed, though without any good ground, that he was contriving with his friends, again to introduce himself at Northampton." A meeting of the church was summoned, and a Committee of the church appointed; who, in the name of the church, drew up a Remonstrance against the proceedings of the Council, and laid it before that body. The character of this instrument may be learned, from the subsequent confession of one of the Committee of the church that signed it, who was principally concerned in drawing it up, and very active in bringing the church to accept of it, and to vote that it should be presented to the Council. To use his own language, it was "every where interlarded with unchristian bitterness, and "sarcastical and unmannerly insinuations. It contained divers di-"rect, grievous and criminal charges and allegations against Mr. "Edwards, which, I have since good reason to suppose, were all "founded on jealous and uncharitable mistakes, and so were real-"ly gross slanders; also many heavy and reproachful charges upon "divers of Mr. Edwards' adherents, and some severe censures of "them all indiscriminately; all of which, if not wholly false and "groundless, yet were altogether unnecessary, and therefore highly "criminal. Indeed I am fully convinced that the whole of that

"composure, excepting the small part of it relating to the expedi-
"ency of Mr. Edwards' resettlement at Northampton, was totally
"unchristian,—a scandalous, abusive, injurious libel against Mr.
"Edwards and his particular friends, especially the former, and
"highly provoking and detestable in the sight of God; for which I
"am heartily sorry and ashamed; and pray I may remember it,
"with deep abasement and penitence, all my days."

After this Remonstrance of the church had been read before the Council, they immediately invited *the Committee*, by whom it was signed, to come forward, and prove the numerous allegations and insinuations, which it contained; "but they refused to appear and support any of their charges, or so much as to give the gentlemen of the Council any opportunity to confer with them, about the affair depending, though it was diligently sought;" and though, by presenting the Remonstrance, they had virtually given the Council jurisdiction, as to the charges it contained, yet they utterly refused to acknowledge them to be an Ecclesiastical Council. The Council then invited *the Church*, as a body, to a friendly conference, to see if some measures could not be devised for the removal of the difficulties, in which the ecclesiastical affairs of the town were involved; but, although this was earnestly and repeatedly moved for, on the part of the Council, it was repeatedly and finally denied on the part of the church.

"The Council having heard what Mr. Edwards, and those who adhered to him, had to say; advised, agreeably to the judgment of Mr. Edwards, that he should leave Northampton, and accept of the invitations, which he had received, to take charge of the Indian Mission, as well as of the church and congregation, at Stockbridge: of which a more particular account will be given further on.

As a proper close to this melancholy story, and to confirm and illustrate what has been related, the following LETTER from Joseph Hawley, Esq. to the Rev. Mr. Hall of Sutton, published in a weekly newspaper in Boston, May 19th, 1760, is here inserted. The reader, who has perused the preceding pages, will not need to be informed, that this gentleman, though certainly less violent, and far less malignant, than some of his associates, was not only very active in the transactions of this whole affair, but a principal leader in it, and the man, on whose counsels and conduct the opponents of Mr. Edwards especially relied. He was a near kinsman of Mr. Edwards, and a lawyer of distinguished talents and eloquence.*

"To the Rev. Mr. Hall, of Sutton.

"*Northampton, May* 9, 1760.

"REV. SIR,

"I have often wished, that every member of the two Ecclesias-

* The father of Mr. Hawley married REBECKAH, the fifth daughter of the Rev. Mr. Stoddard, the sister of Mr. Edwards' mother.

tical Councils, that formerly sat in Northampton, upon the unhappy differences, between our former most worthy and Rev. Pastor, Mr. Jonathan Edwards, and the church here, whereof you were a member; I say, Sir, I have often wished, every one of them truly knew my real sense of my own conduct in the affair, that the one and the other of the said Councils are privy to. As I have long apprehended it to be my duty, not only to humble myself before God, for what was unchristian and sinful in my conduct before the said Councils, but also to confess my faults to *them*, and take shame to myself before them; so I have often studied with myself, in what manner it was practicable for me to do it. When I understood that you, Sir, and Mr. Eaton, were to be at Cold-Spring at the time of the late council, I resolved to improve the opportunity, fully to open my mind there to you and him thereon; and thought that probably some method might be then thought of, in which my reflections on myself, touching the matters above hinted at, might be communicated to most, if not all, the gentlemen aforesaid, who did not reside in this county. But you know, Sir, how difficult it was for us to converse together by ourselves, when at Cold-Spring, without giving umbrage to that people; I therefore proposed writing to you upon the matters, which I had then opportunity only most summarily to suggest; which you, Sir, signified would be agreeable to you. I therefore now undertake what I then proposed, in which I humbly ask the divine aid; and that I may be made most freely willing, fully to confess my sin and guilt to you and the world, in those instances, which I have reason to suppose fell under your notice, as they were public and notorious transactions, and on account whereof, therefore, you, Sir, and all others who had knowledge thereof, had just cause to be offended at me.

"And in the first place, Sir, I apprehend that, with the church and people of Northampton, I sinned and erred exceedingly, in consenting and labouring, that there should be so early a dismission of Mr. Edwards from his pastoral relation to us, even upon the supposition that he was really in a mistake in the disputed point: not only because the dispute was upon matters so very disputable in themselves, and at the greatest remove from fundamental, but because Mr. Edwards so long had approved himself a most faithful and painful pastor to the said church. He also changed his sentiments, in that point, wholly from a tender regard to what appeared to him to be truth; and had made known his sentiments with great moderation, and upon great deliberation, against all worldly motives, from mere fidelity to his great Master, and a tender regard to the souls of his flock, as we had the highest reason to judge. These considerations now seem to me sufficient; and would, (if we had been of a right spirit) have greatly endeared him to his people, and made us to the last degree, reluctant to part with him, and disposed us to the exercise of the great-

est candour, gentleness and moderation. How much of the reverse whereof appeared in us, I need not tell you, Sir, who were an eye witness of our temper and conduct.

"And, although it does not become me to pronounce decisively, on a point so disputable, as was then in dispute; yet I beg leave to say, that I really apprehend, that it is of the highest moment to the body of this church, and to me in particular, most solicitously to enquire, whether, like the Pharisees and lawyers in John Baptist's time, we did not reject the counsel of God against ourselves, in rejecting Mr. Edwards, and his doctrine, which was the ground of his dismission. And I humbly conceive, that it highly imports us all of this church, most seriously and impartially to examine what that most worthy and able divine published, about that time, in support of the same, whereby he being dead yet speaketh. But there were three things, Sir, especially in my own particular conduct before the first council, which have been justly matter of great grief and much trouble to me, almost ever since, viz.

"In the first place, I confess, Sir, that I acted very immodestly and abusively to you, as well as injuriously to the church and myself, when with much zeal and unbecoming assurance, I moved the council that they would interpose to silence and stop you, in an address you were making one morning to the people, wherein you were, if I do not forget, briefly exhorting them to a tender remembrance of the former affection and harmony, that had long subsisted between them and their Rev. Pastor, and the great comfort and profit, which they apprehended that they had received from his ministry; for which, Sir, I heartily ask your forgiveness; and I think, that we ought, instead of opposing an exhortation of that nature, to have received it with all thankfulness.

"Another particular of my conduct before that council, which I now apprehend was criminal, and was owing to the want of that tender affection, and reverend respect and esteem for Mr. Edwards, which he had highly merited of me, was my strenuously opposing the adjournment of the matters submitted to that council for about two months; for which I declare myself unfeignedly sorry; and I with shame remember, that I did it in a peremptory, decisive, vehement, and very immodest manner.

"But, Sir, the most criminal part of my conduct at that time, that I am conscious of, was my exhibiting to that Council a set of arguments in writing, the drift whereof was to prove the reasonableness and necessity of Mr. Edwards' dismission, in case no accommodation was then effected with mutual consent; which writing, by clear implication, contained some severe, uncharitable, and, if I remember right, groundless and slanderous imputations on Mr. Edwards, expressed in bitter language. And although the original draft thereof was not done by me, yet I foolishly and sinfully consented to copy it; and, as agent for the Church, to read it, and deliver it to

the Council; which I could never have done, if I had not had a wicked relish for perverse things: which conduct of mine I confess was very sinful, and highly provoking to God; for which I am ashamed, confounded, and have nothing to answer.

"As to the Church's Remonstrance, as it was called, which their Committee preferred to the last of the said Councils, (to all which I was consenting, and in the composing whereof I was very active, as also in bringing the church to their vote upon it;) I would, in the first place, only observe, that I do not remember any thing, in that small part of it, which was plainly discursive of the expediency of Mr. Edwards' re-settlement here, as pastor to a part of the church, which was very exceptionable. But as to all the residue, which was much the greatest part thereof, (and I am not certain that any part was wholly free,) it was every where interlarded with unchristian bitterness, sarcastical, and unmannerly insinuations. It contained divers direct, grievous, and criminal charges and allegations against Mr. Edwards, which, I have since good reason to suppose, were all founded on jealous and uncharitable mistakes, and so, were really gross slanders; also many heavy and reproachful charges upon divers of Mr. Edwards' adherents, and some severe censures of them all indiscriminately; all of which, if not wholly false and groundless, were altogether unnecessary, and therefore highly criminal. Indeed, I am fully convinced, that the whole of that composure, excepting the small part thereof above mentioned, was totally unchristian, a scandalous, abusive, injurious libel, against Mr. Edwards and his particular friends, especially the former, and highly provoking and detestable in the sight of God; for which I am heartily sorry and ashamed; and pray that I may remember it with deep abasement, and penitence all my days. Nor do I now think, that the Church's conduct in refusing to appear, and attend before that Council, to support the charges and allegations in the said Remonstrance against Mr. Edwards and the said brethren, which they demanded, was ever vindicated, by all the subtle answers that were given to the said demand; nor do I think that our conduct in that instance was capable of a defence. For it appears to me, that, by making such charges against them before the said Council, we necessarily so far gave that Council jurisdiction; and I own with sorrow and regret, that I zealously endeavoured, that the Church should perseveringly refuse to appear before the said Council, for the purpose aforesaid; which I humbly pray God to forgive.

"Another part of my conduct, Sir, of which I have long repented, and for which I hereby declare my hearty sorrow, was my obstinate opposition to the last Council's having any conference with the Church; which the said Council earnestly and repeatedly moved for, and which the Church, as you know, finally denied. I think it discovered a great deal of pride and

vain sufficiency in the church, and showed them to be very opinionative, especially the chief sticklers, one of whom I was, and think it was running a most presumptuous risk, and acting the part of proud scorners, for us to refuse hearing, and candidly and seriously considering, what that council could say or oppose to us; among whom, there were divers justly in great reputation for grace and wisdom.

"In these instances, Sir, of my conduct, and in others, (to which you were not privy,) in the course of that most melancholy contention with Mr. Edwards, I now see that I was very much influenced by vast pride, self-sufficiency, ambition, and vanity. I appear to myself vile, and doubtless much more so to others, who are more impartial; and do, in the review thereof, abhor myself, and repent sorely: and if my own heart condemns me, it behoves me solemnly to remember, that God is greater and knoweth all things. I hereby own, Sir, that such treatment of Mr. Edwards, wherein I was so deeply concerned and active, was particularly and very aggravatedly sinful and ungrateful in me, because I was not only under the common obligations of each individual of the society to him, as a most able, diligent and faithful pastor; but I had also received many instances of his tenderness, goodness and generosity, to me as a young kinsman, whom he was disposed to treat in a most friendly manner.

"Indeed, Sir, I must own, that, by my conduct in consulting and acting against Mr. Edwards, within the time of our most unhappy disputes with him, and especially in and about that abominable "Remonstrance," I have so far symbolized with Balaam, Ahitophel and Judas, that I am confounded and filled with terror, oftentimes, when I attend to the most painful similitude. And I freely confess, that, on account of my conduct above mentioned, I have the greatest reason to tremble at those most solemn and awful words of our Saviour, Matt. xviii. 6, *Whoso shall offend one of these little ones, which believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea;* and those in Luke x. 16, *He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me;* and I am most sorely sensible that nothing but that infinite grace and mercy, which saved some of the betrayers and murderers of our blessed Lord, and the persecutors of his martyrs, can pardon me; in which alone I hope for pardon, for the sake of Christ, whose blood, blessed be God, cleanseth from all sin. On the whole, Sir, I am convinced, that I have the greatest reason to say as David, "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness, according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions; wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin; for I acknowledge my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me. Hide thy face from

my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities; create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me; cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy Spirit from me; restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with thy free Spirit." (Ps. li. 1—3, 9—12.)

"And I humbly apprehend, that it greatly concerns the church of Northampton most seriously to examine, Whether the many hard speeches, spoken by many particular members against their former pastor, some of which the church really countenanced, (and especially those spoken by the church as a body, in that most vile "Remonstrance,") are not so odious and ungodly, as to be utterly incapable of defence; whether the said church were not guilty of a great sin, in being so willing and disposed, for so slight a cause, to part with so faithful and godly a minister as Mr. Edwards was; and whether ever God will hold us guiltless, till we cry to him for Christ's sake to pardon and save us from that judgment, which such ungodly deeds deserve. And I most heartily wish and pray, that the town and church of Northampton would seriously and carefully examine, Whether they have not abundant cause to judge, that they are now lying under great guilt in the sight of God; and whether those of us, who were concerned in that most awful contention with Mr. Edwards, can ever more reasonably expect God's favour and blessing, till our eyes are opened, and we become thoroughly convinced that we have greatly provoked the Most High, and have been injurious to one of the best of men; and until we shall be thoroughly convinced, that we have dreadfully persecuted Christ, by persecuting and vexing that just man, and servant of Christ; until we shall be humble as in the dust on account of it, and till we openly, in full terms, and without baulking the matter, confess the same before the world, and most humbly and earnestly seek forgiveness of God, and do what we can to honour the memory of Mr. Edwards, and clear it of all the aspersions which we unjustly cast upon him; since God has been pleased to put it beyond our power to ask his forgiveness. Such terms, I am persuaded, the great and righteous God will hold us to, and that it will be vain for us to hope to escape with impunity in any other way. This I am convinced of with regard to myself, and this way I most solemnly propose to take myself, (if God in his mercy shall give me opportunity) that so, by making free confession to God and man of my sin and guilt, and publicly taking shame to myself, I may give glory to the God of Israel, and do what in me lies to clear the memory of that venerable man from the wrongs and injuries, I was so active in bringing on his reputation and character; and I thank God, that he has been pleased to spare my life to this time, and am sorry that I have delayed the affair so long.

"Although I made the substance of almost all the foregoing reflections in writing, but not exactly in the same manner, to Mr. Edwards and the brethren who adhered to him, in Mr. Edwards' life, and before he removed from Stockbridge, and I have reason to belive that he, from his great candour and charity, heartily forgave me and prayed for me: yet, because that was not generally known, I look on myself obliged to take further steps; for *while I kept silence my bones waxed old*, &c. For all these my great sins therefore, in the first place, I humbly and most earnestly ask forgiveness of God; in the next place, of the relatives and near friends of Mr. Edwards. I also ask the forgiveness of all those, who were called Mr. Edwards' adherents; and of all the members of the ecclesiastical councils above mentioned; and lastly of all christian people, who have had any knowledge of these matters.

"I have no desire, Sir, that you should make any secret of this letter; but that you would communicate the same to whom you shall judge proper: and I purpose, if God shall give me opportunity, to procure it to be published in some one of the public newspapers; for I cannot devise any other way of making known my sentiments of the foregoing matters to all, who ought to be acquainted therewith, and therefore I think I ought to do it, whatever remarks I may forsee will be made thereon. Probably, when it comes out, some of my acquaintance will pronounce me quite overrun with vapours; others will be furnished with matter for mirth and pleasantry; others will cursorily pass it over, as relating to matters quite stale; but some, I am persuaded, will rejoice to see me brought to a sense of my sin and duty; and I myself shall be conscious, that I have done something of what the nature of the case admits, towards undoing what is, and long has been, to my greatest remorse and trouble, that it was ever done.

"Sir, I desire that none would entertain a thought, from my having spoken respectfully of Mr. Edwards, that I am disaffected to our present pastor; for the very reverse is true; and I have a reverend esteem, real value, and hearty affection for him, and bless God, that he has, notwithstanding all our former unworthiness, given us one to succeed Mr. Edwards, who, as I have reason to hope, is truly faithful.

"I conclude this long letter, by heartily desiring your prayers, that my repentance of my sins above mentioned may be unfeigned and genuine, and such as God in infinite mercy, for Christ's sake, will accept; and I beg leave to subscribe myself,

"Sir, your real, though very unworthy friend,

"and obedient servant,

"Joseph Hawley."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Review of the Dismission of Mr. Edwards.—Causes.—Conduct of the Parties.—Designs of Providence.

The facts connected with the dismission of Mr. Edwards from Northampton, so far as they have come within my knowledge, have now been detailed. An event so singular, so unhappy in itself, and so important in its consequences, and in its connection with the ecclesiastical history of New-England, deserves no ordinary attention. In examining its bearing on the character of Mr. Edwards, we are compelled to consider the Causes which led to it, and the Conduct of the various parties concerned.

In reviewing the Causes, which led to this melancholy event, it cannot fail to strike the reader, that, agreeably to the confession of his most violent opposers and most bitter enemies, no solitary instance of misconduct, on the part of Mr. Edwards, is to be enumerated among those causes. No allegation of imprudence, or impropriety, in him or his family, no mention of any unfaithfulness, or neglect of duty,—of any fault, either of commission or of omission, is to be found in any of the documents connected with the whole series of transactions, from the beginning to the close. The only charges brought against him, were,—that he had changed his opinion, with regard to the Scriptural Qualifications for admission to the Church; that he was very pertinacious in adhering to his new opinions; and that, in this way, he gave his people a great deal of trouble. When we remember the great and general excitement, prevailing for so long a time in the town, the acrimony of feeling, and the severity of censure, so extensively manifested; no higher proof than this can be furnished, of uncommon purity and excellence, on the part of an individual or his family.

Among the Causes, which led to this separation, may be mentioned the following: the Existing State of the Church at that period; the attempt to maintain purity of Discipline, in the case of some of its younger members; the personal hostility of the —— family; and above all, the conscientious scruples of Mr. Edwards, as to the admission of unconverted members into the christian Church. All these, if we mistake not, so far as Mr. Edwards had any connection with them, will be found highly honourable to his character.

The Existing State of the Church of Northampton, at this time,

deserves our notice. It was, and had long been, very large; embracing almost all the married adults of the congregation, as well as a considerable proportion of the youths of both sexes. This state of things, considered in itself merely, and without reference to the particular character or condition of any given body of christians, is now, and always hitherto has been, a suspicious circumstance, as to the prevalence of vital religion, in any church of Christ. Where a church includes the great body of a congregation, it must have been for a considerable period, and still is, *the fashion*, to belong to it; and, not to belong to it, involves, of course, a species of public disgrace. In such circumstances, very strong inducements are held out to irreligious men, to persuade themselves, in some way or other, that they have become christians, and so to attach themselves to the christian church.

In national churches, and in those sects or denominations, which erect no effectual barrier against the incursions of an unconverted world, we find the mass of the population, and among these, of course, a vast multitude of the ungodly, uniting themselves to the visible family of Christ, and, by their numbers and their influence, giving to that section of it to which they belong, as a body, their own worldly character.

In churches, which aim at a more exact conformity to the scriptural rules, in preventing the admission of unrenewed persons into their number, there is, in the state of things we have mentioned, a constant danger from this source. There is so, with regard to the admission of unworthy members. Such churches become thus large, in consequence of powerful revivals of religion. A revival of religion is a season of high excitement in the body of a congregation, even when nothing moves them but the truth of God, applied directly to the conscience; but especially is this true, when, in addition to this, artificial means are employed, as they sometimes unhappily are, to rouse the feelings of the church, and the passions of the people at large. In such a state of things, when the immediate presence and direct influences of the Holy Spirit are generally felt, and universally acknowledged, when convictions of sin are wrought, with a greater or less degree of power, in almost every unrenewed mind, when every such mind is conscious of anxiety and alarm, as to its final welfare, and when great numbers are really pressing into the kingdom of God; those, who have long wished to be in the church, because it is fashionable and reputable to be there, and because, when there, they hope to feel a sense of safety, having heard from those around them the feelings and the language of Zion, easily persuade themselves, that the same change has passed on them, which others, already acknowledged to be christians, have experienced, and therefore offer themselves as candidates for admission to the church. In deciding on the question, whether they shall be admitted, both the church and the minister

are in more than ordinary danger of deciding wrong. The feelings of both are powerfully excited, and of course their minds are less likely to make up a judgment, founded merely on evidence. Both are conscious, that the Spirit of God is present in the midst of them, carrying on his own appropriate work of conviction and conversion, with divine power and glory. Both have a lively compassion for impenitent sinners; both wish the enlargement of the church; and the minister, perhaps, is fondly anticipating the time, when he can speak of the *scores*, if not of the *hundreds*, of his spiritual children. The individuals examined, speak a common language, and tell a common story—a story sometimes learned by rote. Of a change, all are conscious; and it is a change in their views and feelings, on the subject of religion. They do not discriminate, with regard to themselves, or one another; and the apparent difference among them is usually not so great, as to enable others to make any satisfactory discrimination. All indulge hope concerning themselves, and each has already satisfied numbers of his own conversion. All also, during the months, or perhaps *weeks*, that have elapsed, since this hope was cherished, have broken off their external sins; and none have had a sufficient length of trial to decide, whether they have gained a decisive victory over the sins of the heart. The time for admission is come; all believe that they have resolved to lead a life of religion; and no very satisfactory reason can be given, why one should be taken, and another left. In these circumstances, when ardent zeal, and lively hope, and tender compassion, are to sit as umpires; it is not surprising that, even in such churches, multitudes of unrenewed men should succeed in their application for admission.

But the danger is at least equally great, with regard to the general state of religion in such churches. As the church embraces the body of the congregation, it is the stronger party, and can carry its own measures, without opposition. Strong in itself, in its own numbers, wisdom, wealth and resources, it loses its sense of dependence, not only on the aid of the congregation, but on the care and protection of its Head. The members of such a church cease to fear the gaze of the surrounding world, and gradually lose the watchfulness and circumspection, which the dread of that gaze usually inspires. This is true even of those, who are thought to furnish evidence of their own piety.

What shall we say then, of the multitude, who have been thus improperly admitted? When their ardour has once abated, they have nothing left, to lead them even to an external conformity to the rules of the Gospel, except a regard to reputation, a fear of ecclesiastical censure, or of the loss of that mistaken hope, which they cherish of their own safety. The consequence is, that, finding no enjoyment in religion, they relinquish the performance of one external duty after another, and allow themselves in the prac-

tice of one and another secret sin, until their lives are as really, if not as obviously, worldly and irreligious, as they were before their annexation to the church. Such men, when constituting a numerous body in a given church, unite for common defence, and keep each other in countenance. By their numbers, their example and their influence, they diffuse a spirit of worldly-mindedness through the whole body, oppose every measure designed for its reformation, and effectually prevent the discipline of the church.

All this must have been emphatically realized in the Church of Northampton. The two principal safeguards, against the admission of irreligious men into the church, are, the dread of making an unsound profession of religion, on the part of the candidate, growing out of the firm conviction in his mind, that such a profession involves very great guilt in the sight of God, and leading of course to thorough self-examination; and an established rule on the part of the church, that none shall be received, who do not, when examined, furnish satisfactory evidence of conversion. These two safeguards had now been removed from the Church of Northampton, for forty-five years; and this, under the express sanction, and by the immediate agency, of so wise and good a man as Mr. Stoddard; and the people had been taught to believe, that, although piety was necessary for salvation, it was not necessary for Church-membership; but that communion at the Lord's Supper was at once the duty and the privilege, of unconverted men, as such, and the most probable means of their conversion. Such had been the actual practice of the church, during this long period; and five revivals of religion, (those in 1712 and 1718, that in 1727, and those in 1734, and 1749,—the first, and the last two, of uncommon extent and power,) during which almost all the existing members of the church had made a profession of religion, had occurred since the practice was introduced. The faithful labours of Mr. Stoddard and Mr. Edwards, during this long period, had indeed been efficacious, in preventing many of the evils which might otherwise have been introduced. But, if it is so difficult to prevent many false professions, in powerful revivals of religion, even in those churches where the candidate is most faithfully examined, and most abundantly cautioned, respecting the danger and guilt of a false profession, and solemnly warned to examine himself with the utmost care, because the chief and ultimate responsibility rests on himself; how impossible must it have been to prevent them here, where the whole body of anxious enquirers were told, under the sanction of a name so much venerated, that it was their duty and their privilege, to make an immediate profession of religion, and, if unconverted, that it would be the most probable means of their conversion? No one, acquainted with the history of the Church, or with the nature of man, will hesitate to say, that such a church must have embodied within its pale, an unhappy proportion of hypocrisy, worldly-

mindedness and irreligion; or will be surprized to find its members, on the first plausible occasion, uniting as a body in opposing the prevalence of truth, and the welfare of real religion.

For this state of things in the church, Mr. Edwards was not responsible. It had been introduced in 1704, twenty-three years before his settlement, by Mr. Stoddard, his grandfather, whose colleague he was in the ministry, after a public controversy with Dr. Mather of Boston; in which, in the view of the churches in Hampshire, he had come off victorious. The father of Mr. Edwards, at East Windsor, had indeed pursued a different course; but all the churches in that large and populous county, except *two*, and all the ministers except *three*, sided with Mr. Stoddard. The subject, except in this instance, had not been made a matter of controversy or of discussion; and the Treatise of Dr. Mather was far less satisfactory and definitive, than might well have been wished from one, who was indeed the champion of the truth. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Edwards, being settled under the auspices of Mr. Stoddard, having never examined the subject for himself, and having nothing to call his attention directly to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the practice, should have entered upon it of course, and have pursued it, until something should occur to convince him, that it was altogether unscriptural. But, while he thus acceded to the existing state of things, he did every thing probably, which any one man could have done, to promote the piety, the purity and the salvation, of the church and congregation at Northampton.

The united attempt of Mr. Edwards and the church to maintain purity of Discipline, was another of the causes, which led to his separation from his people. The offence, of which some of the younger members of the church were accused,—that of extensively circulating books of an impure and grossly licentious character, among persons of their own age, of both sexes, for the purpose of promoting licentiousness of conversation and conduct,—deserved, if ever an offence deserved, and, in any ordinary circumstances, would have received, the unqualified censure of any Christian church. A complaint being made to Mr. Edwards, as the moderator of the church, against those individuals, and supported by apparently satisfactory evidence; it was of course his duty to lay it before the church. This he did, without naming the individuals; and the church, shocked at the grossness of this conduct, yielded to their own first convictions of duty, and unanimously voted, that the offence charged ought to be investigated, and, if proved, ought to be followed by the Discipline of the Church. With the like unanimity, they appointed Mr. Edwards and several of their number a Committee, to pursue the investigation. The manner, in which Mr. Edwards invited the young people to meet the Committee, without distinguishing the witnesses from the accused, whether a matter of inadvertence on his part, or not, was the very manner, in

which most other persons would probably have given the invitation; and, so far as I can see, was the only manner, which propriety could have justified. An accusation had been made against certain individuals, sustained, in the view of Mr. Edwards, by evidence sufficient to justify him, in communicating the fact to the church. He did so, without naming the parties accused. The church, instead of calling for their names, voted that the Committee should investigate the case; and, if the evidence appeared to support it, should lay it before the church. With such a vote to guide him, it would have been wholly incorrect in Mr. Edwards, as chairman of the Committee, to have publicly mentioned the names of the persons accused; for the Committee did not know but that they were innocent; and, if they were innocent, to have named them in this manner, would have been, to fix a most unjust stigma upon their characters. As, therefore, both the accused and the witnesses must be present before the Committee; justice, as well as kindness, demanded, that they should be named without discrimination.

We have seen, that the individuals thus named were very numerous; that some one or more of them belonged to almost every influential family, in the church, and in the town; that the great body of the members of the church, who had just voted at once to investigate the charge, and, if found true, to punish the offenders, on hearing the names of their own children or relatives mentioned, (though they did not know but they were summoned merely as witnesses,) immediately changed their minds, and determined if possible to stop the enquiry; and that they encouraged the young people, in openly contemning the authority of Mr. Edwards and the Church. How different was the conduct even of a heathen, who, on discovering his son to have been guilty of an offence, which the laws of his country punished with death, could himself, when sitting as judge, utter the fatal order, "I, lictor, liga ad palum," from that of these professed disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ; who first voted the offence to deserve the discipline of the church, and then, from an apprehension that their own sons might be among those accused of committing it, resolved at all hazards to prevent the investigation, which might establish their guilt. They first voted that the honour of Christ, and the purity of his church, demanded the investigation; and then would not suffer it to proceed, because their own sons might be found among the guilty. Such was the conduct of a sufficient number of a church, consisting of more than seven hundred members, to put a stop to a case of christian discipline, which they had unanimously resolved to pursue: Math. x. 37, "*He that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me.*"

The personal hostility of the —— family, residing originally in an adjoining town, was another cause of exciting opposition to

Mr. Edwards, among the people of Northampton. This hostility originated, during the revival of religion in 1734. At that time, there was a prevailing tendency, in the county, and the province, towards Arminianism; and the individual, with whom this hostility commenced, appears to have been strongly biassed in its favour. When Mr. Edwards came forward publicly to oppose it, particularly in his discourses on JUSTIFICATION, with so much talent and success; *he* thought proper to interfere, and in a sense to demand, that Mr. Edwards should desist from the undertaking. His failure to comply with this demand occasioned a violent hostility; which, being only rendered rancourous by the publication of these discourses, and by the firmness of Mr. Edwards, in doing what he believed to be his own duty, was at length communicated to various members of the family of a superior character, residing in more distant parts of the country. For the fourteen years following that revival, the individual in question, a near relative of Mr. Edwards, often too visiting Northampton, and always riding by his house, refused except in three instances to enter his door; though Mr. Edwards regularly called on him and his family, and, according to his own statement in a subsequent letter, did all in his power to win his kindness. Probably nothing could more effectually have rivetted this hostility, and rendered the breach irremediable, than the attempt made by Mr. Edwards to change the views of the church at Northampton, and of the country at large, as to the qualifications for christian communion, in direct opposition to the sentiments of Mr. Stoddard. When the difficulties in the church had fairly commenced, this gentleman came often to Northampton, to advise with the leaders of the opposition, and threw his whole influence into that scale. His brother, also, residing at a distance, warmly espoused the same cause, and continued, as long as he resided in the country, the confidential friend and adviser of Mr. Edwards' enemies. When that brother went abroad, he himself discharged the same office, with great zeal and fidelity, regularly helping forward the spirit of disaffection and hostility, until the separation was effected.

But the prime cause of this unhappy event, and that, without which it would not have taken place, was the change in Mr. Edwards' views, respecting the qualifications for communion at the Lord's Supper. Having been educated in a church, in which a stricter practice had prevailed, he had some degree of hesitation about the correctness of the other mode, even at the time of his ordination. But he never had examined the subject; the controversy respecting it was over, and it had long ceased to be a subject of discussion in the country; the clergy and their churches had taken their sides, and great numbers of both throughout New-England, and almost all in the immediate vicinity, had adopted the lax method; other churches were becoming more and more fa-

vourable to it; his own colleague and grandfather, the man, whom from his infancy he had been taught to regard with the highest veneration, the man, every where known as "the venerable Stoddard," the man of wisdom, and piety, and of commanding influence, not only at Northampton, but throughout the province, had been its champion; no very able work, on the other side of the question, had then been written; many arguments of great plausibility could certainly be adduced in its favour; and many clergymen, of sound understanding and unquestioned piety, had been convinced by these arguments, that this was the mode of admission pointed out in the word of God: in these circumstances, it is not surprizing that a young man of *twenty-three* should conclude, that the practice was probably right, and adopt it of course.

The change, in Mr. Edwards' views on this subject, did not take place suddenly, but was the result of time and circumstances, and the effect of long and laborious investigation. In the revival of 1734, a considerable number of those, who became communicants, appear to have discovered, ultimately, no evidence of the christian character, and no interest in religion. They were members of the christian church, without one characteristic to qualify them for belonging to it. This fact, unquestionably, led Mr. Edwards to doubt the propriety of their admission. His doubts must have been greatly strengthened, in the subsequent revival of 1740; when a still larger number of the same description appear to have been admitted; and, especially, when he saw them, in 1744, uniting their whole strength and influence to prevent the wholesome discipline of the church, and drawing after them great numbers of a better character. These events of providence must have set in a striking light the absurdity, and the danger, of unsanctified professions.

The more Mr. Edwards examined the subject, the more were his convictions strengthened, that the prevailing mode of admission was irrational and unscriptural. As he knew that the question was a practical one, one on which he must *act*, when his mind was fully made up, and that his acting against the lax mode of admission, (to which his conscience would of course constrain him, if he was ultimately convinced that it was unlawful,) would be followed with important consequences, not only to himself and his family, but to the people of Northampton, and to the whole church of the Province; he read, with care, every treatise he could find, in favour of the lax mode of admission, and endeavoured to allow every argument on that side its full weight; that, if at length compelled to take the other side, he might certainly know that it was the side of truth, and that no argument could shake it.

It should here be remembered, that, while Mr. Edwards was thus carefully and conscientiously examining this subject, he perfectly knew, that he could not openly take the side of strict com-

munion, without imminent hazard of sacrificing the comfort and hopes of himself and his family. The church and people of Northampton, with scarcely a dissenting voice, were most bigotedly attached to the other mode: some of them, because they believed it the scriptural mode, and conscientiously regarded the sacrament as a converting ordinance; others, because it was the lax mode, and of course grateful to a mind governed by lax principles; and all, because it had been introduced and defended by Mr. Stoddard, and had now been practised for nearly half a century. If he espoused the stricter mode, he must come out publicly in its defence, and of course in direct opposition, to his grandfather. The churches and clergy of the county, with scarcely a dissenting voice, were absolutely determined to maintain that mode, and would, in that case, be decidedly opposed to him. The minister of Springfield had not forgotten the opposition, made by him to his own settlement. Four others of the clergy were connected with the —— family, and accustomed to act with them of course. Numbers of the clergy, were either openly or covertly Arminian in sentiment; and, in consequence of the successful attacks of Mr. Edwards on their own system of faith and practice, were by no means to be regarded as his friends. He was past forty-five years of age; he was almost wholly without property; and he had eight children all dependent on his salary for their support. That salary was the largest salary paid by any country congregation in New-England. If he came out openly on this side, he well knew that his church and people, in a body, would turn against him, and demand his dismission; and that the clergy and churches of the county, who would in all probability be the umpires in case of any controversy, would, with scarce an exception, side with his people. Rare indeed is the instance, in which any individual has entered on the investigation of a difficult point in casuistry, with so many motives to bias his judgment. Yet Mr. Edwards, in examining the arguments on both sides, seems from the beginning to have risen above every personal consideration, and to have been guided only by his conscience. At every step of his progress towards the ultimate result, he saw these accumulated evils before him; and, when his mind at length decided, that he could never more, with a clear conscience, receive any one into the church, upon the lax plan of admission; he threw himself on the care and protection of a faithful God with the very trust and courage of a martyr.

Having thus found, that a minute survey of the causes, which led to the dismission of Mr. Edwards, only serves to exhibit his evangelical integrity, and the general excellence of his christian character, in a clearer and stronger light; we will now review the

conduct of the various parties, connected with this unhappy controversy, from its commencement to its close.

The time and manner, adopted by Mr. Edwards, for making his sentiments known, are worthy of our observation. Several years before the ultimate crisis, his mind was so far settled as to the subject of his enquiry, that he found, unless he could obtain more light with regard to it, it would be impossible for him to receive any one into the church, according to the existing mode of admission. At this time, he "freely and openly expressed this opinion, before several of the people; which occasioned it to be talked of among many in the town, and in various parts of the land." In the work on Religious Affections, also, he intentionally gave very explicit intimations of his views of Visible Christians, and of the nature of a Christian Profession; particularly, in the following remarks: "A Profession of Christianity implies a profession of all, that belongs to the *essence* of christianity.—The profession must be of the thing professed. For a man to *profess* christianity, is for him to declare that he *has* it; and therefore, so much as belongs to a true *definition* of a thing, so much is essential to a true *declaration* of that thing. If we *take* only a part of christianity, and leave out an essential part; what we take is not christianity, because something of the essence of it is wanting. So if we *profess* only a part, and leave out an essential part; what we profess is not christianity. Thus, in order to a profession of christianity, we must profess, that we believe that Jesus is the Messiah,—and that Jesus made satisfaction for our sins, and other essential doctrines of the Gospel; because a belief of these things is essential to christianity. But other things are as essential to religion, as an orthodox belief; which, of course, it is as necessary that we should profess, in order to our being truly said to profess christianity. Thus, it is essential to christianity, that we repent of our sins, that we be convinced of our own sinfulness, that we are sensible we have justly exposed ourselves to the wrath of God, that our hearts renounce all sin, that we do with our whole hearts embrace Christ as our only Saviour, that we love him above all, that we are willing for his sake to forsake all that we have, and that we give up ourselves to be entirely and forever his. These things as truly belong to the *essence* of christianity, as the belief of any of the doctrines of the Gospel; and therefore, the *profession* of them as much belongs to a christian profession.—And, as to those things, which christians should *express* in their profession,—they ought to express their repentance of sin—their conviction, that God would be just in their damnation —their faith in Christ, and reliance on him as their Saviour, and joyfully receiving his Gospel—their reliance on his righteousness and strength, and their devotion to him as their only Lord and Saviour—that they give up themselves entirely to Christ, and to God through him—their willingness of heart to embrace religion,

with all its difficulties, and to walk, in a way of obedience to God, universally, and perseveringly—and that all their hearts and souls are in those engagements to be the Lord's, and forever to serve him.—Hence, to entitle men to full esteem and charity as sincere professors of christianity, there must, according to the rules of Christ and his apostles, be a visibly holy life, and a profession, either expressing, or plainly implying, the things which have been mentioned."* Plainly, no reader of the preceding passages could be at a loss, as to the views, which the writer then entertained, as to the nature of a christian profession.

These declarations, on the part of Mr. Edwards, were all that he ought to have made, before he was called to act; and it so happened, in the providence of God, that, from the case of discipline in 1744, to December, 1748, not a solitary individual offered himself, as a candidate for admission to the church. The church, as a body, by their conduct on that occasion, there is too much reason to believe, had, in a very dreadful manner, grieved the Holy Spirit; and, as a necessary consequence, though Mr. Edwards preached with the same faithfulness and power as in 1727, in 1734, and in 1740, and as he had preached at Leicester and Enfield, where God had signally acknowledged and blessed his labours, the work of conviction and conversion was, during this long interval, wholly unknown. When, however, the first candidate for admission to the church presented himself, Mr. Edwards, with entire openness and frankness, informed the Committee of the Church, that it was impossible for him, with a clear conscience, to receive him, without a profession of personal religion. At the same time, he proposed to deliver the reasons of his opinion from the pulpit; but to this, the Committee wholly refused their consent.

The Treatise on the Qualifications for Communion, on various accounts, here deserves our notice. It was written by Mr. Edwards, for the perusal of his people, because they would not allow him to preach on the subject. It was prepared with a full conviction, that, as to the people of Northampton, it would be prepared in vain; with a conviction that most of those, who would not hear him preach to them on the subject from the desk, would not read it from the press, and that those of them, who did read it, could not read it with calmness and candour. It was prepared with unexampled rapidity—only nine or ten weeks having elapsed, from the time it was commenced, till it was in the printer's hands—and this too, in addition to all the ordinary duties of an extensive parish, and all the multifarious demands of a parochial contest. Yet, it is merely a work of calm, logical reasoning, without a solitary remark indicative of excitement, or feeling, in the author, or the slightest intimation, in any part of it, that it was written in the heat

* See vol. V. pp. 279—281.

of a personal controversy. No mind could act thus, in circumstances like these, which had not learned, in a degree unusual, if not singular, the duty of trusting in the all-sufficiency of God, and of yielding a holy and unreserved submission to his will.

The offer made by Mr. Edwards to his people, April 13th, 1749, just before this Treatise was ready for the press, while it indicates in a very striking manner, the candour, integrity and disinterestedness, of his mind, also shows the exact ground which he took at the opening of the controversy:—"I, the subscriber, do hereby signify and declare, that, if my people will wait till the book I am preparing, relative to the admission of members into the church, is published, I will resign the ministry over this church, if the church desires it, after they have had opportunity pretty generally to read my said book, and they have asked advice of a Council mutually chosen, and followed their advice, with regard to the regular steps to be taken previous to their vote: Provided none of the brethren be permitted to vote, but such as have either read it, or heard from the pulpit what I have to say, in defence of the doctrine which is the subject of it; and that a regular Council do approve of my thus resigning my pastoral office over this church." Mr. Edwards well knew, that, at the time of his ordination, the Church at Northampton had been committed to his especial care; that he had then received a most solemn charge to "feed the flock of God, over which the Holy Ghost had made him an overseer;" that he was directly responsible to Christ, for the manner in which he discharged this duty, and that he could not *voluntarily* relinquish his charge, except for reasons of the most weighty character. He could not, therefore, think of resigning it, without using every lawful means in his power, to bring them acquainted with what he fully believed to be taught in the word God, relative to a subject, which was most intimately connected with the purity and prosperity of that church, and of the whole Church of Christ. This, he at once claimed as his right, and insisted on as his duty. If he *consented* to a separation, before he had had such an opportunity of declaring to them the truth of God on this subject, he knew not how to justify himself, before the judgment-seat of Christ. At the same time, he offered voluntarily to resign his office, after he had had this opportunity, if they were not satisfied, that his views of the subject were scriptural; provided a regular Ecclesiastical Council should sanction such resignation. No offer could be more fair than this. It left the ultimate decision of the question to the people themselves, after they had read, or heard, what he had to offer with regard to it. This proves, conclusively, that, in opposing for a while their violent measures, in endeavouring to procure his dismission, he aimed simply to satisfy the demands of his own conscience, and to prevent his people from committing, what he regarded as a most aggravated sin, that of rejecting him as their minister, without giving him any op-

portunity to lay before them what God had taught them, respecting the subject in question.

The refusal of the people to suffer Mr. Edwards to preach to them, on the Qualifications for Communion, was a sin of no ordinary magnitude. The strict mode of admission was the primitive mode, in all the New England churches. It was so in the Church of Northampton, and had prevailed in that church for forty-four years. The lax method had been publicly condemned by the General Synod of Massachusetts, in 1679, as a great and public sin, which provoked the judgments of heaven, and which must be repented of, and put away, if those judgments were to be averted. Of this Synod Mr. Stoddard was a member, and had himself joined in this very vote. It had been introduced into the Church of Northampton, without any vote of the church, or alteration of their original Platform, by Mr. Stoddard's forming a short profession, for the candidates for admission, agreeably to his own views, and the church submitting, though not without uneasiness, to his authority. The great body of wise and good men, in the church at large, and in New England, had been, and still were, in favour of the primitive mode; and the great majority of the ministers and churches in New England still adhered to it. Many arguments, and those of great apparent force, could certainly be alleged from the word of God, in favour of that mode, and against the other. Mr. Edwards was their pastor, and spiritual watchman and guide, set over them by divine appointment, to teach them the truth of God, and to guard them against error. He was required by Him, whose commission he bore, to declare to them the whole counsel of God, and to maintain the Discipline of the Church in its purity. They had seen his preaching honoured of God, far beyond that of any other clergyman in America. They acknowledged him to be, and boasted of him as being, a preacher of singular talents and wisdom; one, whose reasoning powers were of the highest order, and who shed uncommon light on the sacred scriptures. Such already was his character, throughout the Colonies, as well as throughout England and Scotland. As their minister, it was, beyond all controversy, his plain right, and obvious duty, to preach to them his own views of truth, on that subject, and on every other; and it was as certainly their duty to hear what he preached, and to examine, with docility and prayer, whether he did not tell them the truth. Waiving the direct assertion of this right, he came and distinctly offered to preach to them on the subject. He told them, that he had examined it with the utmost care and attention, giving the arguments in favour of the prevailing mode all the weight and consideration which he honestly could; that, as the result of this examination, his conscience would not suffer him to proceed in that mode any longer, and that he wished to lay before them, from the word of God, those arguments by which his own mind had been

convinced. This proposal they rejected, in the most direct and explicit manner, and that in numerous instances. They did so, in the Committee of the Church, when Mr. Edwards first proposed it;* in the Precinct meeting;† in the meeting of the Church;‡ and in every subsequent meeting of each of these bodies, when the subject was proposed. Mr. Edwards also urged them repeatedly, and by every consideration of duty, to submit the question to the neighbouring ministers, all but one of whom were on their side, Whether he had not a right to preach on the point in controversy, and whether it was not reasonable that they should hear him; but they refused. He then told them, that they might employ any ministers they chose, to preach in his pulpit on the other side, and in answer to his arguments; but they still refused.§ Nay, they would not even give him an opportunity to state the reasons of his opinion, in private conversation.

The reason they assigned, why they would not suffer him to preach, unfolds the actual state of their minds. It was, because *they feared, that his preaching would make parties in the town.* In other words, the great body of the people were now united against Mr. Edwards; the leaders of the opposition were resolved on his dismission; and they were afraid, if he should preach his sentiments, that he would convince a large number of them that he was right, and thus, by making a party in his own favour, defeat the measure on which they had resolved. This was the same as to acknowledge, that the people at large had not examined the question, and that, if they were to hear the discourses of Mr. Edwards, so many of them would probably be led, by the force of argument, to embrace his side of the question in dispute, as to hazard the success of their measures. Thus, when it was pre-eminently their duty to hear the counsel of God, on a great practical question, deeply interesting to their welfare as a church, they deliberately and repeatedly refused to hear it, when brought to them by the man, whom God had appointed to declare it to them; and for the express reason, that they feared his arguments might convince great numbers of them, that they were in the wrong. This was, as a church and people, deliberately to reject the counsel of God, and to declare, that they had made up their minds without examination, and would pursue their own course, whether God approved of it, or not.

The same spirit was exhibited, with regard to the Treatise on the Scriptural Qualifications for Communion. The ardour, manifested on the part of numbers, to have it printed, did not arise from a desire to read it, and examine its arguments, but from a wish to remove the objection, raised against proceeding to ultimate measures, that the people had had no opportunity to hear Mr. Edwards' sentiments. When the work was published, the reading of

* Feb. 1749. † Oct. 19. ‡ Oct. 22. § Nov. 3.

it was discouraged; and when numbers of those who read it were convinced of the soundness of the arguments, the town, without generally reading it, held repeated meetings, and by vote applied to two different clergymen to answer it.

The next proposal of Mr. Edwards* to the church, that a Council, mutually chosen, should be called, to consider of the subsisting controversy between pastor and people, and give their advice, as to what course should be taken to bring it to an issue, and what should be done to promote the church's peace and prosperity; was so precisely that, which justice and the platform of the churches required, that the Committee of the church, with only one dissentient, made a report, advising its acceptance. The church refused to comply, on the ground, that they might be ensnared and caught; as such a Council might recommend some adjustment of the existing difficulties, to which the church would not agree, and as they might also advise to the admission of those individuals, who were willing to make a full profession of religion.

The plan, adopted and pursued from the commencement to the close of the controversy, of bringing every measure primarily before the Precinct meeting,† of deliberating and resolving upon it there, and then of recommending to the church to adopt it; was a specimen of craft and management, worthy of a political cabal. In the Precinct meeting, they could pursue their own measures without interruption; for Mr. Edwards could not be present. Here, they could make any representation, and employ any means of excitement; for they had the whole Town to work upon. Here, men of all characters could meet, and vote what should be done in a church of Christ; and then, retiring and separating, could find that their measures were voted over again, when those of their number, who were members of that church, had assembled by themselves.

The controversy, respecting the choice of a Council, exhibits the parties in a similar light. A Mutual Council is, *ex vi termini*, a Council, in the choice of which, each of two contending parties stands on an equal footing, or has an equal advantage. It is a Council, mutually *chosen:* either by both parties agreeing upon all the members, or by each choosing half of the members. But if each may *choose* half of the members, each may certainly say, who they shall be. Any attempt to restrict the choice of one party, is therefore a direct invasion of his right, a gross perversion of justice, and a complete subversion of the principles, on which the government of the churches in Massachusetts was founded.

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* Nov. 13, 1749.

† The inhabitants of a Town, of all classes, when met to deliberate and decide on parochial affairs, constituted what, at that time, was called in the province, a *Precinct Meeting.*

Mr. Edwards, therefore, had a perfect right to select his own half of the Council; and justice to himself and his family demanded it. Had he originally asserted this right, and persevered in the assertion, no ultimate measure could have been adopted, but by a Council fairly chosen, and equally balanced. For the sake of peace, he unfortunately relinquished a part of this claim, in the outset; and then, both the Precinct and the Church were determined, that he should relinquish the remainder. Under the pretence, that the Platform recommended Councils to be taken, generally, from churches *in the vicinity*, they insisted, that the choice of both parties should be confined to the county of Hampshire. This was a mere pretence; for neither the church of Northampton, nor any other church, in the county or out of it, had ever adhered to this recommendation; and that church had even been represented in the Councils of other provinces. The church perfectly knew, that only one church in the vicinity, and only two churches and three ministers in the county, sided with Mr. Edwards, that the subject in controversy had excited sharp contention, that many of the ministers and churches of the county had warmly disapproved of the course, pursued by Mr. Edwards, in advocating the cause of strict admission, that three of the ministers of the county were connected with the —— family,* and that one of them† was personally opposed to him, from his having publicly defended the proceedings of the Council, which refused to ordain him. They perfectly knew, therefore, that, if the Council were taken exclusively from the county, almost every individual in it would be on their side, and opposed to Mr. Edwards, on the very question in dispute. This was the reason, why they contended so earnestly, for a Council exclusively from the county. Probably no example of injustice, as to the choice of umpires, more palpable and shameless, is to be found on the records of controversy. They were resolved to have no Council, unless one, whose decision they could know beforehand would be in their favour.

The course of conduct pursued by the first Council, as to the points submitted to them, is scarcely less deserving of censure. One of these points was, whether Mr. Edwards had not a right to go out of the county, in selecting his part of the Council; another, whether he had not a right to preach on the qualifications for communion, and whether it was not reasonable that the people should hear him. The members of the Council, in conversation with the parties, acknowledged freely, that these were rights, which Mr. Edwards could indisputably challenge; but utterly neglected to say so in their Result. Their private conversations, they well knew,

* Two of these, and the brother of the third, were actually selected by the Church, for the Decisive Council.

† This gentleman was also selected for the Decisive Council.

Mr. Edwards could make no use of; but their Official Award, in their Result, would have given him a very great advantage. This neglect could not have been an oversight; because Mr. Edwards urged it upon them, in the most solemn manner, as what he had a perfect right to demand of them as umpires, that they should *officially* decide these questions. Their failure to do it, therefore, was unquestionably owing, either to their disagreement with Mr. Edwards on the main question, or to their unwillingness to offend the people of Northampton; and, in either case, was wholly inconsistent with evangelical integrity.* They had accepted the office of umpires, and had heard the cause; and then, they would not give an award in favour of one of the parties, when, in conversation, they freely owned, before both, that he was in the right. Probably no similar example can be found, in the annals of Arbitration.

When Mr. Edwards, from a determination not to call a Definitive Council, until he had done what lay in his power to convince the people of their error, had commenced a series of Lectures, on the point in controversy, the same spirit was still manifested; for, though the Lectures were well attended, more than half of the audience were from abroad, a large proportion of the church and people refusing to be present.

With the constitution of the Final Council, the individual already referred to, as personally hostile to Mr. Edwards, and as the friend and counsellour of his enemies, could scarcely have been better satisfied, had he selected them himself; for one of the five was his near kinsman, another his own minister, another the brother of his brother-in-law, and the fourth and fifth, the two most decided opposers of Mr. Edwards among them all: one, in consequence of his having defended the course pursued by the Council, which refused to ordain him; and the other, from violent hostility to the system of doctrines, of which Mr. Edwards had been a most successful champion. Each of these gentlemen, also, was a warm advocate of the lax mode of admission; and several of them decidedly hostile to revivals of religion, and to the doctrines of grace. Their delegates appear to have been men, who would act with their ministers. The church of Cold Spring, one of those selected by Mr. Edwards, refused to send its messenger; and, though the pastor of that church sat and acted with the Council, the umpires chosen by Mr. Edwards were still in the minority, on every vote. This was in direct opposition to the mutual understanding and agreement of the parties. In the ultimate arrangement of Mr. Edwards and the people, when the final Council was chosen, it was explicitly understood, that neither party should have advantage of the other in point of numbers; and when Mr. Edwards insisted on this

* These remarks refer, of course, only to those, who were in the majority.

understanding, and declared that, according to the agreement of the parties, he was not bound to proceed with such a disparity, the majority refused to postpone the case until it could be remedied. This was doing the very injustice, at which the church had long aimed in vain.

Soon after Mr. Edwards was dismissed, the church and people voted, that he should not be allowed to preach in their pulpit; and actually closed it against him, even when they had no one else to preach. They preferred being without the preaching of the gospel, to hearing Mr. Edwards. And of the conduct of the church, when, at the request of his friends in Northampton, but wholly in opposition to his own opinion, a Council of ministers had been convened, to advise them as to their duty, the letter of Mr. Hawley is an exposure, which needs no farther comment.

But we are also to regard this melancholy event, as brought about under the direct appointment of an All-wise Providence; and, in its immediate and remote effects, we may discover the ends, which it was designed to answer. Among these, may be mentioned the following:

It showed, in a striking light, the instability of all things, that depend on man. No people had manifested more pride in their minister, or expressed a stronger attachment towards him; yet, for merely performing his duty, in a case where conscience, and the word of God, plainly allowed him no alternative, they turned against him, and resolved, in a body, to drive him from his office.

The question in controversy, between Mr. Edwards and his people, was one of vital importance to the purity and prosperity of the Christian Church. Wherever the lax method of admission has prevailed, all distinction between the church and the world has soon ceased, and both have been blended together. This question had never been thoroughly examined; and it needed some mind of uncommon powers, to exhibit the truth with regard to it, in a light too strong to be ultimately resisted. The controversy at Northampton compelled Mr. Edwards to examine it, with the utmost care; and the result of his labours has rendered all farther investigation needless. At the same time, his character, and the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, gave to his investigations a degree of fairness and candour, rarely witnessed in works of controversy.

The dismission of Mr. Edwards was an event of so singular an aspect, as to rivet the attention of the whole American Church, and, of course, to rivet that attention to the question in controversy between him and his people. It was necessary, not only that the subject should be ably treated, by some powerful advocate of truth, but that the Treatise should be extensively read. This result was thus effectually secured, at the time. And the fact, that Mr. Ed-

wards, a man whose character and writings have been so deeply interesting to the church at large, was on this ground, and in such a manner, dismissed from his people, has had great influence, from that time to this, in drawing the attention of christians to this subject, on both sides of the Atlantic.

This however, was not enough. It was necessary, also, that the genuine consequences of this mode of admission, its legitimate effects on the character of the church of Christ, should be fully developed; and no where, probably, could this have been done, in a manner so clear and striking, and with such convincing power, as in the church of Northampton. That church was preeminently "a city set upon a hill." Mr. Stoddard, during an uncommonly successful ministry, had drawn the attention of American christians towards it, for fifty-seven years. He had also been advantageously known, in the mother country. Mr. Edwards had been their minister, for twenty-three years. In the respect paid to him, as a profound theological writer, he had had no competitor from the first establishment of the colonies, and, even then, could scarcely find one in England or Scotland. He had also as high a reputation for elevated and fervent piety, as for superiority of talents. During the preceding eighty years, the church had been favoured with more numerous and more powerful revivals of religion, than any church in Christendom. The accounts of several of these revivals had circulated extensively, wherever the English language was spoken. The great body of the church had been gathered, under the ministry of Mr. Edwards. Their union, as minister and people, had been eminently prosperous and happy; so much so, that, had the voice of Prophecy announced such an event, as about to take place somewhere in New-England, probably Northampton would have been last selected, as the place, where the prediction could have been fulfilled. The truth of God, during the preceding eighty years, but especially during the preceding twenty-seven, had been preached with great power and faithfulness, particularly the absolute necessity of a change of heart to salvation; and the church was united in receiving the doctrines of grace. Both Mr. Stoddard, and Mr. Edwards also, while they received communicants without demanding evidence of their piety, did every thing else, which they could do, to promote their piety, and that of the church at large. Never probably was there a more advantageous opportunity, to exhibit the genuine influence of the lax mode of admission, on the piety and purity of a church, when, too, the most powerful causes were in operation, to prevent and counteract that influence, than in the church of Northampton. When, therefore, the christians of America beheld the members of that church uniting in one body against their once loved and venerated minister, whose labours had been so much honoured of God and man, resolving at all hazards to drive him from them, refusing con-

timally to hear him declare, from the desk, what the Holy Spirit had taught respecting the subject in controversy, refusing to read it when he had declared it from the press, and even refusing him an opportunity, to explain his views concerning it in private friendly conversation; when they saw them circulating "gross, scandalous and injurious, slanders, against Mr. Edwards and his particular friends,"* descending to the arts of political chicanery to effect their purpose,† endeavouring in every possible way to deprive him of a known acknowledged right in the choice of the Council, and, after his dismission, not suffering him to preach to them, even when they could procure no one else; they had the highest practical evidence of the tendency of the lax mode of admission, to corrupt the purity, and destroy the peace and prosperity, of the church of Christ. So violent was the shock given to the feelings of men, by this strange and surprising occurrence, that it produced at the time, and has ever since produced, a powerful reaction against that mode of admission, as well as against every species of lax theology in principle and practice. Probably no one event, of apparently malignant aspect, ever did so much, towards reforming the churches of New-England.

Many difficult subjects of theology, also, needed, at that time, to be thoroughly examined and illustrated; and to this end, some individual of expanded views and profound penetration, as well as of correct faith and elevated piety, was to be found, who could give the strength of his talents and his time to these investigations. The providence of God had selected Mr. Edwards for this important office; but so numerous and engrossing were the duties of the ministry at Northampton, that, had he remained there, he could not have fulfilled it, but in part. To give him abundant opportunity and advantage for the work assigned him, he was taken from that busy field, at the best time of life, when his powers had gained their greatest energy, when the field of thought and enquiry had been already extensively surveyed, and when the labours of the pulpit were fully provided for and anticipated; and was transferred to the retirement and leisure of a remote frontier village. There he prepared, within a little period, four of the ablest and most valuable works, which the Church of Christ has in its possession.

It is worthy of our observation, also, that the consequences of Mr. Stoddard's error fell with all their weight on *his own grandson*, and his numerous family. To this one cause, they might attribute the heaviest trial and calamity of life. This is very often, if not usually, the course of God's providence.

Previous to this event, Mr. Edwards' life had been eminently

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* Letter of Mr. Hawley.

† Particularly in the Precinct meeting deciding, previously, on the measures to be adopted by the Church.

prosperous. He had been eligibly settled, and had numerous and respectable friends, and a promising family. He had been greatly assisted of God in the discovery of truth, and had acquired high reputation, and very extensive influence. It appears, however, to be the lot of the children of God, to suffer afflictions; and from this species of discipline, even those of distinguished piety are not exempt. This affliction was most severe. Where a minister and his people are united in love, no earthly connection, if we except that of marriage and those subsisting between the nearest relations by blood, is so near and intimate. This connection had subsisted long, and had been of the happiest character. Yet, with no fault on his part to justify alienation on theirs, when he merely obeyed the dictates of his conscience, and the express command of God; he found those, who had long manifested the highest esteem and affection for him, and had publicly acknowledged him as their spiritual father, uniting against him in one body, "wickedly slandering him,"* rejecting every proposal of accommodation, paying no regard to his feelings, or the distress brought on him and his family, and resorting to low management, and to gross injustice, to drive him from the midst of them. All this, however, was the appointment of God; and he received the chastisement of his heavenly Father, with such exemplary submission, that it would seem to have been sent upon him, only to reveal more fully, the excellence of his character.

On the whole, it is evident, that, while the dismission of Mr. Edwards was, *in itself considered*, an event greatly to be regretted, it was at the same time, in every part of it, most honourable to himself, and proved, in its ultimate consequences, an essential blessing to the Church of God.

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* Mr. Hawley's Letter.

CHAPTER XXV.

Proposals from Stockbridge and from the Commissioners.—Visit to Stockbridge.—Indian Mission.—Housatonnucks.—Mohawks. —Dissensions of English inhabitants.—Mr. Hollis' munificence. —Letter to Mr. Hobby.—Reply of Rev. Solomon Williams.— Letter to Mr. Erskine.—Letter to Mr. Gillespie.—First Letter to Mr. Hollis.—Removal to Stockbridge.—Letter to Hon. Mr. Hubbard.—Petition to General Court.

Early in December, 1750, Mr. Edwards received proposals, from the church and congregation in Stockbridge, to become their Minister; and about the same time, similar proposals from the Commissioners, at Boston, of the "Society in London, for Propagating the Gospel in New England, and the parts adjacent," to becomet he Missionary of the *Housatonnucks*, or River Indians, a tribe at that time located in Stockbridge and its immediate vicinity. Before deciding on these proposals, he went to Stockbridge, in the beginning of January, 1751, and continued there during the remainder of the winter, and the early part of the spring, preaching both to the English inhabitants, and, by the aid of an interpreter, to the Indians. Soon after his return, he accepted of the invitation both of the Commissioners, and of the people of Stockbridge.

The Indian Mission at Stockbridge commenced in 1735; when the Rev. John Sergeant was ordained their Missionary. He continued to reside there until his death, July 27th, 1749. His Indian congregation, originally about fifty in number, gradually increased, by accessions from the neighbouring settlements on the Housatonnuck River, to the number of two hundred and fifty—the actual number in 1751. Mr. Sergeant devoted much of his time to the study of their language; (the *Moheekanneew;**) yet, at the close of his life, he had not made such progress, that he could preach in it, or even pray in it, except by a form. He ultimately regretted the time and labour thus lost, and expressed the conviction, that it would be far better for his successor not to learn the language, but to preach by an interpreter, and to teach the children of the Indians the English language, by the aid of schoolmasters. Very little

*The common language of all the Indians in New England, New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, except the Iroquois.

success appears to have attended his labours, either among the Indians or the English congregation.

A school was established, for the instruction of the Indian children, at the commencement of the mission, and placed under the care of Timothy Woodbridge, Esq. one of the original settlers of Stockbridge, and characterized by Mr. Edwards, as "a man of very good abilities, of a manly, honest and generous disposition, and as having, by his upright conduct and agreeable manners, secured the affections and confidence of the Indians." He was supported by the government of the Province, and devoted himself faithfully to the business of instructing the Indian children; yet for a long period, like Mr. Sergeant, he had to lament that so little success attended his labours. This was owing to various causes. The Indians lived in a village by themselves, at a small distance from the English settlement. Their children lived at home with their parents, and not in a boarding school; and of course made little or no progress in the English language; and they had no books in their own. The English traders sold large quantities of ardent spirits to the Indians, and in this way constantly counteracted the efforts, made to do them good. There were also unfortunate dissensions among the people of Stockbridge. The settlement of the town was begun, with a direct reference to the intellectual and moral improvement of the Indians, in the immediate vicinity. The lands of the Indians, comprizing a very extensive tract, were secured to them; and important privileges were granted to the families of the original settlers, by the Provincial Legislature, with reference to this very object. Unfortunately, one of the most wealthy of those settlers* appears to have removed to Stockbridge, with the design of amassing a still larger fortune, by his intercourse with the Indian settlement. With this view, he formed a large trading establishment in the neighbourhood. From his wealth and his locality, affairs of some moment, relating to the Indians at Stockbridge, were on various occasions, entrusted to his management; in one of which Mr. Woodbridge regarded him as doing so great and palpable an injury, both to the Indians and the province, that, taking it in connection with the general tenor of his conduct, he felt himself bound to prevent, as far as lay in his power, all intercourse between him and the Indian settlement, as well as all influence which he might attempt to exert, over the affairs of the Indians. In return, he endeavoured, in the first instance, to prevent the Indians from sending their children to the school, and to render those parents who actually sent them, dissatisfied with Mr. Woodbridge; and at length to procure the dismission of that gentleman from his appointment. This controversy was of long continuance, and affected the whole

* This individual was an elder branch of the ——— family, already alluded to in the account of Mr. Edwards' dismission.

settlement. The result was, that, although he amassed considerable wealth, he entirely lost the confidence of the Indians; and so completely alienated the minds of the English inhabitants, that every family in the place, his own excepted, sided with his antagonist. This controversy, for a long time, had a most inauspicious effect on the school of Mr. Woodbridge, and on the mission of Mr. Sergeant.

In 1739, Mr. Sergeant, despairing of any considerable success under the existing plan of instruction, attempted the establishment of an Indian boarding-school, to be kept at the expense of the English. He proposed, that the children should live in the family of their instructor, and learn the English language, and that their time should be divided between work and study, under different masters. For some time, he made but little progress in raising funds for this purpose, but at length was aided in his design, by the benevolence of the Rev. Isaac Hollis, a clergyman near London, who most generously offered to defray the expense of the board, clothing and instruction, of twelve Indian children.* At this time, no boarding house was built; and, for a long period, Mr. Sergeant found it impossible, to procure a person, duly qualified, to take charge of the school. To begin the work, however, Mr. Sergeant hired as a temporary teacher, until a competent one could be procured, a Capt. Martin Kellogg, an illiterate man, originally a farmer, and subsequently a soldier, about sixty years of age, very lame withal, and wholly unaccustomed to the business of instruction. His sister, Mrs. Ashley, the wife of a Capt. Ashley of Suffield, who had been taken prisoner, when a child, by the Iroquois, and perfectly understood their language, was the interpreter of the English at Stockbridge; and her brother having come to reside there, in consequence of having no regular business, was employed temporarily by Mr. Sergeant, for the want of a better instructor, because he was on the spot. A school had just been commenced under his auspices, (not however as a boarding school, as no house could be procured for the purpose,) when the French war of 1744 broke it up; and Capt. Kellogg, that he might con-

* In the spring of 1732, Mr. Hollis remitted £100, stg. to the Rev. Dr. Colman, for the instruction of Indian children. In 1734, having seen the printed account of the Ordination of Messrs. *Parker*, *Hinsdale* and *Secombe*, and their mission to the Indian tribes on the *Eastern* and *Western* borders of New England; he offered Dr. C. £20, stg. *per annum*, *forever*, for the support of a fourth missionary; but Dr. C. dissuaded him from such an appropriation. In Nov. 1736, Dr. C. received from Mr. H. £56, stg. for the education of twelve Indian boys at Housatonnuck, under the care of Mr. Sergeant; in Aug. 1738, £343, currency; and in May, 1740, £447, 9s. currency, for the same object. After this he appropriated, at first, £50, stg. *annually*, for the support and instruction of twelve Indian boys, and subsequently £120, stg. annually, for the support and instruction of twenty-four Indian boys, at the same place.---*See a pamphlet, published by Dr. Colman in* 1743.

tinue to receive the money of Mr. Hollis, carried several of the Indian boys to Newington in Connecticut, where he had previously resided.

After the close of the war, in 1748, Mr. Sergeant began the erection of a house for a boarding school. He also wrote a letter to the nation of the Mohawks, then residing on the Mohawk River, about forty miles west of Albany, inviting them to bring their children to Stockbridge, for instruction. But he did not live to see either of these designs accomplished. At his death, in 1749, several Indian boys were left in the hands of Capt. Kellogg, who, in the autumn of 1750, not having heard from Mr. Hollis for a considerable period, and supposing him to be dead, dismissed them for a time, and gave up his attempt to form a school.

In consequence of the letter of Mr. Sergeant to the Mohawk tribe, which had been accompanied by a very kind invitation from the Housatonnuck Indians, offering them a portion of their lands, for a place of settlement, if they would come and reside in Stockbridge, about twenty of them, old and young, came to that place, in 1750, a short time before the removal of Mr. Edwards and his family. The Provincial Legislature, learning this fact, made provision for the support and maintenance of the children, and Capt. Kellogg, unfortunately, was employed as the instructor. He never established a regular school, however, but taught the boys occasionally, and incidentally, and employed them chiefly in cultivating his own lands. He was then 65 years of age.

Near the close of Mr. Sergeant's life, the school for the Housatonnuck children, under Mr. Woodbridge, became much more flourishing. His salary was increased, the number of his pupils augmented, and himself left to act with less restraint. The Indians also became less inclined to intemperance. The influence of the —— family was likewise extinct: the English inhabitants having, to a man, taken the opposite side in the controversy; and the Indians regarding Mr. Woodbridge as their best friend, and his opponent as their worst enemy. Mr. Woodbridge was also, at this period, able to avail himself of the assistance of a young Housatonnuck, educated by himself, of the name of *John Wonwanonpequunnonnt*, a man of uncommon talents and attainments, as well as of sincere piety; who appears to have been raised up by Providence, that he might become the interpreter of Mr. Edwards, in preaching to his countrymen.

Mr. Hollis, having heard of the arrival of the Mohawks at Stockbridge, and supposing that a regular boarding school was established under the care of Capt. Kellogg, wrote to him to increase the number of the children to twenty-four, who were to be maintained and instructed at his expense. During the winter of 1750–51, the number of Mohawks, who came to reside at Stockbridge, was in-

creased to about ninety ; among whom were *Hendrick*, and *Nicholas*, and several others of their chiefs.

Such was the state of things at Stockbridge, and such the state of the Indian Mission, and of the Indian schools, when Mr. Edwards was invited to remove to that place. The ——— family at first exerted their whole influence, to prevent his receiving an invitation from the people of Stockbridge : but, finding that the church and parish, (themselves excepted,) were unanimous in giving the invitation, and very anxious that he should accept it, that there was no chance of producing a change in the minds of the Commissioners in Boston, and that continued opposition must terminate in their own utter discomfiture ; they changed their course, and professed to be highly gratified that he was coming among them.

After his return to Northampton, in the spring of 1751, Mr Edwards, before coming to a final decision, paid a visit to his Excellency Sir William Pepperell, at Kittery, to learn the actual views of the government, with regard to the Indian establishment at Stockbridge ; and having received satisfactory assurances on this subject, he soon after announced to the people of Stockbridge, and to the Commissioners in Boston, his acceptance of their respective invitations. In the third week of June, he went again to Stockbridge, and remained there during the greater part of the ensuing month. Soon after his arrival, he addressed the following letter to the Rev. Mr. Hobby, one of the minority in the Council, which had decided on his dismission, in consequence of an occurrence, which it is proper briefly to detail. Immediately after the Protest of the Minority, against the Result of Council, was published, four of the clergymen in the majority prepared a pamphlet attacking the Protest, entitled, " An account of the conduct of the Council which dismissed the Rev. Mr. Edwards from the pastoral care of the first church at Northampton." This drew, from Mr. Hobby, " A Vindication of the Protest against the Result of the Northampton Council ;" which called forth, from the same gentlemen, " A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Hobby, in answer to his Vindication," etc. This Letter contained so gross and palpable a misstatement, relative to the actual point in controversy between Mr. Edwards and his people, and to the nature of the profession, which he insisted on from those, who were to be received to the communion of the church ; that Mr. Edwards felt himself called upon to contradict it from the press, which he did in the subsequent Letter.

"To the Rev. William Hobby.

" *Stockbridge, June*, 1751.

" Rev. and dear Sir,

" I think myself obliged, in the most public manner I am able, to correct a great and very injurious misrepresentation, made publicly

concerning me, in a late pamphlet, entitled, "A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Hobby, in answer to his Vindication of the Protest against the Result of an Ecclesiastical Council met at Northampton, etc. by the Rev. Messrs. Robert Breck, Joseph Ashley, Timothy Woodbridge and Chester Williams."

"These gentlemen, who were members of the Council, which dissolved the relation between me and the church at Northampton, in professing to give an account, in this pamphlet, of what declarations both the church and I made, before that Council, of our principles, say, "that Mr. Edwards declared, that he could not in conscience be active, in admitting any into the church, unless they first made a profession, THAT THEY WERE INDEED SANCTIFIED:" Whereas I declared the reverse of this, openly, and publicly, and very particularly, before that Council, in the meeting-house, a great multitude being present; for this reason, because, I had heard that such reports had been spread abroad of my opinion, I carefully commented on them, and expressly denied and contradicted them, and told the Council that there was no truth in such reports. I distinctly informed them, also, that I did not insist that persons should say that they were converted, or were christians; that this was not what I had intended by a person making a profession of godliness; and that I should not think it became persons to come, and make such a profession as this. But I told them that what I insisted on, as a proper profession of godliness on the part of any person, was this:—either his professing the great things in which godliness consists; or that, in his own full belief, he saw such things in his heart, which, though *he* might think them not to be godliness, yet were truly such things, as the Scriptures represent as the essentials of true piety.—I added that, in the latter case, if he did this seriously and understandingly, I should think he ought to be accepted; though, at the same time, he should very much doubt of his being converted; yea, if he should, through melancholy or any temptation, determine against himself, and say he did not think that he was converted; if his own scruples did not hinder him, I should think he ought to be accepted, and should be ready to admit him.

[Mr. Edwards here subjoined the testimonies of several respectable witnesses to the point in question.]

"But, because I wished to take the utmost possible care, that what I said might be well observed and understood by the Council, and this false report sufficiently corrected, I sent the same thing in to the Council in writing. I also sent in an extract from a letter, which I had previously written to the Rev. Mr. Clark of Salem Village, in the following words, viz.

"It does not belong to the controversy between me and my people, *how particular, or large*, the profession should be, that is required. I should not choose to be confined to exact limits, as to

that affair. But rather than contend, I should content myself with a few words, briefly expressing the cardinal virtues, or acts, implied in a hearty compliance with the covenant of grace; the profession being made, (as should appear by enquiry into the person's doctrinal knowledge,) understandingly; if there were an external conversation agreeable thereto. Yea, I should think, that such a person, solemnly making such a profession, had a right to be received, as the object of a public charity, however he himself might scruple his own conversion, on account of his not remembering the time, or not knowing the method, of his conversion, or finding so much remaining sin, etc. And, (if his own scruples did not hinder,) I should think a minister, or a church, had no right to debar such a professor, though he should say he did not think himself converted. For I call that a profession of godliness, which is a profession of the great things wherein godliness consists, and not a profession by an individual, of his own opinion of his good estate.

"*Northampton, May* 7, 1750."

"This writing was handed round, and particularly taken notice of in the Council, and read by the members. Such abundant care did I take, that the Council might fully understand, that I by no means insisted, that a man should profess that he was sanctified or converted; and that I was so far from insisting on it, that I disliked such a kind of profession, and such terms of communion. Yet now some of the gentlemen, who were members of that Council, declare to the world from the press, that I declared this very thing to the Council, that *I could not in conscience admit persons, unless they first made a profession that they were indeed sanctified.* It may be said that, although I produce testimonies to the contrary, yet there are four that write in this declaration, which is sufficient to balance all my testimonies. To this I reply, that the extract from my letter to Mr. Clark of Salem Village, which was laid in before this Council, wherein the contrary was expressly declared, was in writing; and they cannot, and do not deny, that this extract, in these very words, was laid before them. And if they should deny that I ever wrote such a letter, the original is in Mr. Clark's hands; which will speak for itself, if they deny that I have truly represented it.

"That they should make such a declaration, as they have done, is the more remarkable, because this my extract from that letter was printed, long before, in the Preface to my Farewell Sermon, as a designed refutation of such kinds of reports of my opinion, and was referred to, to the same purpose, in the printed Result of the Council which sat at Northampton, which these gentlemen (p. 18) confess that they had seen. And these things from the press were very much known, and taken notice of, in that part of the country where these ministers live, long before. So that, if it were possi-

ble for me to defend myself from such injurious representations, and reports, and assertions on the part of those gentlemen, as are here made, one would think it was most effectually done. Yet, notwithstanding all this, they now boldly assert to the world, that I declared that, which, instead of declaring, I, at the time, expressly, carefully and publicly denied, and also declared the very reverse of it, by word of mouth, in their hearing, and in writing addressed to themselves, and afterwards from the press, before the world. If I had perfectly held my peace, and made no declaration of any kind on the subject, and they had then published to the world that I declared this, which they have asserted, it would indeed have been strange; but still, it would have been far less surprising and injurious than now, since I have, with so much pains, declared the contrary, and taken so much care, that they should have full notice of my denying and abhorring the thing, which they say I asserted and insisted on.

"I am your friend and brother,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

In the course of the spring, the Reply of the Rev. Solomon Williams, of Lebanon, Connecticut, to the Treatise of Mr. Edwards, on the Qualifications for Communion, issued from the press.* The task of preparing this work was not, originally, of the author's own seeking. As has been already mentioned, his half-brother, at the request of some of the opposers of Mr. Edwards in Northampton, began, in 1749, to collect materials for this reply. In this work, he had proceeded some distance, we know not how far, when the necessity of his embarking for England compelled him to relinquish it; and he placed his papers in the hands of his brother, in whose name the work appeared. What its character would have been, had he completed it himself, cannot now be known; but, after reading it, as it actually came forth from the hands of the two brothers, the friends of the lax mode of admission, conscious as they were of danger to their cause, from the Enquiry of Mr. Edwards, must have felt, if they did not say, "*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis, tempus eget.*" That the author, though he styled his work an *Answer* to the Treatise of Mr. Edwards, perceived it to be no easy task to furnish a *real answer* to his arguments, is obvious from the fact, that he continually misrepresents its design, and the nature of the question in controversy. He often asserts it to be the

* The title of this pamphlet is, "The True State of the Question concerning the Qualifications necessary to lawful Communion in the Christian Sacraments; being an Answer to the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Edwards' Book, entitled. *An Humble Enquiry into the Rules of the Word of God, concerning the Qualifications requisite to a complete standing, and full Communion, in the Visible Christian Church;* by Solomon Williams, A. M." Boston, 1751.

professed and declared design of Mr. Edwards, in writing the "Humble Enquiry," *to oppose Mr. Stoddard*, when Mr. Edwards declared, in the Preface, that, in consequence of the necessity he was laid under, of opposing what his grandfather had strenuously maintained, he had engaged in preparing it, with the greatest reluctance that he ever undertook any public service in his life. The main question, which Mr. Edwards had discussed in the "Humble Enquiry," was, *Whether candidates for admission to the Church, ought to make a Credible Profession of Piety?* This was the question in debate, between him and his people. They insisted, with Mr. Stoddard, that the Lord's Supper was a converting ordinance, that unconverted men, *as such*, had a right to partake of it, and of course, that a *credible* profession of piety was not necessary to church-membership. On this point, Mr. Edwards differed from them; and he wrote the "Humble Enquiry," to convince them, that their opinion was erroneous. As to the *evidence*, necessary to render a profession *credible*, he expressly states it to be "some outward manifestation, that ordinarily renders the thing *probable*;" and again, he says, "Not a *certainty*, but a *profession and visibility* of these things, must be the rule of the church's proceeding."—Mr. Williams, on the contrary, continually represents the main question in controversy to be, *What* DEGREE *of evidence, the church must have, of the piety of those, she receives as members?* He says, Mr. Edwards demands the *highest* evidence, which a man can give, of sincerity; and that he himself insists only on the *lowest* evidence, the nature of the thing will admit; as though both regarded *actual piety*, as necessary to such a profession. He then represents Mr. Edwards, as requiring so high a degree of evidence of the candidate's piety, as shall render the church *certain* of it, and enable them to come to an *absolute and peremptory determination, that he is a truly godly person;* and that his principles suppose men to be *Searchers* of each others' hearts.

All this is in direct contrariety to the often repeated statements of the principles, for which Mr. Edwards contended; and, as every intelligent reader of the "Enquiry" and "Answer" must ultimately be aware of this, and must perceive that Mr. Williams palpably avoided the main point in controversy, and discussed no point, but a subordinate one, on which he could make out no difference between himself and Mr. Edwards, except by mis-stating the plainly declared sentiments of the latter; it is difficult to explain, why he should have pursued such a course, when he had so acute an antagonist to expose the obliquity of the proceeding, except on the supposition, that, having publicly announced his design of *answering* Mr. Edwards, he found on trial, that he was not equal to the task, and pursued this course, to deceive the spectators of the contest. No one, who has courage to meet a real antagonist, will occupy himself

with a man of straw. What notice Mr. Edwards took of this Reply, will be stated on a subsequent page.

While at Stockbridge, he addressed the following letter to the Rev. Mr. Erskine.

"*Stockbridge, June* 28, 1751.

"REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,

"I have lately received the "Treatise on the Restoration of the Jews," and a pamphlet entitled "A Serious Address to the Church of Scotland," and a "Sermon on the Qualifications of the Teachers of Christianity," preached by you before the Synod, with Glass's Notes on Scripture Texts, No. 5. These pamphlets were inclosed in a wrapper, superscribed by your hand. There was also in the packet, a brief advertisement concerning one of the pamphlets, written in your hand, though without any date or name, or any letter in the packet. But yet, I conclude these pamphlets were sent by you, and accordingly I now thank you for them. Your discourse on the Qualifications of Teachers of Christianity, is a very acceptable present. Glass's Notes on Scripture Texts contain some things that are very curious, and discover close study, and a critical genius. The "Treatise on the Restoration of the Jews," if written by a christian divine, is a strange and unaccountable thing; by reason of there being nothing at all said, or hinted, about the Jews' conversion to the Christian faith, or so much as one mention of Jesus Christ; and his supporting that the prophecies of Ezekiel are to be literally fulfilled, in the building of such a temple and city as is there described, and the springing of such a river from the threshold of the temple, and its running into the east sea, and the Jews offering sacrifices, and observing other rites spoken of in Ezekiel; and that the Messiah is yet to come, and to reign in Jerusalem as a temporal prince, etc. And I am wholly at a loss, as to the author's real design, whether it was, to promote Judaism, or Deism, or only to amuse his readers.

"Since I received these pamphlets, I have received letters from all my other correspondents in Scotland; but none from you. Mr. M'Laurin speaks of your writing, or designing to write; but suggests that possibly your letter would not arrive so soon as the rest; so that I hope I shall yet, ere long, receive a letter from you. The letters, I have received from my other correspondents, make mention of a great revival of religion in Guelderland, and Mr. M'Laurin has sent me printed accounts of it, published, as I understand, by Mr. Gillies, his son-in-law, being extracts of letters from Holland. I had some notice of it before, in a letter from Mr. Davenport, who, for the most part, resides in New-Jersey. The account he wrote, was brought over from Holland, by a young Dutch minister, whose name is John Frielinghausen, born in New-Jersey, second son to an eminent Dutch minister there. His elder brother is set-

tled at Albany, and by all accounts, is an able and faithful minister. This second son has been in Holland two years, I suppose to perfect his education in one of their Universities, where his brother at Albany had his education. He came over into America the last summer, having just been married and ordained in Holland, in order to take the pastoral charge of some of the places, that had been under his father's care.

"The accounts, Mr. Davenport gives from him, are not so particular, as those that are published by Mr. Gillies. But there is one material and important circumstance, which he mentions, not taken notice of in the accounts from Scotland, viz. that the STADTHOLDER was much pleased with the work.

"At the same time, that we rejoice in that glorious work, and praise God for it, it concerns us carefully to pray, that God's ministers and people there may be directed in such a state of things, wherein wisdom and great discretion are so exceedingly needed, and great care and skill, to distinguish between true and false religion; between those inward experiences, which are from the saving influence of the Spirit of God, and those that are from Satan, transforming himself into an angel of light. Without this, it may be expected, that the great deceiver will gradually insinuate himself; acting under disguise, he will pretend to be a zealous assistant in building the temple, yea, the chief architect, when his real design will be, to bring all to the ground, and to build Babel, instead of the temple of God, finally to the great reproach and grief of all true friends of religion, and the haughty triumph of its adversaries. If I may be allowed my conjecture in this affair, *there* lies the greatest danger of the people in Guelderland, who are concerned in this work. I wish they had all the benefit of the late experience of this part of the Church of God, here in America. Mr. M'Laurin informs me, dear Sir, that you have a correspondence in the Netherlands; and, as you know something of the calamities we have suffered from this quarter, I wish you would give them some kind admonitions. They will need all the warnings that can be given them. For the temptation to religious people, in such a state of things, to countenance the glaring, shining counterparts of religion, without distinguishing them from the reality, what is true and genuine, is so strong, that they are very hardly indeed restrained from it. They will at last find the consequences not to be good, of an abundant declaring and proclaiming their experience, on all occasions, and before all companies, if they get into that way, as they will be very likely to do, without special caution in their guides. I am not so much concerned about any danger, the interest of the revival of religion in Guelderland may be in, from violent open opposition, as from the secret, subtle, undiscerned guile of the Old Serpent. I perceive, pious ministers in the Netherlands are concerned to obtain attestations to the good abiding effect of the awakenings

in Scotland and America. I think it is fit they should know the very truth of the case, and that things should be represented, neither better nor worse than they are. If they should be represented worse, that would give encouragement to unreasonable opposers; if better, that might prevent a most necessary caution, of the true friends of the awakening. There are, undoubtedly, very many instances in New-England, in the whole, of the perseverance of such, as were thought to have received the saving benefits of the late revival of religion; and of their continuing to walk in newness of life, and as becomes saints; instances, which are incontestible, and which, men must be most obstinately blind not to see; but I believe the proportion here is not so great as in Scotland. I cannot say, that the greater part of supposed converts, give reason, by their conversation, to suppose that they are true converts. The proportion may, perhaps, be more truly represented, by the proportion of the blossoms on a tree, which abide and come to mature fruit, to the whole number of blossoms in the spring.

"In the forementioned letter, which I lately received from Mr. Davenport, he mentions some degrees of awakening, in some places of New-Jersey. The following are extracts from his letter. "I returned last month from Cape May, where I had been labouring some time, with little or no success, as to the unregenerate; except somewhat encouraging, the last day of my preaching among them. Yet, blessed be God, I hear of the success of several ministers in the Jerseys, and the revival of religion in some places; though it is very dull times in most. Mr. Reed, of Boundbrook, has, I hear, some encouragement, by reason of a few in that place being under conviction. Mr. Kennedy, who is likely to settle at Baskingridge, I hear, has still more encouragement; and Mr. John Frielinghausen more yet, among the Dutch. He is the second son of the Mr. Frielinghausen, mentioned in your narrative, who died a few years ago. This second son came over from Holland, where he had been two years, and was ordained a little before he came over, the last summer. Pious ministers among the Dutch, this way, I think increase faster of late, than among other people. I was at the house of such an one, Mr. Varbryk, as I came along in this journey; who was ordained last fall, about five miles beyond Dobbs' Ferry, in New-York government. Mr. William Tennent told me, that Mr. John Light, a pious young Dutch minister in New-Jersey, was translating the accounts from Holland into English. Mr. Brainerd has had some special success lately, through mercy; so that nine or ten Indians appear to be under conviction, as he tells me; and about twelve of the white people near them, that used to be stupid like the very heathen; and many others more thoughtful and serious. Mr. Sacket has lately been favoured with peculiar success, in reducing a number drawn away and infected

by the Separatists; and some endeavours I have used since that, and with him, have, I trust, not been altogether in vain. The good Lord grant, that false religion may cease, and true religion prevail through the earth!" This letter of Mr. Davenport was dated April 26, 1751.

"The Dutch people in the provinces of New-York and New-Jersey, have been famed for being generally exceedingly ignorant, stupid and profane, little better than the savages of our American deserts. But it is remarkable, that things should now begin to appear more hopeful among them, about the same time that religion is reviving among the Dutch in their mother country; and certainly, the revivals of religion which have very lately appeared, especially among the Dutch in Europe, do verify God's holy word, which not only gives such great encouragement to those, who have engaged in the Concert for United Prayer, begun in Scotland, to go forward, but binds it strongly upon them so to do; and shows that it will be an aggravated fault, if, after God does such glorious things, so soon after we have begun in an extraordinary manner to ask them, we should grow cold and slack, and begin to faint. And I think what God has now done, may well cause those, who seemed at first, with some zeal, to engage in the affair, but have grown careless about it, and have left off, to reflect on themselves with blushing and confusion. What if you, dear Sir, and other ministers in Scotland, who have been engaged in this affair, should now take occasion to inform ministers in the Netherlands of it, and move them to come into it, and join with us, in our united and extraordinary prayers, for an universal revival of religion?

"As to my present circumstances, I came the last week to this place, having undertaken the business of a missionary to the Indians here; having been chosen the pastor of this church, and chosen missionary by the Commissioners for Indian affairs in Boston. My instalment is appointed to be on the second Thursday in the next month.* I don't expect to get ready to remove my family, till winter. But I must refer you, dear Sir, to my letters to Mr. M'Laurin and Mr. Robe, for a more full account of my circumstances, and of the things which have passed relating to them. I have, with this, sent you the Gazette, containing the Result of the late Council at Northampton, and intend to order one of my Farewell Sermons to be put up for you. My family were in their usual state of health when I left them, excepting my youngest child, who had something like an intermitting fever.

"Please to present my cordial respects, and christian love, to your dear consort, and remember me in your prayers, with regard to

* This part of the letter must have been written in July, as the installation took place in August.

the trials and changes I am called to pass through, and the new important business I have undertaken.

"I am, dear Sir, your most
"united and obliged friend and brother,
"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

From Mr. Gillespie he received, about this period, a letter most grateful to his own feelings, expressing a lively and affectionate sympathy in his afflictions, as well as surprize and astonishment at the conduct of the people of Northampton. Mr. Edwards, in his reply, communicates a series of facts respecting them, which not only were adapted, at the time, to remove these impressions of his friend; but will be found, also, to contain a most important and salutary lesson of instruction, to every clergyman, and every church. The solemn caution of the Apostle, in 1 Cor. iii. 10—15, to every minister, to take care how he builds up the temple of God, of which Jesus Christ is the foundation—a caution, which refers not only to the nature of the *doctrines* which he teaches; but, also, and even more especially, (as will be obvious from verses 16 and 17,) to the character of the *members* whom he adds to the church of Christ, which is the temple of God;—is here enforced most solemnly, by arguments derived from experience.

"To the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, Carnock.

"*Stockbridge, July* 1, 1751.

"REV. AND VERY DEAR SIR,

"I am very greatly obliged to you, for your most kind, affectionate, comfortable, and profitable letter of Feb. 2, 1751. I thank you, dear Sir, for your sympathy with me, under my troubles, so amply testified, and the many suitable and proper considerations, you suggest to me, for my comfort and improvement. May God enable me to make a right improvement of them.

"It is not to be wondered at, dear Sir, that you are shocked and surprized, at what has happened between me and the people of Northampton. It is surprizing to all impartial and considerate persons that live near, and have the greatest advantage to know the circumstances of the affair, and the things that preceded the event, and made way for it. But no wonder, if it be much more so, to strangers at a distance. I doubt not, but that God intends his own glory, and the safety and prosperity of Zion, and the advancement of the interests of religion, in the issue of this event.

"But it is best, that the true state of the case should be known, and that it should be viewed as it is, in order to receiving that instruction which divine Providence holds forth in it, and in order to proper reflections and right improvement.

"As there is a difference among particular persons, as to their natural temper, so there is some difference of this kind to be observed in different countries, and also in different cities and towns. The people of Northampton have, ever since I can remember, been famed for a high spirited people, and of a difficult and turbulent temper. However, though in some respects they have been a stiff-necked people, yet God has been pleased, in times past, to bestow many distinguishing favours upon them. The town has stood now near one hundred years. Their first minister, Mr. Eleazar Mather, brother to Dr. Increase Mather of Boston, and Mr. Samuel Mather of Dublin, Ireland; was a very eminent man of God. After him came Mr. Stoddard, my grandfather, a very great man, of strong powers of mind, of great grace and great authority, of a masterly countenance, speech and behaviour. He had much success in his ministry; there being many seasons in his day, of general awakening among his people. He continued in the ministry, at Northampton, about sixty years. But God was pleased, in some respects, especially, to manifest his power in the weakness of his successor; there having been a more remarkable awakening, since his death, than ever had been till then, in that town: although since that, also, a greater declension, and more awful departures from God, in some respects, than ever before; and so the last minister has had more to humble him, than either of his predecessors. May the effect be answerable to God's just expectatations.

"The people have, from the beginning, been well instructed; having had a name, for a long time, for a very knowing people; and many have appeared among them, persons of good abilities; and many, born in the town, have been promoted to places of public trust: they have been a people distinguished on this account. These things have been manifestly abused to nourish the pride of their natural temper, which had made them more difficult and unmanageable. There were some mighty contests and controversies among them, in Mr. Stoddard's day; which were managed with great heat and violence: some great quarrels in the Church, wherein Mr. Stoddard, great as his authority was, knew not what to do with them. In one ecclesiastial controversy in Mr. Stoddard's day, wherein the church was divided into two parties, the heat of spirit was raised to such a degree, that it came to hard blows. A member of one party met the head of the opposite party, and assaulted him, and beat him unmercifully. In latter times, the people have had more to feed their pride. They have grown a much greater and more wealthy people than formerly, and are become more extensively famous in the world, as a people that have excelled in gifts and grace, andhad God extraordinarily among them; which has insensibly engendered and nourished spiritual pride, that

grand inlet of the devil in the hearts of men, and avenue of all manner of mischief among a professing people. Spiritual pride is a most monstrous thing. If it be not discerned, and vigourously opposed, in the beginning, it very often soon raises persons above their teachers, and supposed spiritual fathers, and sets them out of the reach of all rule and instruction, as I have seen in innumerable instances. And there is this inconvenience, attending the publishing of Narratives of a work of God among a people, (such is the corruption, that is in the hearts of men, and even of good men,) that there is great danger of their making it an occasion of spiritual pride. There is great reason to think that the Northampton people have provoked God greatly against them, by trusting in their privileges and attainments. And the consequences may well be a warning to all God's people, far and near, that hear of them.

"Another thing, which probably has contributed in some measure to the unhappiness of the people's manners, was, that Mr. Stoddard, though an eminently holy man, was naturally of a dogmatical temper; and the people being brought up under him, and with a high veneration for him, were naturally led to imitate him. Especially their officers and leading men, seemed to think it an excellency, to be like him in this respect.

"It has been a very great wound to the Church of Northampton, that there has been for forty or fifty years, a sort of settled division of the people into two parties, somewhat like the *Court* and *Country party*, in England, (if I may compare small things with great.) There have been some of the chief men in the town, of chief authority and wealth, that have been great proprietors of their lands, who have had one party with them. And the other party, which has commonly been the greatest, have been of those, who have been jealous of them, apt to envy them, and afraid of their having too much power and influence in town and church. This has been a foundation of innumerable contentions among the people, from time to time, which have been exceedingly grievous to me, and by which doubtless God has been dreadfully provoked, and his Spirit grieved and quenched, and much confusion and many evil works have been introduced.

"Another thing, that evidently has contributed to our calamities, is, that the people had got so established in certain wrong notions and ways in religion, which I found them in, and could never beat them out of. Particularly; it was too much their method to lay almost all the stress of their hopes in religion, on the particular shape and method of their first work; *i. e.* the first work of the Spirit of God on their hearts, in their conviction and conversion; and to look but little at the abiding sense and temper of their hearts, and the course of their exercises, and trials of grace, for evidences of their good estate. Nor had they learned, and many of them never could be made to learn, to dis-

tinguish between impressions on the imagination, and lively spiritual experience, and when I came among them, I found it to be too much a custom among them without discretion, or distinction of occasions, places, or companies, to declare and publish their own experiences; and oftentimes to do it in a light manner, without any air of solemnity. This custom has not a little contributed to spiritual pride and many other evils. When I first settled among the people, being young and of little experience, I was not thoroughly aware of the ill consequences of such a custom, and so allowed or at least did not testify against it, as I ought to have done.

"And here I desire it may be observed, that I would be far from so laying all the blame of the sorrowful things, that have come to pass, to the people, as to suppose that I have no cause of self-reflection and humiliation before God, on this occasion. I am sensible that it becomes me to look on what has lately happened, as an awful frown of heaven on me, as well as on the people. God knows the sinfulness of my heart, and the great and sinful deficiencies and offences, which I have been guilty of, in the course of my ministry at Northampton. I desire that God would discover them to me more and more, and that now he would effectually humble me, and mortify my pride and self-confidence, and empty me entirely of myself, and make me to know how that I deserve to be cast away, as an abominable branch and as a vessel wherein is no pleasure; and, if it may consist with his holy will, that he would sanctify me, and make me a vessel more meet for my Master's use; and yet improve me as an instrument of his glory, and the good of the souls of mankind.

"One thing, that has contributed to bring things to such a pass at Northampton, was my youth, and want of more judgment and experience, in the time of that extraordinary awakening, about sixteen years ago.* Instead of a youth, there was want of a giant, in judgment and discretion, among a people in such an extraordinary state of things. In some respects, doubtless, my confidence in myself was a great injury to me; but in other respects my diffidence of myself injured me. It was such, that I durst not act my own judgment, and had no strength to oppose received notions, and established customs, and to testify boldly against some glaring false appearances, and counterfeits of religion, till it was too late. And by this means, as well as others, many things got footing, which have proved a dreadful source of spiritual pride, and other things that are exceedingly contrary to true christianity. If I had had more experience, and ripeness of judgment and courage, I should have guided my people in a better manner, and should have guarded them better from Satan's devices, and prevented the spiritual cala-

* In 1734--35.

nity of many souls, and perhaps the eternal ruin of some of them; and have done what would have tended to lengthen out the tranquility of the town.

"However, doubtless at that time, there was a very glorious work of God wrought in Northampton, and there were numerous instances of saving conversion; though undoubtedly many were deceived, and deceived others; and the number of true converts was not so great as was then imagined. Many may be ready, from things that are lately come to pass, to determine, that all Northampton religion is come to nothing; and that all the famed awakenings, and revivals of religion in that place, prove to be nothing but strange tides of a melancholy and whimsical humour. But they would draw no such conclusion, if they exactly knew the true state of the case, and would judge of it with full calmness and impartiality of mind.

"There are many things to be considered in the case of Northampton:

"1. That many of those, who have been most violently engaged, and have chiefly led and excited others in it, though they have been leading men in the town, and have been esteemed considerable for their knowledge, estate and age, and have been professors of religion, yet have not been the most famed for piety.

"2. The leading men, who have been the most engaged in this matter, who have taken vast pains to stir up others that are inferiour, have had this great advantage in their hands, that the controversy was a religious controversy; that that, which I opposed, was what they always had supposed to be a part of divine truth, a precious and important doctrine of the word of God; and, that the cause of my opposers was the cause of God. This has led the more ignorant, and less considerate people, to look on their zeal against me as virtue, and to christen even their passions and bitterness in such a cause with sanctified names, and to let them loose, and prosecute the views of their bitterness and violence without a check of conscience.

"3. They have also had the great advantage of the vast veneration, the people had for Mr. Stoddard's memory; which was such, that many looked on him, almost as a sort of deity. They were all, (*i. e.* except the young people,) born and brought up under his ministry, and had been used from their infancy to esteem his sayings all as oracles. And he, they knew, maintained that doctrine which I oppose, with great positiveness and zeal, and opposed the contrary, which I maintain, as an exceedingly pernicious doctrine. Under these circumstances, I naturally appear as a dangerous opposer of the cause of God, and my teaching and insisting on the doctrine, which Mr. Stoddard opposed, appears to them a sort of horrid profaneness.

"4. Crafty designing men have abundantly filled the ears of the more ignorant with suggestions, that my opinion tends to overthrow

all religion, and to ruin the present and future generations, and to make all heathens, shutting them out of the Church of Christ.

"5. Not only many of the leading men of Northampton have used their utmost endeavours, to engage the minds of the common people in this controversy, but they have also been put forward, by the neighbouring ministers all round. My opposers have also been assisted and edged on by some at a great distance, persons of note; and some great men in civil authority have had a great hand in it.

"6. It is to be considered, that the contrary opinion to mine, had not only long been established in Northampton, without so much as one opposer to it; but it had also been fully and quietly established, for a long time, in all the neighbouring churches and congregations, and in all the country round, even to a great distance; so that my opinion, when first broached, appeared to the people exceedingly singular. Their views being very narrow, it appeared to them, that all the world, almost, was against me. And my most crafty opposers improved this advantage, and abundantly represented me as all alone in my opinion.

"7. Many of the people, who at length came to have their spirits much raised, and were brought to join in violent measures, yet came slowly into it, after being long practised with, and indefatigable endeavours used, to engage and influence them.

"8. There are about twenty heads of families, besides others, women and young people, who ever appeared openly against the proceedings of the town, and many others have appeared friendly to me. And there is not a little reason to think, that there are many more, especially women and youths, that would appear so, if they dare. For a person, by appearing my friend at Northampton, even so much so as openly to discountenance my being turned out of the pulpit, exposes himself to the immediate persecution of his neighbours, and perhaps of his nearest friends. I mean, he falls under their great resentment, loses all their friendship, and is every where the object of reproach.

"9. It is to be considered, that these things have happened when God is greatly withdrawn, and religion was very low, not only at Northampton, but all over New-England.

"10. I believe the devil is greatly alarmed, by the opposition made to the lax doctrine of admission to the christian church, and to the corresponding practice, which had been so long established at Northampton, and so extensively in the country; in which he found his account, and hoped for more important consequences, and more agreeable to him. And God, for wise ends, has suffered him to exert himself, in an extraordinary manner, in opposition; as God ordinarily does, when truth is in the birth.

"But I am drawn out to an unexpected length, in my observations on these things, and have not left myself room, nor time, for some

other things, that I would willingly write, and must therefore refer you to my letters to my other correspondents in Scotland; particularly, Mr. M'Laurin, Mr. Robe, Mr. M'Culloch, and Mr. Erskine. To some of them, I have sent a particular account of my present circumstances, and of things which have lately passed, relating to them. I would only say in general, that I have had a call to settle in Stockbridge, a place in the western borders of New-England, next to the province of New-York, about thirty-six miles from Albany, and about forty miles from Northampton, the place where Mr. Sergeant was minister and missionary to the Indians. I am both called by the church here, constituted partly of Indians and partly of English, and am appointed missionary to the Indians, by the Commissioners of Indian affairs, in Boston; agreeably to what you suggest in your letter, as though you had been able to foresee future events, when you say,—"Perhaps you are to be employed, where the Gospel has been little understood, or attended to." I suppose this place will, for the future, be the place of my ordinary abode, though it will be some months before I can remove my family. I have no leisure, at present, to write on the subject you speak of, viz. *impressions, and supposed immediate revelations*, though I own the vast importance of the subject. I had begun to write something against the Arminians, before the late controversy; and now lately, Mr. Williams has written a book, in answer to mine on that subject; which I think myself obliged to answer, if God give me opportunity.

"I have much to teach me to behave like a pilgrim and stranger in the earth. But in the midst of troubles and difficulties, I receive many mercies. Partiularly, I have great reason, with abundant thankfulness, to take notice of the great kindness of my friends in Scotland. Blessed be God, who never forsakes those, that trust in him; and never wants instruments, for the conveyance of his goodness and liberality to those, who suffer in his cause!

"I shall take care, that there be conveyed, with this letter, to you, one of my Farewell Sermons, and the Result of the Council, that sat at Northampton the last May. Remember me, dear Sir, at the throne of grace, with regard to all my trials; and with regard to my new circumstances, and the important service I have undertaken in this place—and please, in your next, to inform me, what family you have, and of their state.

"I am, dear Sir, your most
"affectionate friend and brother,
"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

The following letter of Mr. Edwards to the Rev. Isaac Hollis, the patron of one of the Indian schools at Stockbridge, will explain some of the difficulties, to which they were subjected.

"To Mr. Hollis.

"*Stockbridge, July* 2, 1751.

"Rev. and honoured Sir,

"Having seen your late letter to Mr. Prince of Boston, and another to Capt. Kellogg, received this summer, and having lately been appointed Missionary to the Indians in this place, I thought myself obliged to take the first opportunity to write to you, who have exerted yourself, in so extraordinary a manner, to promote our interests here, to serve which I am now devoted; partly to offer you my thanks for what you have done, and have lately offered to do, with so fervent and enlarged a heart, and bountiful a hand, for the advancement and enlargement of Christ's kingdom of grace among this poor people, and the eternal welfare of their souls; which may well excite the joy and admiration of all good christians, the thanks of all who make the interests of Zion their own, and especially of him who has the souls of the Indians committed to his own more immediate care.

"I write, also, partly to inform you of what I have had opportunity to observe, of the state of things here, relating to the affair of the instruction of the Indians, which you have a right to know; it being an affair in which you have been pleased so greatly to interest yourself, and which depends so much on the effects of your most generous christian beneficence. I have had considerable opportunity to observe the state of things; for though it is but about a month since I came here, after I had undertaken the work of the ministry here, as the stated Missionary, yet I had been here before, two months in the winter, and then spent much time with the Indians, particularly with the Mohawks under the care of Capt. Kellogg.

"There are here two schools for the instruction of Indian children: one under the care of Mr. Timothy Woodbridge, which began soon after Mr. Sergeant began to preach to these Indians,—this school consists wholly of the proper *Housatonnuck* Indians; the other, under the care of Capt. Kellogg, which he began with the *Housatonnucks*, on the plan which Mr. Sergeant projected; but, in the changeable unsettled state, in which things have been since Mr. Sergeant's death, it has been altered from that form, and the *Housatonnuck* boys have left it, and it now consists wholly of *Mohawk* children, which have been brought down hither by their parents, from their own proper country, about eighty miles, to this end, that they might be taught to read, and write, and be instructed in the christian religion.

"There are some things, which give a hopeful prospect with regard to these Mohawk Indians; particularly the forward inclination of the children and their aptness to learn. But that, which has evidently been the greatest defect from the beginning in the method

of instruction here, is, that no more proper and effectual measures have been taken, to bring the children that are here, to the knowledge of the English tongue. For want of this, all the labour and cost, which have been expended in schools here, for about fourteen years, have been consequently to but little effect or benefit. When the children are taught to read, many of them, for want of the English language know nothing of what they read; their books being all in English. They merely learn to make such and such sounds, on the sight of such and such marks, but know not *the meaning* of the words, and so have neither profit nor pleasure in reading, and will therefore be apt soon to lose even what they have learned, having no benefit or entertainment in the use of it.

"It is on many other accounts of great importance, that they should be brought to know the English language. This would greatly tend to forward their instruction; their own barbarous languages being exceedingly barren, and very unfit to express moral and divine things. It would likewise open their minds, and, by means of their acquaintance and conversation with the English, would tend to advance them in knowledge and civilization. Some pains has been taken to teach the children the English tongue, but nothing very considerable has been accomplished. And I can think of but two ways in which it can be effected:—either by introducing a number of English children into the schools, to learn with them, and be their mates; or by distributing the Indian children into English families, to live there a year or two, where they must be allowed to speak the English and nothing else, and then return into the Indian schools, to perfect them in reading and writing, and the knowledge of the principles of religion, and all other useful knowledge. The latter, if their parents can be persuaded to consent to it, as probably they may, will be much the most effectual.

"I would therefore, Sir, humbly propose, that some such method should be taken with regard to the children, who have the benefit of your liberality; and that part of your benefaction should be expended in this way, under the care of prudent and faithful Trustees; for, in order to the business being managed thoroughly in future, a great deal of care and activity will be necessary, vastly more than the schoolmaster can have leisure for. There are many things, pertaining to the regulation of the affairs of the instruction of the Indian children, which seem greatly to require the care of a number of persons, who shall be entrusted to dispose things according to the best of their discretion; sending from time to time, a particular and exact account of the manner, in which they have laid out your money.

"I thought myself obliged to give you these intimations; you being at a great distance, and not capable of knowing the exact state of things, any otherwise, than by the information of those who are

on the spot; and it being fit that you should know those circumstances, which are of so much importance to the affair, that, without a proper regard to them, the great expense, which you incur, is liable to be in a great measure in vain.

"I humbly request your prayers to the Fountain of all light and grace, for his guidance and assistance in this important service, which I have lately undertaken in this place.

"I am, Honoured Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"And affectionate brother in the gospel ministry,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS.

A conference was appointed, to be held at Albany, the last week in June, 1751, between the Commissioners of the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-York, and the Chiefs of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, for the purpose of making a treaty. The Commissioners of Massachusetts were directed to pass through Stockbridge, on their way to Albany, for the purpose of conferring with the Mohawks, already there, about their settlement in New-England. On their arrival, they found that Hendrick, and almost all the heads of families, on account of their disgust at the neglect of their children, on the part of Capt. Kellogg, had returned to their own country. In consequence of this, they requested Mr. Edwards to go to Albany, and be present at the conference; whither he accordingly went, the first week in July. In an interview with Hendrick and Nicholas, he endeavoured to persuade them, to influence as many of the Mohawk Chiefs, as possible, to go to Stockbridge, and there treat of their removal to New-England. This being urged upon them afterwards, by the Commissioners of Massachusetts, was agreed to by them and the other Chiefs; and a conference appointed, to be held at Stockbridge, in August. Mr. Edwards then returned to Stockbridge, and, in the latter part of July, to his family in Northampton.

The first week in August, he removed his family and effects from Northampton to Stockbridge; and on Thursday, Aug. 8th, was regularly installed as the minister of the congregation in that place, and inducted into the office of Missionary, to the Indians residing in its vicinity. His salary was derived from three sources: from the parish of Stockbridge; from the Society in London, for propagating the Gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent, whose missionary he was, through their Commissioners at Boston; and from the Legislature of the Colony, as a part of the annual fund devoted to the civilization of the Indians. This latter sum was paid, of course, to the individual, who held the office of minister and missionary at Stockbridge, although the government had no voice in his appointment.

On Tuesday, Aug. 13th, the Chiefs of the Mohawks came from

their two principal settlements, to Stockbridge, and met the Commissioners of the province. The Chiefs expressed a very strong desire, that their children might be instructed; but objected to the removal to Stockbridge, on the ground, that the affairs of the Mohawks there were left in the utmost confusion, that no regular school was established, and no thorough means taken for the education of their children. After reminding the Commissioners, how often the English had failed to fulfil their promises, and disappointed the hopes, which they had encouraged them to entertain, they requested them *to promise nothing, but what the government would certainly perform.* The Commissioners agreed among themselves, that, in consequence of the utter incompetency of Capt. Kellogg, another instructer, a man of learning and skill, must be procured for the Mohawk school; and promised the Chiefs, that a regular school should be established for their children, and a competent instructer speedily procured. After this, the Chiefs declared their acceptance of the proposals made to them, of sending their children to Stockbridge for instruction, and of coming, a number of them, to reside there; and tendered a belt of wampum to the Commissioners, in confirmation of the agreement, which was accepted. On Thursday, Aug. 22, the Council was dissolved, and the Chiefs went home.

The *Mohawks*, at this time, discovered a very strong desire to promote the education of their children, and an unusual willingness to receive religious instruction; as did also a part of the tribe of the *Oneiyutas*, or *Oneidas*, residing at *Onohohquauga*, or *Onohquauga*, a settlement on the Susquehannah. The French, having been apprised of the efforts making by the English, in behalf of the Mohawks, were busily occupied in seducing them, and the other tribes of the Iroquois, to emigrate into Canada; and were actually erecting a chain of forts, extending from Canada, through New-York, Pennsylvania, and the wilderness beyond, to the Mississippi. Mr. Edwards, believing that, if the utmost good faith was not kept with the Mohawks, the whole plan of instructing them would be defeated; and regarding the period, as a most critical one for the welfare of the British Colonies; addressed a letter, on the subject of the Indians, to the Hon. Thomas Hubbard, Speaker of the House of Assembly. In this letter, he gave an account of the Council held with the Chiefs of the Mohawks, at Stockbridge, and their agreement to encourage the education of their children at that place; mentioned the interest felt in the subject by the Mohawks and the Oneiyutas, and by some of the Tuscaroras; stated the vast importance of the existing crisis, for securing the friendship of the Six Nations; recited the machinations of the French, to seduce them from the English interest, and their hostile movements in the west; pointed out the religious and literary instruction of the Indians, as the only means of securing their attachment to the British cause;

and detailed the measures necessary to be pursued at Stockbridge, to promote these great objects.*

When Mr. Edwards had removed his family to Stockbridge, he found himself exceedingly embarrassed, from the difficulty of procuring the land, necessary for his own immediate accommodation. When the town was first settled, it was granted to the Housatonnucks, except *six portions*, to the late missionary, the school-master, and four other settlers. These portions were now distributed among *fourteen* proprietors, and could be purchased, only at a very high price. He therefore presented a Petition to the General Court, at their session in October, 1751, asking leave to purchase the necessary lands, for his own accommodation—a homestead in the centre of the town, and a piece of wood-land in the outskirts. The Legislature granted him leave to purchase the homestead, and recommended to the English inhabitants, to provide the necessary wood-land for their minister.

On the tract of land, which he purchased, near the centre of the town, Mr. Edwards, soon after, erected a commodious dwelling, which is still standing.

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* I regret that the length of this interesting letter renders its insertion impracticable.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Letter to Sir W. Pepperell.—Letter to Lady Pepperell.—Letter to his father.—Arrival of Mr. Hawley.—Increasing importance of Indian Establishment.—Schemes of its enemies.—Firm stand taken by Mr. Edwards.—Letter to Mr. Oliver.—Letter to Commissioners.—Difficulties of the Mission.—Answer to Mr. Williams.—Letter to the people of Northampton.—Marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Burr.—Letter to Mr. Erskine.—Letter to Mr. Hollis.—Letter to Mr. Hubbard.

The Indian establishment at Stockbridge, being gradually more and more known, excited more and more the attention, and interest, of the benevolent in England. Among these, Joshua Paine, Esq., of London, addressed a Letter to Sir William Pepperell, the Governour of the Province; requesting information, as to the proper plan of a school for Indian girls at that place. An extract from that letter was forwarded to Mr. Edwards from Sir William, through the Secretary of the Commissioners, with a request that he would write to Sir William on the subject. He accordingly addressed to him the following Letter.

"*Stockbridge, Nov.* 28, 1751.

"Honoured Sir,

"When I had the opportunity the last spring of waiting on your Excellency at your seat at Kittery, and was there gratified and honoured by the kind and hospitable entertainment of your house, I was favoured with some conversation with you, concerning the affairs of the Indians at Stockbridge, and the business of the mission here, to which I had then been invited. And you were then pleased generously to assure me of your good offices, in affording me any assistance in this employment, which you could render me, through your acquaintance and correspondence in London.

"I have lately been favoured with a letter from the Hon. Andrew Oliver, of Boston, wherein he was pleased to send me an Extract of a letter to you from Joshua Paine, Esq., of London, concerning a proper plan of a school for Indian girls in this place, and to propose to me to write to you on the subject of the said Extract. This encourages me to hope that a letter from me, on this subject, to your Excellency will be kindly received.

"With this hope, I would take leave to say, that I think that, as

the boarding-schools here are now in their commencement, and are yet to receive their form and character, and that among a people hitherto unaccustomed to any method of instruction whatever, it is a great pity but that the method actually adopted should be free from the gross defects of the ordinary method of teaching among the English.

"One of these grand defects, as I humbly conceive, is this, that children are habituated to learning without understanding. In the common method of teaching, so far as my observation extends, children, when they are taught to read, are so much accustomed to reading, without any kind of knowledge of the meaning of what they read, that they continue reading without understanding, even a long time after they are capable of understanding, were it not for an habit of making such and such sounds, on the sight of such and such letters, with a perfect inattentiveness to any meaning. In like manner they are taught their catechism, saying over the words by rote, which they began to say, before they were capable of easily and readily comprehending them. Being long habituated to make sounds without connecting any ideas with them, they so continue, until they come to be capable of well understanding the words, and would perhaps have the ideas, properly signified by the words, naturally excited in their minds on hearing the words, were it not for an habitual hearing and speaking them without any ideas; so that, if the question were put in phraseology somewhat new, to which they have not been accustomed, they would not know what to answer. Thus it happens to children, even with regard to the plainest printed catechisms, even those, which have been contrived with great care and art, so that they might be adapted to the lowest capacities.

"I should therefore think that, in these boarding-schools, the children should never read a lesson, without the master or mistress taking care, that the child be made to attend to, and understand, the meaning of the words and sentences which it reads; at least after the child begins to read without spelling, and perhaps in some degree before. And the child should be taught to understand *things*, as well as *words*. After it begins to read in a Psalter, Testament or Bible, not only the words and phrases should be explained, but the things which the lesson treats of should be, in a familiar manner, opened to the child's understanding; and the master or mistress should enter into conversation with the child about them. Familiar questions should be put to the child, about the subjects of the lesson; and the child should be encouraged, and drawn on, to speak freely, and in his turn also to ask questions, for the resolution of his own doubts.

"Many advantages would arise from this method. By this means, the child's learning will be rendered pleasant, entertaining and profitable, as his mind will gradually open and expand with knowledge, and his capacity for reasoning be improved. His lesson

will cease to be a dull, wearisome task, without any suitable pleasure or benefit. This will be a rational way of teaching. Assisting the child's reason enables him to see the use, and end, and benefit of reading, at the same time that he takes pains from day to day to read. It is the way also to accustom the child, from its infancy, to think and reflect, and to beget in it an early taste for knowledge, and a regularly increasing appetite for it.

"So also, with regard to the method of catechizing children; beside obliging them to give the answers in the printed catechism, or in any stated form of words, questions should be asked them from time to time, in the same familiar manner, as they are asked questions commonly about their ordinary affairs, with familiar instructions, explanations, and rehearsals of things, intermixed; and, if it be possible, the child should be led, by wise and skilful management, into the habit of conversation on divine things, and should gradually be divested of that shyness and backwardness, usually discovered in children, to converse on such topics with their superiors. And when the printed catechisms are used, as I am far from thinking they ought to be entirely neglected, care should be taken, that the child should attend to the meaning of the words, and be able to understand them; to this end, not only explaining the words and sentences, but also from time to time varying the phraseology, putting the question in different words of the same sense, and also intermixing with the questions and answers, whether printed or not, some improvement or application, in counsels and warnings given to them, founded on the answers that have been given.

"Beside the things already mentioned, there are other things, which, as it appears to me, ought to be done, with regard to the education of children in general, wherein the common methods of instruction in New-England, are grossly defective. The teacher, in familiar discourses, might, in a little time, give the children a short general scheme of the Scriptural history, beginning with the creation of the world, and descending through the various periods of that history, informing them of the larger divisions, and more important events of the story, and giving them some idea of their connection one with another;—first, of the history of the Old Testament, and then of the New. And when the children had in their heads this general scheme, then the teacher might, at certain times, entertain them, in like familiar discourse, with the particular stories of the Scriptures, sometimes with one story, and then with another, before they can obtain the knowledge of them themselves, by reading; for example, at one time the story of the creation, at another time the story of the flood, then the dispersion of the nations, the calling of Abraham, the story of Joseph, the bringing of the children of Israel out of Egypt: And in the New Testament, the birth of Christ, some of the chief acts of his life, his death, his resurrection,

his ascension, the effusion of the Holy Spirit at the day of Pentecost, and some of the chief of the acts of the Apostles; withal, pointing out to them the place which each event has in the general scheme, and the connection it has with other main parts of it. The teacher, in a familiar manner, should apply the events of the story discoursed upon, with the design of informing the child's understanding, influencing his heart, and directing his practice. A child, who is able to read his Bible, might be set to read a particular Scriptural history, sometimes one, and sometimes another, diligently observing it, and examining for himself, all that is said concerning it. And when he has done, he might be called to the master or mistress, and enquired of, concerning the particulars of the history, to see that he has paid attention, and is able to give a good account of it.

"And I can see no good reason, why children in general, beside the Scriptural history, should not, in a like familiar manner of conversation, be taught something of the great successive changes and events, in the Jewish nation, and the world at large, which connect the history of the Old and New Testaments. Thus, they might be informed, in short, of the manner in which the Four Great Monarchies succeeded each other, the persecutions which the Jews suffered from Antiochus Epiphanes, and the principal changes which happened to their Church and State, before the coming of Christ. And they might be shown, how such and such events were a fulfilment of such and such prophecies. And when they learn the history of the New Testament, they might, with much profit and entertainment, have pointed out to them, many plain prophecies of the Old Testament, which have their fulfilment in him. And I can see no good reason, why children cannot, or may not, be taught something in general of Ecclesiastical History, and be informed how things, with regard to the State of Religion and the Church of God, have gone on, as to some of the main events, from the time when the Scriptural history ended, to the present time; and how given Prophecies of the Scriptures have been fulfilled in some of these events; or why they may not be told, what may yet be expected to come to pass, according to the Scriptural Prophecies, from this time, to the end of the world.

"It appears to me obvious, also, that, in connection with all this, they should be taught somewhat relating to the chronology of events, which would make the story so much the more distinct and entertaining. Thus, they may be taught how long it was from the Creation of the world to the Coming of Christ; how long from the Creation to the Flood; how long from the Flood to the calling of Abraham, etc.; how long David lived before Christ; how long before the Captivity in Babylon; how long the Captivity, before Christ, etc.; how long since the birth of Christ; how old he was when he began to preach, and when he was crucified; how long

after his resurrection, before he ascended; how long, also, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, until Babylon was destroyed by Cyrus; how long after the beginning of the Persian Empire, before that empire was overthrown by Alexander; when was the great oppression of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes; when Judea was conquered by the Romans; how long after Christ's resurrection, before the destruction of Jerusalem; and how long before the empire became Christian; how long after Christ, before the Popes claimed such and such powers; when the worship of images was introduced; how long before the Reformation, etc. etc. All children are capable of being informed, and having an idea of these things, and can much more easily learn them, if endeavours were used to that end, than many things which they do learn.

"And with like ease, and with equal benefit, they might be taught some of the main things in Geography: which way the land of Canaan lies from this; how far it is; which way Egypt lay from Canaan; which way Babylon lay from Jerusalem, and how far; which way Padan-Aram was from Canaan; where Rome lay from Jerusalem; where Antioch; etc. etc.

"And I cannot but think it might be a pretty easy thing, if proper means were taken, to teach children to spell well, and *girls* as well as *boys*. I should think it may be worth the while, on various accounts, to teach them to write, and also to teach them a little of arithmetic, some of the first and plainest rules. Or, if it be judged, that it is needless to teach all the children all these things, some difference might be made in children of different genius, and children of the best genius might be taught more things than others. And all would serve, the more speedily and effectually, to change the taste of Indians, and to bring them off from their barbarism and brutality, to a relish for those things, which belong to civilization and refinement.

"Another thing, which properly belongs to a christian education, and which would be unusually popular with them, and which would in several respects have a powerful influence, in promoting the great end in view, of leading them to renounce the coarseness, and filth and degradation, of savage life, for cleanliness, refinement and good morals, is teaching them to sing. Music, especially sacred music, has a powerful efficacy to soften the heart into tenderness, to harmonize the affections, and to give the mind a relish for objects of a superiour character.

"In order to promote the salvation of the children, which is the main design of the whole Indian establishment at this place, I think that, beside their attending public worship on the sabbath, and the daily worship of the family, and catechizing in the school, and frequent counsels and warnings given them, when all together, by their teachers; each child should, from time to time, be dealt with singly, particularly and closely, about the state and concerns of his

soul; and particular care should be taken to teach and direct each child, concerning the duty of *secret prayer*, and the duty pressed and enforced on every one; and care should be taken, that all may have proper opportunity and convenience for it.

"I need say nothing concerning buildings, lodgings, household, stuff, cattle, servants, husbandry instruments, and utensils for the children's work; as it is agreed on all hands, that these are necessary; and the providing of them will doubtless be left to the care and discretion of the Trustees, that shall be appointed.

"But I would beg leave to say further, with regard to methods to forward the proficiency of the children in their learning, that I cannot but think measures might be devised, greatly to encourage and animate them in it, and excite a laudable ambition to excel. One thing I have thought of, which, as appears to me, might have a happy tendency this way, in each of the boarding-schools: at certain periods, there should be a sort of public examination in the school, on a day appointed for the purpose, which shall be attended by all the Trustees, and all in the town who are in any respect connected with Indian affairs, and some of the neighbouring ministers, and gentlemen and ladies; and also that the chiefs of the Indians be invited to attend; at which there shall be a public trial of the proficiency, which each one has made, in the various branches which have been taught, as in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, knowledge in the principles of religion, knowledge of church history, etc; and that a premium shall be given to such as are found to excel, which may be done in something, that will very much please Indian children, with but little expense. And likewise, that the works of the children be then produced, to be judged of, that it may be determined who has made the greatest proficiency in learning to sew, to spin, to knit, etc; and that a reward be given to such as have excelled. And perhaps, also, that a reward be then given to such, as, by the testimony of their teachers and governors, have excelled in virtue or diligence, in care to speak the truth, in strictly observing the sabbath, in good manners, in respect to their superiours, etc. And that, in the day of public trial, there be somewhat of an entertainment made for the members of the school, and those who are invited to attend. This not only might tend greatly to stimulate the children in their learning, but would be very pleasing and animating to the tribes of Indians, and would have great influence in rendering them very favourably disposed to the affairs of the schools.

"But your Excellency will easily see that, in order to the practicableness of these things, in any tolerable degree and manner, it is necessary that the children should be taught the English tongue; and indeed this is of the most absolute necessity, on almost every account. The Indian languages are extremely barbarous and barren, and very ill fitted for communicating things moral and divine,

or even things speculative and abstract. In short, they are wholly unfit for a people possessed of civilization, knowledge and refinement.

"Besides, without their learning English, their learning to read will be in vain; for the Indians have not the Bible, nor any other book, in their own language. Without this, their teachers cannot converse with them, and so can have no advantage to instruct them. Hence, all possible means must be used, in the first place, to introduce the English tongue among the children. To this end, much pains should be taken to teach them the English name for every thing, and English words that signify such and such actions; and an Interpreter might be used for a while, to interpret their lessons to them, and to teach them to construe them, or turn them into Indian. And a number of English children might be put into the school with the Indian children. But the most effectual method of all would be, to put out some of the Indian children, first, into some good English families, one at a place, to live there a year or two, before they are brought into the school; which would not only be above all others the most successful method, but would be absolutely necessary, at least at first; but truly a great deal of care must be taken to find good places for them, and to look well to them, and to see that they are well taken care of, in the families to which they are sent. It is probable, that the parents of the children might, with proper endeavours, be persuaded to such a measure.

"But it will doubtless be very easily and quickly determined, by your Excellency, that, if such methods, as those which have been mentioned, or any like them, or indeed any other effectual measures, are taken, it will be absolutely necessary, that the school should be under the constant care and inspection of Trustees, who live upon the spot, or very near at hand. It will be in vain for any to expect, that any woman can look after such a school, and provide for and govern so large a family, and take care continually to order and regulate so many and great affairs pertaining to it, within doors and without, without much assistance of some always at hand, who are able and faithful, and are interested and duly empowered. If she has under her a second, or a kind of usher, and has servants of both sexes, yet still she will be under the necessity of having some superiour assistance. And as to the precise method of teaching, and regulating the discipline of the school and family, it must be left very much to their discretion; for experience alone can certainly determine, the fittest methods of ordering such an establishment, so new and untried, though very probable conjectures may be made. And experience will doubtless direct to some new measures, which cannot now be thought of. Hoping that your Excellency will excuse the particularity and mi-

nuteness, into which I have unintentionally been led, on a subject, about which I cannot but feel the deepest interest,

"I remain,

"With very high respect,

"Your most humble servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

In the package to Sir William, Mr. Edwards, in consequence of her own request, forwarded to Lady Pepperell, who was then in very deep affliction, the following letter; which will probably be regarded as one of the happiest specimens of christian sympathy and condolence, to be found in epistolary writing.

"To Lady Pepperell.

"*Stockbridge, Nov.* 28, 1751.

"MADAM,

"When I was at your house in Kittery, the last spring, among other instances of your kind and condescending treatment to me, was this, that, when I had some conversation with Sir William, concerning Stockbridge and the affairs of the Indians, and he generously offered me any assistance, in the business of my mission here, which his acquaintance and correspondence in London enabled him to afford me, and proposed my writing to him on our affairs; you were also pleased to invite me to write to you, at the same time. If I should neglect to do as you then proposed, I should fail not only of discharging my duty, but of doing myself a great honour. But as I am well assured, even from the small acquaintance I had with you, that a letter of mere compliments would not be agreeable to a lady of your disposition and feelings, especially under your present melancholy circumstances; so the writing of such a letter is very far from my intention, or inclination.

"When I saw the evidences of your deep sorrow, under the awful frown of heaven in the death of your only son, it made an impression on my mind not easily forgotten; and when you spoke of my writing to you, I soon determined what should be the subject of my letter. It was that, which appeared to me to be the most proper subject of contemplation, for one in your circumstances; that, which I thought, above all others, would furnish you a proper and sufficient source of consolation, under your heavy affliction; and this was the Lord Jesus Christ:—particularly the amiableness of his character, which renders him worthy that we should love him, and take him for our only portion, our rest, hope and joy; and his great and unparalleled love towards us.—And I have been of the same mind ever since; being determined, if God favoured me with an opportunity to write to your Ladyship, that those things should be the subject of my letter. For what other subject is so well calculated to prove a balm to the wounded spirit.

"Let us then, dear Madam, contemplate the loveliness of our blessed Redeemer, which entitles him to our highest love; and, when clearly seen, leads us to find a sweet complacency and satisfaction of soul in him, of whatever else we are deprived. The Scriptures assure us that He, who came into the world in our nature, and freely laid down his life for us, was truly possessed of all the fulness of the Godhead, of his infinite greatness, majesty and glory, his infinite wisdom, purity and holiness, his infinite righteousness and goodness. He is called "the brightness of God's glory, and the express image of his person." He is the Image, the Expression, of infinite beauty; in the contemplation of which, God the Father had all his unspeakable happiness from eternity. That eternal and unspeakable happiness of the Deity is represented as a kind of social happiness, in the society of the persons of the Trinity; Prov. viii. 30, "Then I was by him as one brought up with him, I was daily his delight rejoicing always before him." This glorious Person came down from heaven to be "the Light of the world," that by him the beauty of the Deity might shine forth, in the brightest and fullest manner, to the children of men.

"Infinite Wisdom also has contrived, that we should behold the glory of the Deity, in the face of Jesus Christ, to the greatest advantage, in such a manner as should be best adapted to the capacity of poor feeble man; in such a manner, too, as is best fitted to engage our attention, and allure our hearts, as well as to inspire us with the most perfect complacency and delight. For Christ, having, by his incarnation, come down from his Infinite exaltation above us, has become one of our kinsmen and brothers. And his glory shining upon us through his human nature, the manifestation is wonderfully adapted to the strength of the human vision; so that, though it appears in all its effulgence, it is yet attempered to our sight. He is indeed possessed of infinite majesty, to inspire us with reverence and adoration; yet that majesty need not terrify us, for we behold it blended with humility, meekness and sweet condescension. We may feel the most profound reverence and self-abasement, and yet our hearts be drawn forth, sweetly and powerfully, into an intimacy the most free, confidential and delightful. The dread, so naturally inspired by his greatness, is dispelled by the contemplation of his gentleness and humility; while the familiarity, which might otherwise arise from the view of the loveliness of his character merely, is ever prevented, by the consciousness of his infinite majesty and glory; and the sight of all his perfections united fills us with sweet surprize, and humble confidence, with reverential love, and delightful adoration.

"This glory of Christ is properly, and in the highest sense, divine. He shines in all the brightness of glory, that is inherent in the Deity. Such is the exceeding brightness of this Sun of Righteousness, that,

in comparison of it, the light of the Natural Sun is as darkness; and hence, when he shall appear in his glory, the brightness of the Sun shall disappear, as the brightness of the little stars do, when the Sun rises. So says the prophet Isaiah, "Then the Moon shall be confounded, and the Sun shall be ashamed, when the Lord of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion, and before his ancients, gloriously," Isa. xxiv. 23. But, although his light is thus bright, and his beams go forth with infinite strength; yet, as they proceed from the Lamb of God, and shine through his meek and lowly human nature, they are supremely soft and mild, and, instead of dazzling and overpowering our feeble sight, like a smooth ointment or a gentle eye-salve, are vivifying and healing. Thus on them, who fear God's name, "the Sun of Righteousness arises, with healing in his beams," Mal. iv. 2. It is like the light of the morning, a morning without clouds, as the dew on the grass, under whose influence the souls of his people are as the tender grass springing out of the earth, by clear shining after rain. Thus are the beams of his beauty, and brightness, fitted for the support and reviving of the afflicted. He heals the broken in spirit, and bindeth up their wounds. When the spirits of his people are cut down by the scythe, he comes down upon them, in a sweet and heavenly influence, like rain on the mown grass, and like showers that water the earth.(Ps. lxxii. 6.)

"But especially are the beams of Christ's glory infinitely softened, and sweetened, by his love to men, the love that passeth knowledge. The glory of his person consists, pre-eminently, in that infinite goodness and grace, of which he made so wonderful a manifestation, in his love to us. The apostle John tells us, that God is Light; (1 John, i. 5.) and again, that God is Love; (1 John, iv. 8.) and the light of his glory is an infinitely sweet light, because it is the light of love. But especially does it appear so, in the person of our Redeemer, who was infinitely the most wonderful example of love, that was ever witnessed. All the perfections of the Deity have their highest manifestation in the Work of Redemption, vastly more than in the Work of Creation. In other works, we see him indirectly; but here, we see the immediate glory of his face. (2 Cor. iii. 18.) In his other works, we behold him at a distance; but in this, we come near, and behold the infinite treasures of his heart. (Eph. iii. 8, 9, 10.) It is a work of love *to us*, and a work of which *Christ* is the author. His loveliness, and his love, have both their greatest and most affecting manifestation in those sufferings, which he endured *for us* at his death. Therein, above all, appeared his holiness, his love to God, and his hatred of sin, in that, when he desired to save sinners, rather than that a sensible testimony should not be seen against sin, and the justice of God be vindicated, he chose to become obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Thus, in the same act, he manifests, in the highest conceivable degree, his infinite hatred of sin, and his infinite love to

sinners. His holiness appeared like a fire, burning with infinite vehemence against sin; at the same time, that his love to sinners appeared like a sweet flame, burning with an infinite fervency of benevolence. It is the glory and beauty of his love to us, polluted sinners, that it is an infinitely pure love; and it is the peculiar sweetness and endearment of his holiness, that it has its most glorious manifestation in such an act of love to us. All the excellencies of Christ, both divine and human, have their highest manifestation, in this wonderful act of his love to men—his offering up himself a sacrifice for us, under these extreme sufferings. Herein have abounded toward us the riches of his grace, in all wisdom and prudence. (Eph. i. 8.) Herein appears his perfect justice. Herein too, was the great display of his humility, in being willing to descend so low for us. In his last sufferings, appeared his obedience to God, his submission to his disposing will, his patience, and his meekness, when he went as a lamb to the slaughter, and opened not his mouth, but in a prayer that God would forgive his crucifiers. And how affecting this manifestation of his excellency and amiableness to our minds, when it chiefly shines forth in such an act of love to us.

"The love of Christ to men, in another way, sweetens and endears all his excellencies and virtues; as it has brought him into so near a relation to us, as our Friend, our elder Brother, and our Redeemer; and has brought us into so strict an union with him, that we are his friends, yea, members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. (Eph. v. 30.)

"We see then, dear Madam, how rich and how adequate is the provision, which God has made for our consolation, in all our afflictions, in giving us a Redeemer of such glory, and such love; especially, when it is considered, what were the ends of this great manifestation of beauty and love, in his death. He suffered, that we might be delivered. His soul was exceeding sorrowful, even unto death, to take away the sting of sorrow, and to impart everlasting consolation. He was oppressed and afflicted, that we might be supported. He was overwhelmed in the darkness of death, that we might have the light of life. He was cast into the furnace of God's wrath, that we might drink of the rivers of his pleasures. His soul was overwhelmed with a flood of sorrow, that our hearts might be overwhelmed with a flood of eternal joy.

"We may also well remember, in what circumstances our Redeemer now is. He was dead; but he is alive, and he lives forever more. Death may deprive us of our friends here, but it cannot deprive us of this our best friend. We have this best of friends, this mighty Redeemer, to go to, in all our afflictions; and he is not one, who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities. He has suffered far greater sorrows, than we have ever suffered; and if we are actually united to him, the union can never be broken,

but will continue when we die, and when heaven and earth are dissolved. Therefore, in this, we may be confident, though the earth be removed, in him we shall triumph with everlasting joy. Now, when storms and tempests arise, we may resort to him, who is a hiding place from the storm, and a covert from the tempest. When we thirst, we may come to him, who is as rivers of water in a dry place. When we are weary, we may go to him, who is as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. Having found him, who is as the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, we may sit under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit will be sweet to our taste. Christ said to his disciples, "In the world ye shall have tribulation; but in me ye shall have peace." If we are united to him, we shall be like a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out its roots by the river, that shall not see when heat cometh, but its leaf shall ever be green, and it shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall it cease from yielding fruit. He will now be our light in darkness; our morning-star, shining as the sure harbinger of approaching day. In a little time, he will arise on our souls, as the Sun in his glory; and our Sun shall no more go down, and there shall be no interposing cloud—no veil on his face, or on our hearts; but the Lord shall be our everlasting light, and our Redeemer our glory.

"That this glorious Redeemer would manifest his glory and love to your mind, and apply what little I have said on this subject, to your consolation, in all your afflictions, and abundantly reward your kindness and generosity to me, while I was at Kittery; is the fervent prayer, Madam, of

"Your Ladyship's most obliged
"and affectionate friend,
"and most humble servant,
"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

The repeated afflictions of a widowed sister, in the beginning of the next year, occasioned the following letter to his father, containing some allusions to the state and circumstances of his own family.

"To the Reverend Timothy Edwards, East Windsor.

"*Stockbridge, Jan.* 27, 1752.

"HONOURED SIR,

"We have lately heard the sorrowful tidings of the death of two of Sister Backus'* children, as we are informed both at your

* Mrs. Backus the fifth sister of Mr. Edwards was now a widow. Her husband, the Rev. Simon Backus of Newington, (Wethersfield.) was designated by the Connecticut Legislature, as chaplain to the troops sent to Louisburgh in

house; which is the occasion of Cousin Eunice returning from Stockbridge at this time; she having a desire to see her mother and surviving sisters at Windsor, on this melancholy occasion. We are much affected with sister's great and heavy afflictions, and lament the death of two such likely promising children, in their early youth. It is my earnest desire, that it may be sanctified to us of this family. I desire your prayers, that it may be so; particularly to those that are young in the family; that they may be awakened by it to diligent preparation for death; and that we all may take notice of our distinguished mercies, with a becoming thankfulness to God. I look upon it as a great favour of Heaven, that you, my Parents, are still preserved in the land of the living, to so great an age. I hope, by the leave of Divine Providence, to make you and sister Backus a visit in the spring. We are, through mercy, in our ordinary state of health, except that little Betty don't seem of late to be so well, as she was in the summer. If she lives till spring, I believe we must be obliged to come again to the use of the cold bath with her. My wife and children are well pleased with our present situation. They like the place far better than they expected. Here, at present, we live in peace; which has of long time been an unusual thing with us. The Indians seem much pleased with my family, especially my wife. They are generally more sober and serious than they used to be. Beside the Stockbridge Indians, here are above sixty of the Six Nations, who live here for the sake of instruction. Twenty are lately come to dwell here, who came from about two hundred miles beyond Albany. We expect our son and daughter Parsons will remove hither in a short time. Many of their goods are already brought up."

[After alluding to the indigent circumstances of his sister Mrs. Backus, and her family, and mentioning that himself and Mrs. Edwards had done every thing for his niece, which was in their power, he proceeds.]

"I hope some of her friends will be kind to her in this respect. There are perhaps none of her uncles, but are much better able to help her, than I am at this time; who, by reason of lately marrying two children, and the charge of buying, building and removing, am, I suppose, about £2000 in debt, in this Province money.* I

1746, to prevent its recapture by the French. He died there soon after his arrival. The vessel, containing his effects, and a considerable sum contributed by the gentlemen of the army for his family, was cast away on its return; and the family were left in very indigent circumstances.

* I suppose that this means £2000 *old tenor*, as it was then called; the value of which continually varied, but has been commonly estimated at 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling to the pound.

should be glad if sister Mary would suggest it to brother Ellsworth to do something for her. If she don't care to do it in her own name, let her do it in mine, as doing the errand from me. Please to give my duty to my mother, and my love to sister Mary. My wife is at this moment from home. My children give their duty to their Grandparents, and aunts, and love and affectionate condolence to their mournful surviving cousins.

"I am, honoured Sir,

"Your dutiful son,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

The allusion to his pecuniary circumstances, made by Mr. Edwards in the preceding letter, requires explanation. What was the actual amount of his salary at Northampton, I have not been able to ascertain; but he speaks of it, in one of his letters, as "the largest salary of any country minister in New-England." Soon after his settlement there, he purchased a valuable homestead, with the requisite lands for pasturage and fuel, and erected a commodious dwelling-house. These, by the strictest economy, had all been paid for, before his dismission. It was several years, however, after his removal to Stockbridge, before he could sell his property at Northampton. In the mean time, he was under the necessity of purchasing another homestead, and of erecting another dwelling-house at Stockbridge. The debt thus incurred, added to the expense of removing his family, subjected them for a time to very serious pecuniary embarrassments and his daughters, who had received not only an enlightened, but a polished, education, readily lent their aid, to relieve the family from the existing pressure. For this purpose, they occupied their leisure in making lace and embroidering, in tambouring and other ornamental work, and in making and painting fans: all of which, in the existing state of the country, found a ready market at Boston.* At length, the sale of his property in Northampton relieved him from debt, and placed his family in more pleasant circumstances.

On the 5th of February, O. S. Mr. Gideon Hawley, a young gentleman of a liberal education, and of great prudence, firmness and integrity, arrived in Stockbridge. He had been appointed, by the Commissioners, the school-master of the Mohawk and other Iroquois children, and entered immediately on the duties of his office. He was ordained as a minister and missionary, July 31, 1754, N. S. Mr. Edwards found him a most faithful and use-

* So severe was this pressure, for a considerable time, that Mr. Edwards found himself necessitated to practice the most rigid economy, in every thing—even in the article of *paper*. Much of what he now wrote, for his own use, was written on the margins of useless pamphlets, the covers of letters, and the remnants of the silk paper used in making fans.

ful coadjutor. He also occasionally preached to the Iroquois, as did Mr. Edwards once every Sabbath.

Soon after the removal of Mr. Edwards to Stockbridge, in consequence of the misunderstandings and jealousies, subsisting between some of the principal English inhabitants of the town, and the confusion in which he saw the Indian affairs involved, he was led, in a letter to the Hon. Mr. Hubbard of Aug. 31, 1751, to recommend the appointment of two or more Trustees, "men perfectly impartial, no way interested in, related to, or engaged with, the contending parties." The absolute necessity of this step, to the welfare of the mission, and of the Indian schools, soon became apparent.* In consequence of the increasing importance of the Indian establishment at Stockbridge, and the increasing attention of the public to the Mission and the Schools; the benefactions of the Legislature and of individuals, were increasing, and still likely to increase. By the augmented numbers of the *Housatonnucks*, and the accession of a *Mohawk* colony, it had become the principal mission of the Society for propagating the Gospel in New England, and appeared destined to receive the chief amount of its revenue; Mr. Hollis had increased his annual stipend to £160, stg.; Mr. Paine was proposing to support a female boarding school; the Legislature of the Province had just voted £500, provincial currency, for the school-house, and would probably aid in the support of the mistress; an adequate support was now given to the instructor of the Housatonnuck school; an annual stipend was given to the *Housatonnucks*, to be expended at Stockbridge for their benefit; a similar stipend was to be paid for the *Mohawks*, if they removed in considerable numbers to Stockbridge; a school, to be supported by the colony, for the education of their children, was not only pledged, but actually begun; and hopes were indulged that the yearly stipend of £500, stg. granted by the King, to the Mohawks, might be expended under the direction of an agent, residing at Stockbridge, and not as before at Albany. It needed no great discernment to discover, that the amount of these numerous items must be great; and the bare possibility of engrossing the agency, through which this large aggregate must pass, and of turning it into a source of great private emolument, might easily excite the strong cupidity of individuals, and lead them to resort to every measure in their power, to secure that emolument to themselves. The opponent of Mr. Woodbridge, (whose influence in the town, and with the Indians, had been long chiefly extinct,) in consequence of the strong recommendation, given of him, by his nephew, while

* A representation having been made to the Legislature, in pursuance of this recommendation, three Trustees or commissioners were appointed in behalf of the Province.

in London, to the Directors of the Society for propagating the Gospel in New England, had been appointed one of the Board of Commissioners of that Society; as had the nephew himself, another of the same Board; one of his family through the same recommendation, had been *conditionally* nominated as the teacher of the female school;* one of the Trustees of the Indian establishment was about to connect himself with the family; and, if the nomination should be confirmed, it was his intention to remove to Stockbridge, in order to take a superintendence of Indian affairs, which, in the absence of his colleagues, would be sole and exclusive. So fair was the prospect at this time, in the view of these individuals, of engrossing the profit and the direction of the whole establishment in their own hands, that they threw off their wonted caution, and made known their purpose of removing every obstacle in the way of their designs.

Mr. Edwards well knew, that the influence of these individuals was most formidable: two of them being now members of the Board of Commissioners, on which, as Indian missionary, he was dependent; one of them being one of the Trustees for the Indians at Stockbridge; one of them being personally acquainted with the Directors in London; and two of them having considerable influence with the principal men in the Provincial government. Yet he saw, just as clearly, that, if their plans succeeded, the funds appropriated to the literary and moral improvement of the Indians, would be perverted to the purpose of individual aggrandizement. In such a state of things, he was not at a loss, as to his own duty. The question, whether the individual nominated by the Board of Directors in London, as the teacher of the female school, should be appointed, having been thus submitted, for final decision, to the Board of Commissioners in Boston; their Secretary wrote to Mr. Edwards, for an explicit statement of the facts relating to the subject. Thus called upon, he did not hesitate to present the whole case, in a reply to the Secretary, bearing date Feb. 18, 1752.

In this letter, after stating it to be absolutely necessary, that his correspondent should be let into some of the secrets of the affairs of Stockbridge, and after alluding to his having, on account of the controversy there subsisting, recommended, formerly, the appointment of "two or more impartial Trustees, no way interested in, or related to, the contending parties," to inspect those affairs; he states, among other things, the following particulars:—When he recommended the appointment of these trustees, he little suspected, that one of them would prove the farthest of any person whatever, from possessing the indispensable qualification of *impartiality*, in

* That is, provided the Commissioners, in Boston, approved of the appointment.

consequence of his being about to become the son-in-law of one of the contending parties.—The preceding year, a very formal pacification took place, between Mr. Woodbridge and his opponent, with solemn promises made by the latter, that he would thenceforward live peacefully with Mr. W., and no more speak ill of him, nor in any wise molest him. But the proposed alliance, the nomination of one of his family as teacher of the female school, and the appointment of himself and his nephew to the Board of Commissioners, had so elated him, that those promises appeared to be wholly forgotten. A sudden and strange alteration had also appeared, in the temper and conduct of his intended son-in-law, who, in the absence of his colleagues, claimed the sole management of all Indian affairs, so that nothing was done, but he was the doer of it.—The Indians had a most unfavourable opinion of the opponent of Mr. Woodbridge, and the deepest prejudice against him, in consequence of his having often molested them, with respect to their lands, and other affairs, and, as they thought, having done very unjustly by them. This prejudice was extended to the family; and that to such a degree, that, after offering to feed and clothe such of their children, as should be sent to the school, attempted to be established, only *four* could be procured, three Housatonnucks and one Mohawk; and the parents of these four complained loudly of the treatment of their children. Whether this prejudice was well or ill founded, it was too deep to be eradicated.—Very improper use had been made of the money given by Mr. Hollis. He had made large remittances, and to no good purpose; and was kept in entire ignorance, as to the actual state of things at Stockbridge. The individual who received his money, and boarded, and professed to instruct, the children, had never established a regular school, and had never kept any regular accounts of his expenditures. No government was maintained, little attention paid to the manners of the children, and all was suffered to go on in wildness, filth and confusion, to the great offence of such as visited the place. The generous design of Mr. Hollis had been totally defeated, and the large sums of money he had given, had been wholly lost, and worse than lost. The same boys, without this additional expense, would have been far better instructed, and governed, at the school of Mr. Woodbridge. There, they would have been taught reading, cleanliness, good manners, and good morals; all of which had been wholly neglected, on the part of their professed instructer, who had himself been absent from Stockbridge, for a long period.—This irregularity, and disorderly management, led the Mohawks to take all their children away from him, after the arrival of Mr. Hawley, and to place them under the care of the latter. Yet the former, wishing some pretext for drawing the money of Mr. Hollis, and not being able to procure any of the Indian

boys to form a school, went regularly into the school kept by Mr. Hawley, and proceeded to treat the boys, as if they were under his own care; alleging, that he was the superintendent of the male school.—No one had been more open and abundant, in speaking of his uselessness, his exceeding unfitness for the business of an instructer, and the disorder and filthiness in which things were kept under his care, or in declaring, that it was high time that he was dismissed from the employment, than the resident trustee; but, in consequence of his new connection, he had suddenly changed his mind, and now declared, that he must be retained.—A similar change had taken place, in his treatment of Mr. Edwards. For many years, he had constantly professed the highest respect for him, far beyond what the latter could, with any modesty, expect. He had often expressed a higher esteem of him, than of any minister in New-England, as well as a very strong desire of living under his ministry. Yet, although Mr. Edwards had never had a word of difference with him, or his new connections, his whole conduct was suddenly and entirely changed, and he had sided with them, in all their measures of opposition and violence.

Very singular management had been used, with respect to Mr. Hawley. Before his arrival, dark representations were carried to him,—misrepresentations of the actual state of things at Stockbridge,—to discourage him from accepting his appointment. Soon after his arrival, it was openly given out, that he would soon be removed. Had it not been for his firmness, prudence, and steadiness of temper, he would have been laid under great and permanent disadvantages. The resident trustee had warned him not to depend on Mr. Edwards, and challenged to himself the whole authority of directing the school, and the affairs of the Indians.—When the Society in London recommended the proposed teacher of the female school, they could not have been aware, that her nearest kinsmen were to be the committee to examine her accounts. But the actual state of things was soon to be still more preposterous. She being the mistress, her nearest relatives were to be her council, and her husband the sole committee to examine her accounts, and make report to the Legislature.

Mr. Edwards then adds, "I write these things, honoured Sir, because I am satisfied you have not heretofore been enlightened, in the true state of things, as you ought to have been. It was my knowledge of some of these matters, though but little in comparison, which occasioned me, when last in Boston, so earnestly to press the Commissioners frequently to visit this place. I have been slow to speak. My disposition has been, entirely to suppress what I knew, that would be to the disadvantage of any of the people here. But I dare not hold my peace any longer. You doubtless will own, Sir, that it is but doing you justice, for somebody or other

to let you know the true state of things, in a matter of such vast importance, which is under your care, and which you, being at so great a distance, never can know, but by the information of some that live here; and I know of no one, from whom you can more reasonably expect it, than from the missionary you have sent here, to have the special care of the interests of religion among the Indians. I did not intend to interfere with the affair of the teacher of the female school, or to say any thing that should tend to hinder it; and therefore avoided every thing of that nature, in my letter to Sir William Pepperell. But, being now questioned again by the honourable Commissioners, and the tendency of the measure more and more appearing, I thought that this was the time, when God called on me to speak, and that, if I should hold my peace now, I should, perhaps, lay a foundation for great uneasiness to my conscience, all my life after; when I might deeply lament the continued consequences of my silence, and when it would be too late to speak."

The next day, Mr. Edwards addressed a letter to the Commissioners in Boston, in which, afer announcing the arrival of Mr. Hawley, and the high gratification of the Mohawks, at the establishment of a regular school for their boys, he states the number of his scholars to be, at that time, thirty-six, mentions his happy qualifications as an instructer, and, in compliance with their request, gives, very summarily, his own views, respecting a proper teacher for the female boarding-school.

During the spring of 1752, the state of affairs in Stockbridge, instead of improving, only grew worse. The interference of the former school-master with the school of Mr. Hawley, produced so much confusion, that, in the latter part of April, one half of the Mohawks left Stockbridge, in utter disgust with him and his friends, and fully resolved never to return. A few days after their departure, an intimate friend of the former school-master and his associates, visiting the male Mohawk school, under the care of Mr. Hawley, struck a child of the chief Sachem of the Onohquaugas on the head, with his cane, without any manner of provocation. The mother of this child was a woman of remarkable piety. This unhappy occurrence excited the universal indignation of the remaining Iroquois; and they appeared resolved, all of them, to pack up their effects immediately, and be gone. Mr. Hawley and the interpreter, finding it impossible to calm them, came to Mr. Edwards for advice; but he, having been often blamed for interfering with the affairs of the Iroquois, and told that, in doing so, he meddled with that which was none of his business, referred them to the resident trustee; advising them to represent the whole affair to him, that he might use proper means to prevent the fatal

consequences, which were feared. Their doing so was, however, regarded as the result of a disposition to find fault with him, and his friends. The chiefs of the Onohquaugas, finding no redress, went to Mr. Edwards to make their complaint for this violent assault. There they found the aggressor; who, in order to pacify them, was persuaded to pay them a sum of money. The resident trustee, angry at what had occurred, went to the boarding school, and proceeded to abuse Mr. Hawley in the presence of the whole school, in a very fervid manner; telling him that he was a man of no judgment, and of no prudence,and that he was unfit for the business he was in; and continued this abuse for three hours together. As his conversation was very loud, the Iroquois heard it, and came to the spot, expressing their fears for the personal safety of Mr. Hawley, to whom they had become much attached. Apprehending that, in consequence of this violence, he might be induced to leave Stockbridge, they declared, in a body, that, if he went away, they would go also. By these occurrences, the Indians were as effectually alienated from the resident trustee, as they had previously been from his new friends.

In consequeuce of these unhappy measures, and of a settled determination, on *his* part, to take, in the absence of his colleagues, the whole management of Indian affairs on himself; *they* also were disgusted. One of them relinquished all connection with the business, and ceased to visit Stockbridge altogether. The other openly announced his entire discouragement, and declared that he would do his utmost to induce the government to withdraw their support from the establishment of the Iroquois. This led to an attempt to procure the dismission of the latter, and the appointment of a connection of the resident trustee; which however proved unsuccessful. At the same time, it was publicly and repeatedly announced, that Mr. Edwards himself would be removed from his mission; and, as soon after appeared, a vigourous attempt was actually made to accomplish this object.*

Having stated these facts, in a letter to the Secretary of the Commissioners, of May, 1752, Mr. Edwards proceeds,—"But still I think there is no necessity of the Iroquois establishment being broken up, unless its enemies are resolved to have it so. The dependence of the establishment, as to continuance and pros-

*With reluctance I have yielded to the necessity of this minuteness of detail; but the fact, that Mr. Edwards had no very marked success in his Stockbridge mission, cannot otherwise be adequately explained; and the failure of the Iroquois establishment at Stockbridge cannot otherwise be accounted for. Unhappily the Indians at that place, like all other Indians in the vicinity of the whites, were exposed to the impositions, the seductions and the oppressions, of their civilized neighbours. In these counteracting causes, both the friends, and the enemies, of Indian Missions may learn, why it is so difficult to reform and christianize savages.

perity, is chiefly on the Onohquaugas, who are much the best disposed of any of the Iroquois, and most likely to come in considerable numbers. They have not been here so long as the others, to see so much to discourage them, and they alone are willing to settle at the Hop-lands. The affair is not at all desperate as to them, nor as to some of the Mohawks, if there be a speedy alteration. But if the two individuals, who challenge to themselves the whole direction of the affairs of the Iroquois, continue here, there is no hope of the continuance of Mr. Hawley, or of Mr. Ashley and his wife. They will not continue under one, whom they regard as so despotic an inspector. And there will be no way to retain any of the Indians, unless it be some who are entirely mercenary, who may be persuaded to stay, for the sake of the presents that are made them, and to be maintained and live here in mere idleness. This, it is now very apparent, is all that moves many of the Conneenchees, in being and continuing here."

"The resident trustee* has plainly discovered many designs, tending to bring money into his own pocket: viz. a design of taking care of Mr. Hollis' boys himself; a design of being steward of both boarding-schools, by which he will have the opportunity of supplying the Indians out of his own shop, and of getting his pay from the British funds; a design of introducing his son, as the master of the boarding-school, under the idea of a present supply, another proper person not appearing; and an expectation of diverting the King's bounty, of £500 sterling to the Six Nations, from New-York. The former school-master has given hints of an agreement, between himself and him, to resign the care of Mr. Hollis' scholars to him, when things are ripe for it; he providing for their maintenance, and taking care of their instruction by his son. Beside these things, his wife is to be mistress of the female school; and two of their sons to be maintained and educated at the public expense; and two of their girls, in like manner, to be maintained in the female school; and one of his family to be his wife's usher; and his servants to be paid for, under the character of servants employed in the affairs of the female school; and the house for the boarding-school set on his wife's land; and then the farm to be bought by the country for the school, with the advantage of selling it at a high rate; and yet the family in a great measure to be maintained on the produce of it; beside the advantage of carrying on a trade, both with the Stockbridge Indians, and the Mohawks. A man had need to have a great stock of assuredness, to urge a public affair, under so manifold temptations of private interest."

The time of Mr. Edwards had been so much occupied by his

* I have regarded the use of the *antonomasia* as correct, in this, and some other, quotations.

removal from Northampton, the comfortable establishment of his family at Stockbridge, the ordinary duties of his parish and his mission, the claims of the Mohawks, the concerns of the various Indian schools, and the unhappy contentions of the whites; that he had, at first, no leisure to attend to the Reply of Mr. Williams. In the latter part of the spring, however, he began an answer to that gentleman, which he sent to the press, the beginning of July,* with the following title: "Misrepresentations Corrected, and Truth Vindicated, in a Reply to the Rev. Mr. Solomon Williams' Book, entitled, *The True State of the Question, concerning the Qualifications, necessary to Lawful Communion, in the Christian Sacraments.*" It was read with deep interest by both parties, was admitted by both, to be a triumphant answer to the "True State of the Question," and, taken in connection with the "Humble Attempt," was regarded by the friends of Strict Communion, at that time, as it has ever since been, as an unanswerable defence of their system. If the opposers of that system have not so regarded it, they have not publicly avowed the opposite opinion; as no attempt to answer it has hitherto appeared. Mr. Williams is said to have asked the advice of some of his friends, among the clergy, whether he had better commence a reply; but, finding that no one would encourage him to an attempt, which must end in reiterated defeat, he is reported to have sat down in mortified silence.

Appended to this publication, was a Letter from Mr. Edwards, to his late flock at Northampton. They had published Mr. Williams' pamphlet, at their own expense, and distributed it to every family in the town. That pamphlet, though so unsuccessful an attempt to answer Mr. Edwards, was yet filled with many lax and sceptical notions, derived from the writings of Dr. Taylor of Norwich, and apparently adopted by Mr. Williams, in the existing emergency, though in direct opposition, not only to Mr. Stoddard, whom he professed at once to venerate and defend, but to his own former publications. Though Mr. Edwards knew that the work of Mr. W. must soon go to its proper place, yet he also knew the state of fervid excitement, in which his former congregation had long been; that they had printed and dispersed the pamphlet of Mr. W., (even without knowing its contents,) as an answer to his own Treatise, and thus, in a sense, had *adopted* it before the world, as their own work. These circumstances led him to fear, that the fatal errors, abounding in the work of Mr. Williams, might, at a period when the principles of Dr. Taylor, of Norwich, were gaining many converts in the colonies, mislead many, especially of the young, among his former people. To save them from this danger,

* It was not published, until November.

he addressed to them an affectionate, and truly pastoral, Letter, which will be found at the close of the Answer to Mr. Williams.*

On the 29th of June, 1752, Mr. Edwards married his third daughter, Esther, to the Rev. Aaron Burr, of Newark, President of theCollege of New-Jersey, then established in that town, and a few years afterwards removed to Princeton.

In the following letter to Mr: Erskine, which is rich in intelligence, as well as thought, the reader will find one fact, not generally known,—that Mr. Edwards, in the latter part of the summer of 1751, was applied to, with much earnestness, by some parish in Virginia, to go and settle with them in the ministry. They offered him a handsome support, and sent a messenger with the offer, but his instalment at Stockbridge had taken place, before his arrival.

"To the Rev. John Erskine.

"*Stockbridge, July* 7, 1752.

"Rev. and dear Brother,

"The last spring I received a letter from you, dated, at the beginning, July 17, and at the end, Sept. 5, 1751; and the week before last I received another letter, dated Feb. 11, 1752, with a packet, containing Arnauld De la frèquente Communion; Goodwin's Sermon at the ordination of Mr. Pickering; Mr. Jarvis' Sermon on methods for reviving religion; Reasons of dissent from the sentence of the General Assembly; Edwards on Christ, God-man, Mr. Hartley's Sermon; Parish on the Assembly's Catechism; and Dr. Gill's Sermon on Isaiah 11, 12. I heartily thank you for these letters and pamphlets. Arnauld on frequent communion will not be very profitable to me, by reason of my not understanding the French. But several of the rest have been very agreeable to me. That letter which you mention, in your last dated Feb. 11, as sent about a twelve-month before, containing some Remarks on the decay of the power of the Papal Clergy, and an Abstract of Venema's Reasonings to prove, that Judas was not present at the Lord's supper, I never received, and regret it much that I missed it, and request that you would still send me those remarks on the Decay of the Papal Clergy.

"I am obliged to you for the particular information, you have given me, concerning Mr. Adam of Falkirk's affair. Though it is a pity so deserving a person should suffer at all from his brethren, only for not acting contrary to his conscience; yet it is matter of thankfulness, that the Assembly of the year 51 showed so much better temper, than that of the preceding year. I shall be glad to

† This excellent Letter, omited here for want of room, will be found in Vol. IV. pp. 597--609, and should be read in this place.

hear, concerning the temper and conduct of the Assembly of this present year, '52.

"I am sorry to learn, that there is so much reason to fear, that the Revival of religion in the Netherlands, will be hindered, and brought under a cloud, through the prevailing of imprudences. It is what I was afraid I should hear. I should be glad to see the Pastoral Letter you mention against Fanaticism, though written by one disaffected to the revival. I wish I could see a *History of Enthusiasm*, through all ages, written by some good hand, a hearty friend of vital religion, a person of accurate judgment, and large acquaintance with ecclesiastical history. Such a history, well written, might doubtless be exceedingly useful and instructive, and of great benefit to the Church of God: especially, if there were united with it a proper account and history of true religion. I should therefore choose, that the work should be a history of true, vital and experimental, Religion, and Enthusiasm: bringing down the history from age to age, judiciously and clearly making the distinction, between one and the other; observing the difference of source, progress and issue; properly pointing out the limits, and doing justice to each, in every age, and at each remarkable period. I don't know that there is any such thing extant, or any thing that would, in any good measure, answer the same purpose. If there be, I should be glad to hear of it.

"I thank you for the account, you give me of Mr. Taylor's writings, and of the things, which he is doing to propagate his opinions. It now appears to be a remarkable time, in the christian world; perhaps such an one, as never has been before: things are going down hill so fast, and truth and religion, both of heart and practice, are departing by such swift steps, that I think it must needs be, that a crisis is not very far off, and what will then appear, I will not pretend to determine.

"The last week, I sent away my Answer to Mr. Williams. If I live till it is published, I will endeavour to send one to you, and some other friends in Scotland. I hope now, in a short time, to be at leisure to resume my design, of writing something on the Arminian controversy. I have no thought of going through with all parts of the controversy at once; but the subject, which I intended, God willing, first to write something upon, was *Freewill and Moral Agency;* endeavouring, with as much exactness as I am able, to consider the nature of that freedom of moral agents, which makes them the proper subjects of moral government, moral precepts, councils, calls, motives, persuasions, promises and threatenings, praise and blame, rewards and punishments: strictly examining the modern notions of these things, endeavouring to demonstrate their most palpable inconsistency and absurdity; endeavouring also to bring the late great objections and outcries against Calvinistic divinity, from these topics, to the test of the strictest rea-

soning; and particularly that great objection, in which the modern writers have so much gloried, so long triumphed, with so great a degree of insult towards the most excellent divines, and in effect against the gospel of Jesus Christ:—viz. That the Calvinistic notions of God's moral government are contrary to the common sense of mankind. In this essay, I propose to take particular notice of the writings of Dr. Whitby, and Mr. Chubb, and the writings of some others, who, though not properly Pelagians, nor Arminians, yet, in their notions of the freedom of the will, have, in the main, gone into the same scheme. But, if I live to prosecute my design, I shall send you a more particular account of my plan, after it is perfected.

"I suppose there has been a trial before now, whether a national collection can be obtained in Scotland, for New-Jersey College: unless it has been thought prudent, by such as are friends of the affair, to put it off a year longer; as some things I have seen, seem to argue. There was a design of Mr. Pemberton's going to England and Scotland. He was desired by the Trustees, and it was his settled purpose, to have gone the last year; but his people, and his colleague, Mr. Cummings, hindered it. His intention of going occasioned great uneasiness among his people, and created some dissatisfaction towards him, in the minds of some of them. Since that, President Burr has been desired to go, by the unanimous voice of the Trustees. Nevertheless, I believe there is little probability of his consenting to it; partly, on the account of his having lately entered into a married state. On the 29th of last month, he was married to my third daughter.

"What you write of the appointment of a gentleman, to the office of Lieut. Governour, of Virginia, who is a friend of religion, is an event, that the friends of religion in America have great reason to rejoice in; by reason of the late revival of religion in that province, and the opposition that has been made against it, and the great endeavours to crush it, by many of the chief men of the province. Mr. Davies, in a letter I lately received from him, dated March 2, '52, mentions the same thing. His words are, "we have a new Governour; who is a candid, condescending gentleman. And, as he has been educated in the church of Scotland, he has a respect for the Presbyterians; which I hope is a happy omen." I was in the latter part of the last summer, applied to, with much earnestness and importunity, by some of the people of Virginia, to come and settle among them, in the work of the ministry; who subscribed handsomely for my encouragement and support, and sent a messenger to me with their request and subscriptions; but I was installed at Stockbridge, before the messenger came. I have written some account of the state of things, at Stockbridge, to Mr. McLaurin; which you doubtless will have opportunity to see.

"July 24. The people of Northampton are still destitute of a

minister, and in broken, sorrowful circumstances. They had the last winter, Mr. Farrand, a young gentleman from New-Jersey College; but contended much about him, so that he has left them. They are now in a state of contention; my warmest opposers are quarrelling among themselves. I hear they have lately sent for a young preacher, a Mr. Green of Barnstable, who is soon expected; but I know nothing of his character.

"Another minister has lately been dismissed from his people, on the same account that I was dismissed from Northampton: viz. Mr. Billings, of Cold Spring. Many of the Cold Spring people were originally of Northampton, were educated in the principles, and have followed the example, of the people there.

"I heartily thank you, for the accounts you have from time to time sent me of new books, that are published in Great Britain. I desire you would continue such a favour. I am fond of knowing how things are going on in the literary world.

"Mr. John Wright, a member of New-Jersey College; who is to take the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the next September; is now at my house. He was born in Scotland; has lived in Virginia; is a friend and acquaintance of Mr. Davies; has a great interest in the esteem of the religious people of Virginia, and is peculiarly esteemed by President Burr; has been admitted to special intimacy with him; and is a person of very good character for his understanding, prudence, and piety. He has a desire to have a correspondence with some divine of his native country, and has chosen you for his correspondent, if he may be admitted to such a favour. He intends to send you a letter with this, of which I would ask a favourable reception, as he has laid me under some special obligations.

"My wife joins with me in affectionate salutations to you, and Mrs. Erskine. Hoping that we shall continue to remember each other at the Throne of Grace, I am,

"Dear Sir,

"Your affectionate and obliged

"Brother and Servant,

"Jonathan Edwards."

Soon after he had entered on the mission at Stockbridge, Mr. Edwards addressed the Rev. Mr. Hollis, by letter, concerning the Indian schools, and the state of the mission at large. The observations of a year had now brought him far more intimately acquainted with the actual state of things, and particularly, with the manner in which the annual benefactions of that gentleman had been expended; and he felt himself bound, at whatever hazard, to make the facts known. In doing this, he presented him, in a letter bearing date July 17, 1752, with a succinct and well drawn history of the mission, and stated, in general terms, the unhappy disagree-

ment, subsisting among the English inhabitants of Stockbridge, as well as various other circumstances of malignant aspect, which threatened ruin to the mission, and to the Indian schools. Want of room forbids its insertion. With this letter, he forwarded to Mr. Hollis a certificate, from a large number of the most respectable people of the town, stating the actual conduct of his agent or instructor, the condition of the Indian boys, and the manner in which his benefactions had been perverted.

The firm and undeviating course of conduct pursued by Mr. Edwards, with regard to the Indian schools, and the general concerns of the mission, at length convinced the resident trustee, and his new friends, that they had nothing to hope, from any compliances on his part. They resolved, therefore, if possible, to effect his removal from Stockbridge. With this view, that gentleman repaired to Boston, and endeavoured, in conversation, not only with the Commissioners, but with some of the principal men in the government, (and among others, with the Secretary of the Province,) to produce in their minds very unfavourable impressions concerning him: particularly, that he was a man of an unyielding character, and unwilling to be reconciled to those, from whom he had differed; and that, by this course, he was likely to ruin the Indian mission. The friends of Mr. Edwards, in Boston, giving him timely notice of this attempt; he addressed a letter to the Hon. Mr. Willard, in his own defence, bearing date July 17, 1752; in which, he so effectually refuted these representations, that the influence of that gentleman was permanently secured, in favour of the mission, and its real friends.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Vote of thanks of Commissioners.—Sermon at Newark.—Measures of the enemies of the Mission defeated.—Letter to Mr. Oliver.—Freedom of the Will.—Letter to Mr. Erskine.—Deposition of Mr. Gillespie.—Letter to do.—Letter to Mr. M'Culloch.—Report of Indian Agent.—Reply of Mr. Edwards.—Further defeat of the enemies of the Mission.

On the 29th of June, the Secretary of the Commissioners in Boston, forwarded, by their direction, to Mr. Edwards and Mr. Hawley, an official expression of the approbation, entertained by that Board, of the firmness and integrity manifested by them, in their conduct relative to the Stockbridge mission.* The Commissioners knew of the attempt made, to shake their own confidence, and that of the public, in their agents in that mission; and, doubtless, intended, by this prompt and unequivocal act of justice, at once to sustain the hearts of these gentlemen, under their severe trials, and to make it manifest to all men, that, notwithstanding that attempt, they continued to repose in them an undiminished confidence. In his reply, bearing date Aug. 27, 1752, Mr. Edwards, after returning his thanks to those gentlemen, for this very decisive expression of their favourable opinion, made to their Secretary his regular Report of the state of the mission.

After observing, that the people of the town, both English and Indians, notwithstanding repeated and vigorous efforts, to break up their union, and, particularly, to excite a disaffection in them towards their ministers, were all happily united in opinion and affection, except one individual and his family; he mentions the alliance of the resident trustee with his family, which took place soon after the arrival at Stockbridge of his nephew from Connecticut. The latter gentleman soon called on Mr. Edwards, and, after alluding to the fact, that he was opposed to the appointment of his cousin, as superintendent of the female boarding-school, insisted, as a member of the Society in London, and of the board of Commissioners, on knowing his reasons; and, at the same time, offered to be the instrument of settling the differences subsisting at Stockbridge. Mr. Edwards,

* The copy designed for Mr. Hawley, was inclosed in the letter to Mr. Edwards. Probably a similar vote was forwarded *directly* to Mr. Woodbridge, as that gentleman always enjoyed their fullest confidence.

preferring to answer this demand by letter, declined to make a representation of the case before him, but offered to join with him, in an earnest representation to the board of Commissioners, that they would appoint a Committee, to come on the spot, to enquire into the existing difficulties; on the ground, that it was more proper to have such a Committee, as judges or mediators, than an individual, who was very nearly related to the family, chiefly interested in these contentions; and proposed, that the Commissioners, by their Committee, should be desired to look into the management of the affairs of Stockbridge, from the beginning, by all the living inhabitants and residents of the town, who had had any hand in them, in any respect; declaring himself ready, to open himself with freedom, before such a Committee.—His correspondent, in reply, declined this proposal, reasserted his right to know the objections to the proposed teacher of the boarding-school, and intimated the regret which he should feel, if obliged to inform the Society in London, of the existing state of things at Stockbridge.—Mr. Edwards, in his answer, insisted anew on his former proposal, of referring the case to the Commissioners, declared himself not satisfied, that his correspondent, acting *singly*, had authority to demand the reasons of his judgment, as to the teacher of the female school, whatever the Society in London, or their Commissioners in Boston, acting as *a body*, might have; and concluded, by referring himself again to the Commissioners, who were his constituents, and who had, a little before, informed him, that they looked upon their agents, as accountable *to them only*.

The arrival of this gentleman, and the assurances he gave them of his influence with the Society in London, revived for a time, the drooping courage of his friends, particularly of the resident trustee, and of the agent of Mr. Hollis, who had, just before that event, resolved on removing from Stockbridge.—Having thus alluded to the mischievous consequences, growing out of this unhappy state of things, Mr. Edwards proceeds,—"Thus things go on, in a state of confusion, of which those at a distance can scarcely have any idea. In the mean time, the affair of the Six Nations is languishing to death. The affair of the *Mohawks* is, I fear, past recovery, and in a manner dead. They seem to be discouraged, are most of them gone, and I do not expect will come up again; unless it be to get presents, and satisfy their hunger, in the present time of great scarcity in their own country. They have apparently very much given up the idea, of coming hither for instruction. The *Onohquaugas* have not been here so long, to be discouraged by our management. But if things go on in this manner, it may be expected that they will be discouraged also. The management of things has a great while been in wrong hands. They ought to be conducted exclusively by the Commissioners, who have had the care of Stockbridge affairs; but here are others, who seem to aim to engross all

to themselves, to be indefatigably active in prosecuting their particular designs, and impatient of every thing that stands in their way.

"Very much depends on the appointment of a teacher of the female school. If that affair is settled to their minds, their influence here is well established. They are sensible that affairs depend very much on this simple point, and therefore this is the point they drive at with all their might. The wisdom of the Commissioners will easily discover, that this is the juncture, in which the foundation is to be laid of the future state of things in Stockbridge: of their prosperity or adversity; and perhaps with no opportunity of future redress. I look upon myself, as called upon to speak somewhat freely, at such a juncture; and therefore I hope my so doing will be candidly interpreted by the Commissioners. I do not think that our affairs will ever prosper, if they must be under the hands of the resident trustee and his friends."

In the month of September, Mr. Edwards went into New Jersey, and, on the 28th of that month, preached a sermon from James ii. 19, before the Synod at Newark, entitled, "True Grace distinguished from the Experience of Devils;" which was published at their request. It is a clear, condensed and powerful, exhibition of the differences between real religion and its counterfeits, and will be found eminently useful, as a criterion of christian character.

In the unhappy controversy, between Mr. Woodbridge, and his opponent, perhaps no one circumstance had been more mortifying to the latter, or had had a more direct tendency to defeat all his measures, than the fact, that the white inhabitants of the town, (his own immediate family connections excepted,) as well as the Indians of both nations, were, to a man, opposed to himself, and friendly to his antagonist. This rendered his daily life uncomfortable; it discouraged every attempt to forward his plans at the public meetings of the town; and when any point in controversy was to be decided, or any measure attempted, at Boston, he found that Mr. Woodbridge had a host of substantial witnesses on the spot, who gave in their testimony without fear. In this way, hitherto, every important design had been frustrated.

The winter, that was approaching, was regarded by both parties as a most important and interesting period; during which, in all probability, the affairs of the mission, and of the town, would be brought to a crisis. Those opposed to Mr. Woodbridge, were not ignorant, that, if Mr. Edwards were continued as the missionary at Stockbridge, such was his influence at Boston, and his general weight of character, there was too much probability, that Mr. Woodbridge would be continued the school-master of the Housatonnucks, and Mr. Hawley of the Iroquois. In that case, there was

but little chance of the female school being placed in the desired hands; if that failed, the stewardship of all the schools would fail; and then the whole system of measures, apparently so happily conceived, would be defeated. But if Mr. Edwards could be removed from Stockbridge, the removal of Mr. Woodbridge would be attended with less difficulty; that of Mr. Hawley, a young man, would follow of course, which would make way, for the son of the resident trustee; these changes would almost necessarily ensure the female school, as well as the stewardship and agency, in the family; and then the other objects in view, could scarcely fail to be accomplished. As so much depended on the fact, whether Mr. Edwards was continued at Stockbridge, or not; there seemed to be held out, to minds capable of being influenced by them, very strong inducements, to make one vigourous effort to effect his removal. This was accordingly resolved on, and, by some of the persons concerned, incautiously proclaimed.

One of the steps, taken to accomplish this so desired object, is mentioned in the following letter. Whether it was one of the measures *concerted*, or was the *self-suggested* plan of the individual, who attempted to execute it, does not certainly appear. Could he have succeeded, could the English inhabitants of the town have been changed, and a new set of inhabitants have been introduced, all of them his adherents; no event probably would have so much furthered the objects in view. The almost utter impossibility of its success, connected with its total and immediate discomfiture, rendered the attempt supremely ridiculous, and covered the individual making it, and his party, with confusion.

"To Andrew Oliver, Esquire.

"*Stockbridge, Oct.* 1752.

"SIR,

"Since my letter of Aug. 27, various things have occurred among us, of which it may not be improper to inform you. It seems as though there was a resolution, in the people on the hill, to carry their schemes into effect, though the earth should be removed for it. The opponent of Mr. Woodbridge has lately made a vigourous and vehement attempt, suddenly to change the English inhabitants of the town, by *buying out*, at once, the old inhabitants in general. To this end, he arose very early in the morning, and went out before day, and called some of them out of their beds, offering *to buy their farms*. In this manner, he went from one to another, until he had been to almost all the inhabitants, in that forenoon; offering *very high prices*, and *cash in hand;* vehemently pressing that the bargain should be immediately closed, and the writings drawn, and the affair completed, without delay; urging it most pressingly on each one. One of the inhabitants completed and finished the affair with

him. Some others came to a verbal agreement, on conditions. But, notwithstanding the great and extraordinary vigour, with which this matter was carried on, yet the design was discovered, before it could be completed, and so disappointed; and then his friends, and he himself too, were glad to lay this conduct to *distraction*.

"A scheme is plainly laid, entirely to thrust Mr. Hawley out of the schools; let his friends and constituents do what they will to prevent it. The resident trustee has told Mr. Hawley, that it is the design of Mr. Hollis' former school-master, to set up a distinct independent school, under another teacher, whom he shall provide to keep the school on Mr. Hollis' behalf, and that he intends to take up all boys who come, to board them and clothe them well, better than heretofore. Probably he presumes, that the clothing and presents that will be offered, will tempt them all to subject themselves to himself, rather than to Mr. Hawley.

"I have lately been a journey to Newark, in New-Jersey, where I saw Mr. Hazzard, a merchant in New-York, who told me that he, the last June, received and answered two bills from him, drawn on Mr. Hollis, of £80 sterling apiece. By this, it appears, that he has drawn full pay from Mr. Hollis, for the two years past, as much as he had in the preceding years, without clothing the boys in the least: imposing on Mr. Hollis, in an almost unprecedented manner, considering the greatness of the injury, the plainness of the case, and the obstinacy with which he has proceeded to such a step, after this part of the country had been, so long a time, so full of objections to his being here at Mr. Hollis' expense, without being engaged in the business to which Mr. Hollis appointed him, and for which, he agreed to send him his money. In the beginning of the year before last, he professedly threw up Mr. Hollis' school, and dismissed all his boys, supposing that Mr. Hollis was dead; it having been long since he heard any thing from him. In what he did afterwards, in teaching the Mohawks, he did not pretend to proceed on Mr. Hollis' plan, or with any expectation of any pay from him. And he never pretended to take up any boys on Mr. Hollis' account, till about a year afterwards, viz. the last autumn, after he had received a letter from Mr. Hollis; and it is but little he has done since. The charge he has been at, in clothing the boys, is but a trifle. He has never really kept any school at all, though sometimes he has pretended to teach some children to read, in a most confused manner. But, through a great part of the last year, he has not done even that. He has been absent, at least one third of the year; and the greater part of the time that he has been here, he has not had so much as the shadow of a school, nor been in any business whatsoever.

"I some time ago wrote a letter to Mr. Hollis, giving him some account of the state of his affairs here, accompanied with letters

from some of the inhabitants of Stockbridge. I desired Mr. Prince to show those letters to some of the Commissioners.

"One of the Trustees has lately been here, but staid only two or three days. While he was here, there was little else but altercation, and warm contest, between his colleague and him, concerning the mode of managing affairs, and concerning the female school. And he is gone away entirely discouraged, with a resolution to have no more to do with the affairs of Stockbridge, which, he says, are blown up already. If it be not altogether so, yet I think it is high time the Hon. Commissioners had full information of the state of things among us. We have long waited for an opportunity to send, but none has presented. Mr. Hawley meets with many things to discourage him; his circumstances here are very difficult and precarious; he greatly needs the advice of the Commissioners; he has a strong inclination to see the Commissioners himself, and to confer with them, freely and fully, about the affairs in which he is concerned; and it appears to me necessary that he should do this, both for the public interest, and on his own account. He is kept out of business, and probably very good business, in which he might settle elsewhere; and I do not wonder that he is uneasy, and thinks it necessary to talk with the Commissioners. We have had thoughts of his staying, until Mr. Woodbridge went to the General Court, the necessity of whose going appears more and more apparent; but the Court being prorogued, and we not knowing for how long a time; and the important matters of intelligence to the Commissioners, and to Mr. Hollis, having been so long delayed for want of opportunity, which so much require their speedy notice; our calamities also continuing, and growing worse and worse; and it being now a time, wherein most of the Mohawks are gone, and so a time in which Mr. Hawley can be absent, with far less inconvenience than some time hence, when many of the Mohawks are expected down, in consequence of the want of provisions in their own country; and considering that probably the Commissioners might have a more free opportunity, to hear and consider Mr. Hawley's representations now, than in the time of the sitting of the Court; and likewise, that it might be some convenience to the Commissioners, to have notice of the state of our affairs, so as to ripen their thoughts with regard to them, before the sitting of the Court;—I say, considering these things, it was thought advisable for Mr. Hawley not to delay his journey. That the Most High would give wisdom, and counsel and success to the Commissioners, in their consultations on our affairs, and direct and aid those who are here employed, in so important a service, is the humble and earnest prayer of

"Their most obedient servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

From these scenes of unsuccessful intrigue, and disappointed avarice, all notice of which, could the life of Mr. Edwards, as a missionary at Stockbridge, have been fairly exhibited without thus detailing them, would have been most gladly dispensed with; the reader will turn with pleasure, even for a short interval, to communications prompted by friendship, and relating to the more general interests of the Church.

Some years before this, through the kindness of Mr. Erskine, he had received the writings of some of the more considerable Arminian writers, particularly of Dr. Taylor of Norwich, and Dr. Turnbull; which, with those of Dr. Whitby, and those of Chubb and Tindal, already in his possession, furnished him with the means of examining their whole system. This examination he commenced, in form, a considerable time before he left Northampton; and in the summer of 1747, as we have already seen, he announced, in his first letter to Mr. Erskine, the general plan of a Discourse on the Freedom of the Will, and Moral Agency. This subject drew his attention, even while he was a member of College; and, from an investigation of the nature of Power, to which he was led by reading the article, in the Essay on the Human Understanding, relating to that subject, he derived the all important principle, That Men, in a proper sense, may be said to have power to abstain from sin, and to repent, to do good works, and to live holily; BECAUSE IT DEPENDS ON THEIR WILL.—After Mr. Edwards had thus announced his plan, his attention was necessarily diverted from its execution, during his residence in Northampton, by the controversy respecting the Qualifications for Communion—his Treatise on that subject, and the many perplexities and embarrassments, which terminated in his dismission. His removal from Northampton, the establishment of his family at Stockbridge, the Answer to Mr. Williams, and his ordinary duties as minister and missionary, and the unhappy controversy subsisting respecting the mission, engrossed his whole time, until July, 1752. In August following, he entered upon the work, and pursued it a short time; but the violence of that controversy, and the attempts of the party hostile to Mr. Woodbridge, to force him from Stockbridge, compelled him to intermit his labours. Some of these circumstances are alluded to, in the following letter to Mr. Erskine, in which the reader will also find some interesting details, relative to the Dutch Church, and to the state of religion in New-Jersey.

"*Stockbridge, November* 23, *N. S.* 1752.

"Rev. and dear Brother,

"In August last, I wrote to you, and sent away the letter, (with

letters to some of my other correspondents,) to Boston, to be conveyed to Scotland. Therein I acknowledged the receipt of two Letters from you, one of July 17, '51; another of Feb. 11, '52; with the pamphlets, put with the last letter; and now acknowledge the receipt of another letter from you of May 14, '52; and the pamphlets you sent with the last. The letter I received the latter end of September: the pamphlets I did not receive till very lately: they were forgotten by Mr. Prince. The Treatise against Fanaticism, I shall have no benefit from, because I am not acquainted with the French language. What the Jewish Convert has published of his conversion, etc., is very agreeable. And I now heartily thank you for this letter and packet. I am very glad to see what you write concerning the state of religion in the Netherlands. But I believe there is more of a mixture of what is bad with the good, that appears in that land, than Mr. Kennedy, and many other ministers there, are aware of; and that they will find, that the consequences of their not carefully and critically distinguishing between the good and bad, and guarding with the utmost caution and diligence against the latter, will prove worse than they now conceive of. By your account, it is now exactly with Mr. Kennedy, as it was with many pious ministers in America, in the time of the great religious moving here. They looked upon critical enquiries, into the difference between true grace and its counterfeits, or at least a being very busy in such enquiries, and spending time in them, to be impertinent and unseasonable; tending rather to damp the work of the Spirit of God, than promote it; diverting their own minds, and the minds of others, as they supposed, from that to which God, at such an extraordinary time, did loudly call them more especially to attend. The cry was, *O, there is no danger, if we are but lively in religion, and full of God's Spirit, and live by faith, of being misled! If we do but follow God, there is no danger of being led wrong! 'Tis the cold, carnal and lifeless, that are most likely to be blind, and walk in darkness. Let us press forward, and not stay and hinder the good work, by standing and spending time in these criticisms and carnal reasoning! etc. etc.* This was the language of many, till they ran on deep into the wilderness, and were taught by the briars and thorns of the wilderness. However, 'tis no wonder that divines in Europe will not lay very much weight on the admonitions they receive from so obscure a part of the world. Other parts of the church of God, must be taught as we have been; and when they see and feel, then they will believe. Not that I apprehend there is in any measure so much enthusiasm and disorder, mixed with the work in Holland, as was in many parts of America, in the time of the last revival of religion here. But yet I believe the work must be more pure, and the people more thoroughly guarded from his wiles, who beguiled Eve through his subtilty, and who corrupts the

minds of zealous people from the simplicity that is in Christ, before the work goes on to a general conquest, and is maintained in its power and glory for a great length of time. But God will have his own way :—"Who, being his counsellour, hath taught Him?" We must expect confusion and uproar, before we have that abundance of peace and truth, which the Scriptures speak of: many must run to and fro, and knowledge will be increased.

"The Dutch ministers in America, whom you mention, whom I have acquaintance with, are some of the younger ministers, and such as were born in America, though several of them have had part of their education in Holland. I have not acquaintance enough with them, to know their sentiments, particularly, about those corrupt mixtures above mentioned, and the care which is to be used in guarding against them. However, 'tis not very likely, if some of them should write to their brethren in Holland, that their letters would have more influence upon them than letters from you, and some others of the ministers of Scotland. Nevertheless, there is a prospect, that there will in time be very happy effects of the growing acquaintance and union, there is between a very considerable number of very hopeful and pious Dutch ministers, in the province of New-York and New-Jersey, and many English and Scotch ministers in America. The number of well disposed Dutch ministers in these provinces, has of late remarkably increased; so that I think when they meet together in their Cœtus, they make the major part. Some of the elder ministers seem to be of quite contrary sentiment and disposition, not appearing friendly, as the others, to what they esteem the power of religion, nor approving of awakening, searching, strict and experimental, preaching: which has occasioned various contests among them. However, the stricter sort being the prevailing part, are like to carry the day.

"The Dutch churches in these provinces, have hitherto been so dependent on the Classis in Holland, that, whenever any among them have been educated for the ministry, and any churches have been desirous of their administrations, they could not receive their orders on this side of the water, but have been obliged to go to Holland for ordination: which has been a great incumbrance, that has attended the settlement of ministers, among them, and has undoubtedly been one occasion of such multitudes of the Dutch, being wholly without ministers. Application was made not long since, through the influence of the forementioned serious young ministers, (as I take it,) by the Cœtus here, to the Classis in Holland, for their consent, that they might unite themselves to the Presbyterian Synod of New-York, which now consists of English and Scotch. But the success of their application was prevented, by a letter written by one of the elder ministers, remonstrating against it, very falsely representing the New-York Synod, as no proper Presbyterian Synod, but rather a company of Independents. On which,

the Classis of Holland advised them, by no means, to unite themselves with that Synod.

"The last September I went a journey into New-Jersey, and had opportunity, in my journey, of seeing some of these young ministers, and conversing with them on the subject. They seem resolved, by some means or other, to disengage themselves and their churches, from the forementioned great incumbrance, of being obliged to cross the ocean, for the ordination of every minister. I was much gratified, during the little opportunity I had, to observe the agreeable disposition of these ministers.

"There were, also, many other things I had opportunity to observe, in those parts, which were very agreeable. I was there, at the time of the public Commencement in the College, and the time of the meeting of the Trustees of the College, the time of the meeting of the Correspondents of the Society for propagating christian knowledge, and the time of the meeting of the New-York Synod; so that I had opportunity to converse with ministers from Long-Island, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The college is in flourishing circumstances; increases apace; and is happily regulated. The Trustees seem engaged to their utmost to promote learning, virtue, and true religion, in it; and none more so than Governour Belcher; who is the President of the Trustees, and was at the Commencement, and at the Trustees' meeting. But they very much want farther supplies, for the convenient support of the college. I had considerable opportunity to converse with Governour Belcher; and was several times at his house at Elizabethtown. He labours under many of the infirmities of age, but savours much of a spirit of religion, and seems very desirous of doing all the good he can, while he lives. The New-York Synod is in flourishing circumstances: much more so than the Philadelphia Synod. They have the greatest body of ministers now, and increase much faster than the other. They are in higher credit with the people in almost all parts, and are chiefly sought to for supplies by distant congregations. With respect to the proceedings of the Correspondents, they have dismissed Mr. Horton from his mission on Long-Island, and he is about to settle in a congregation in New-Jersey. He was dismissed, by reason of his very much failing of employment: many of the clans of Indians, he used to preach to, having dwindled away, by death or dispersion, and there being but little prospect of success among others that remain, and some being so situated, that they may conveniently be taken care of by other ministers. The Correspondents have it in their view to employ the money, by which he used to be supported, to support a mission among the Six Nations; after they have found a suitable person to undertake the business of such a mission, and he is fitted for it by learning the language. They used endeavours to obtain a suitable person for the business, in New-Jersey: but, meeting with no suc-

cess, they voted to empower Mr. Bellamy, Mr. Hopkins, of Sheffield, and myself, to procure a suitable person, if we can find such an one, in New-England, for the present, to come and live at Stockbridge, to be here learning the Mohawk language with Mr. Hawley, our school-master for the Mohawks, to fit him for the mission. Persons proper to be employed, and such as may be obtained, are very scarce; and 'tis doubtful whether we shall be able to obtain one.

"There is a very dark cloud, that at present attends the affair, relating to the Indians at Stockbridge, occasioned very much by one of the Agents for the Province, (who lives at Stockbridge,) pursuing measures, very contrary to the measures of the Commissioners of the Society in London. The opposition is maintained, not with a small degree of stiffness and resolution; and the contest is become so great, that it has brought things into very great confusion. This gentleman is a man of some note; and his wife's relations earnestly engage with him, and many of them are persons of considerable figure in the country. The Commissioners all very much dislike his conduct. This contest occasions no misunderstandings among the people in Stockbridge, in general: all, excepting those nearly related to the family, both English and Indians, are happily united to me and my family. It would be very tedious for me to write, and for you to read, all the particulars of this uncomfortable affair. The commissioners are exerting themselves to relieve us of this calamity; and it is probable they will be successful.

"I thank you for the account you give of some valuable books published: I desire you would continue to favour me in this manner. I began the last August, to write a little on the Arminian controversy, but was soon broke off: and such have been my extraordinary avocations and hindrances, that I have not had time to set pen to paper about this matter since. But I hope that God, in his providence, will favour me with opportunity to prosecute the design. And I desire your prayers, that God would assist me in it, and in all the work I am called to, and enable me to conduct my life to his glory and acceptance, under all difficulties and trials.

"My wife joins with me, in most hearty affectionate salutation to you, and Mrs. Erskine.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your affectionate and obliged

"brother and servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"P. S. I propose with this, to send you Mr. Hobart's Second Address to the members of the Episcopal Church in New-England, and my Answer to Mr. Williams, which I would desire you to give

your neighbours, my correspondents, opportunity to read, if they desire it."

The correspondence of Mr. Edwards and the Rev. Thomas Gillespie of Carnock, in Scotland, has already interested the attention of the reader. This Gentleman was born in 1708, pursued his theological studies under Dr. Doddridge, and was ordained and settled in the parish of Carnock, in 1741. He was a faithful and indefatigable minister.—"I never, (says Dr. Erskine, who was several months his stated hearer at Carnock, and often heard his occasional efforts in other places,) sat under a minister better calculated to awaken the thoughtless and secure, to caution convinced sinners against what would stifle their convictions and prevent their issuing in conversion, and to point out the differences, between vital christianity and specious, counterfeit appearances of it."—His popularity and usefulness, were very great, not only in his own parish, but in Edinburgh and the west of Scotland. In 1752, an event occurred, which forms an aera in the Ecclesiastical history of that country. The Rev. Andrew Richardson, of Broughton, was presented to the charge of the town of Inverkeithing, by the lay patron of the perish—*the individual who had that living in his gift.*—The inhabitants refused to receive him as their minister. The case was appealed from court to court, until the General Assembly, in May, 1752, directed the Presbytery of Dunfermline to admit Mr. R. to the charge of Inverkeithing, and appointed Mr. Gillespie to preside on the occasion. Mr. Gillespie, and several others in the Presbytery, had conscientious scruples on the subject of lay-patronage, and fully believed that no one, on the principles of the Gospel, could have any right to place a clergyman over a parish, but the people themselves.* He therefore, and those who thought with him, declined obedience to the mandate: and while *they* were subjected to various ecclesiastical censures, *he* was deposed from the ministry, and removed from the parish of Carnock. When called to the bar, to receive his sentence, he replied, "Moderator, I receive this sentence of the General Assembly, with reverence and awe. But I rejoice, that it is given to me, on the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on his name, but to suffer for his sake."

For about a year, he preached to his people, out of doors, hoping that the sentence would be reversed; at the close of which, a church having been purchased for him in Dunfermline, a short distance from Carnock, he preached there, as an independent,

* Lay-patronage was wholly rejected by the Scotch Reformers, and was not introduced by law, until 1711. For a long period, the law was regarded as a public grievance, but is now submitted to.

about six years, unconnected with any associate in the ministry. In 1758, he united with the Rev. Thomas Boston, Jr., and formed a new establishment, called, *The Presbytery of Relief;* to which some dissenting ministers of England soon acceded. The congregations at present connected with them, and known, as an ecclesiastical body, by the name of THE RELIEF, are 65 in number, are found in all the principal towns, and many of the country parishes, of Scotland, and are computed to consist of towards 60,000 individuals.* They provide ministers for the inhabitants of those parishes, which do not submit to ministers introduced by *lay patronage;* and readily admit to ministerial and church communion, evangelical ministers of the Church of Scotland, and of the Church of England.

The correspondents of Mr. Edwards, had forwarded to him various publications relative to the Deposition of Mr. Gillespie; and the views which he formed with regard to it, as expressed in the following Letter, while they must, at the time, have been consoling and supporting to the excellent man, to whom they were sent, will also probably harmonize with those of every reader of these pages.

"To the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, Carnock.

"*Stockbridge, Nov.* 24, 1752.

"REV. AND DEAR BROTHER;

"In letters and pamphlets, lately forwarded to me, by some of my correspondents in Scotland, I have received the affecting and surprising account of your deposition, for not assisting in the settlement of Mr. Richardson, at Inverkeithing. The circumstances of which affair seem to be such, as abundantly manifest your cause to be good; at the same time that they plainly show the persecuting spirit, with which you have been proceeded against. It is strange, that a Protestant Church should condemn and depose one of her ministers, for conscientiously declining to act in a forced settlement of a minister, over a congregation that have not chosen him as their pastor, but are utterly averse to his administrations, at least as to a stated attendance upon them. It is to be wondered at, that such a church, at this time of day, after the cause of liberty in matters of conscience has been so abundantly defended, should arrogate to herself such a kind of authority over the consciences of both ministers and people, and use it in such a manner, by such severity, to establish that, which is not only contrary to the liberty of christians, wherewith Christ has made them free; but so directly contrary to her own professed principles, acts and resolutions, entered on public record. The several steps of this proceeding, and some singular meas-

* "Mr. Gillespie died, Jan. 19th, 1774, in serenity of mind, and good hope through grace."——For the preceding facts, I am indebted to the Quarterly Magazine.

ures taken, and the hastiness and vehemence of the proceeding, are such, as savour very strongly of the very spirit of persecution, and must be greatly to the dishonour of the Church of Scotland; and are such, as will naturally engage the friends of God's people, abroad in the world, in your favour, as suffering very injuriously. It is wonderful, that a church, which has itself suffered so much by persecution, should be guilty of so much persecution. This proceeding gives reason to suspect, that the Church of Scotland, which was once so famous, is not what it once was. It appears probable to me, at this distance, that there is something else at the bottom, besides a zeal to uphold the authority of the church. Perhaps many of the clergy of the Church of Scotland have their minds secretly infected with those lax principles of the new divinity, and have imbibed the *liberal* doctrines, as they are accounted, which are so much in vogue at the present day, and so contrary to the strict, mysterious, spiritual, soul-humbling principles of our forefathers. I have observed, that these modern fashionable opinions, however called noble and liberal, are commonly attended, not only with a haughty contempt, but an inward malignant bitterness of heart, towards all the zealous professors and defenders of the contrary spiritual principles, that do so nearly concern the vitals of religion, and the power of experimental godliness. This, be sure, has been the case in this land. I have known many gentlemen, (especially in the ministry,) tainted with these liberal principles; who, though none seem to be such warm advocates as they, for liberty and freedom of thought, or condemn a narrow and persecuting spirit so much as they; yet, in the course of things, have made it manifest, that they themselves had no small share of a persecuting spirit. They were, indeed, against any body's restraining *their* liberties, and pretending to controul *them* in their thinking and professing as they please; and that is what they mean, truly, when they plead for liberty. But they have that inward enmity of spirit towards those others mentioned, that, if they see an opportunity to persecute them under some good cloak, and with some false pretext, they will eagerly embrace it, and proceed with great severity and vehemence. Thus far, perhaps, if the truth were known, it would appear, that some of your most strenuous persecutors hate you much more for something else, than they do for your not obeying the orders of the General Assembly. I do not pretend to know how the case is. I only speak from what I have seen and found, here in America, in cases somewhat similar. However, it is beyond doubt, that this proceeding will stand on the records of future time, for the lasting reproach of your persecutors; and your conduct, for which you have suffered, will be to your lasting honour in the Church of God. And what is much more, that, which has been condemned in you by man, and for which you have suffered from him, is doubtless approved by God, and I trust you will have a glorious reward from

him. For the cause, you suffer in, is the cause of God; and if God be for us, who can be against us? If he justifies, what need we care who condemns? Not only is the mercy of God, dear brother, manifested, in its being granted you to suffer for his sake, but his mercy is to be taken notice of, in many of the circumstances of this suffering. Particularly, that he has excited so many to appear for you: that you had the major part of the Presbytery, which you belong to, with you in the affair, though God has honoured you above all the rest, in calling you to suffer for his name: that the major part of the commission of the General Assembly did in effect approve of the conduct of the Presbytery, judging it no censurable fault: that no greater part of the Assembly had a hand in your deposition: that so many of God's people have, on this occasion, very boldly appeared to befriend you, as suffering in a righteous cause, openly condemning the conduct of your most bitter prosecutors, and testifying an abhorrence of their conduct: and that many have appeared, liberally to contribute to your outward support; so that, by what I understand, you are likely to be no loser in that respect; by which, your enemies will, perhaps, be entirely disappointed. And, above all, that you have been enabled, through the whole of this affair, to conduct yourself with so much christian meekness, decency, humility, proper deference to authority, and composure and fortitude of mind; which is an evident token that God will appear for you, and also, that he will appear against your enemies. When I received your kind letter, soon after my dismission from Northampton, so full of expressions of sympathy towards me under what I suffered, I little thought of your being brought so soon under sufferings so similar. But, seeing God has so ordered it in his providence, my prayer and hope is, that he would abundantly reward your sympathy in my case. "*Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.*"

"As to myself, I still meet with difficulties in my new station, which arise partly from private views, (as it is to be feared,) of some particular persons of some note and distinction, who are concerned with the affairs of the Mohawks here, and partly from the same spirit, and the same persons, and others nearly related to them, who fomented the contention with me at Northampton. However, all the people, both Indians and English, except the very few of the abovementioned connection, are firmly united to me: and the Commissioners in Boston, who are my constituents, and from whom I have my support, are altogether on my side; and are endeavouring to the utmost, to remove the difficulties that attend our affairs; by which the cause of religion here, especially among the Mohawks, suffers much more than I do, or am like to do, in my personal and temporal interests. These difficulties, which have arisen, have indeed, almost brought the Mohawk affair to ruin, which the last year was attended with so glorious a prospect. It would be very

tedious to relate the particulars of this unhappy affair. I think that God, by these sufferings, calls me to expect no other, than to meet with difficulties and trials while in this world. And what am I better than my fathers, that I should expect to fare better in the world, than the generality of Christ's followers in all past generations. May all our trials be for our justification, and our being more and more meet for our Master's use, and prepared to enter into the joy of our Lord, in a world where all tears shall be wiped from the eyes of God's people. Let us, dear Sir, earnestly pray one for another, that it may be thus with us; and that, however we may be called to labour, and to suffer, we may see peace on God's Israel, and hereafter eternally glory and triumph with his inheritance. God has of late mercifully preserved my wife and youngest daughter, in time of very sore and dangerous sickness, and restored them again. My eldest daughter has also been sick, and is restored in a considerable degree.

"The Northampton People remain in sorrowful circumstances, destitute of a settled minister, and without any prospect of a settlement; having met with many disappointments. But all don't as yet seem to be effectual, to bring them to a suitable temper of mind. I much desire to hear from you, and to be informed of your present circumstances.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your affectionate Brother

"in the Gospel,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS.

With the preceding letter was sent the following to Mr. M'Culloch.

"*Stockbridge, Nov.* 24, 1752.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"I thank you for your letter of March 3, 1752, which I received this fall. I thank you for your friendly and instructive observations, on God's dealings with me and my family. Though God's dispensations towards me, have been attended with some distinguishing trials, yet the end of the Lord has been very gracious. He has ever manifested himself very pitiful and of tender mercy, in the midst of difficulties we have met with, in merciful circumstances with which they have been attended, and also in the event of them. Our circumstances, here at Stockbridge, are in many respects comfortable. We here live in peace and friendship, with the generality of the people. But we are not without our difficulties and troubles here. The Indian affair, which the last year was attended with so pleasing and glorious a prospect, has since been unspeakably embarrassed, through the particular schemes of certain individuals, who are opposed, in their counsels and measures, to the Commis-

sioners of the Society in London, and are, to their utmost, striving to accomplish their designs in opposition to them, and in this great contest I am looked on as a person not a little obnoxious. They belong to a family of some note, who vigourously abetted and set forward my opposers at Northampton, and were a chief occasion of my removal from that town; to whom my settlement at Stockbridge was very grievous, who now take occasion to exert themselves to the utmost to weaken my interest and influence; and I have all reason to think, would, if it were possible, undermine me, and procure my removal far hence. Many endeavours have been used to disaffect my people towards me, but all in vain. They are all firmly united to me, excepting the forementioned family. Endeavours have been used also, to disaffect some of the Commissioners; but wholly in vain. They seem to have their eyes very wide open, as to their particular designs and schemes, and the true spring of their opposition. We hope for an end of this lamentable contest before long. But its effects, hitherto, have been very sorrowful, especially with regard to the Mohawks. Some other things have happened, which have much prejudiced the cause of religion among the Indians; and, among other things, the discovery of the famous Tartarian root, described in Chambers' dictionary, called *Ginseng*, which was found in our woods the last summer, and is since found in the woods, in many of these western parts of New England, and in the country of the Six Nations. The traders in Albany have been eager to purchase all, that they could, of this root, to send to England; where they make great profit by it. This has occasioned our Indians of all sorts, young and old, to spend abundance of time in wandering about the woods, and sometimes to a great distance, in the neglect of public worship, and of their husbandry; and also, in going much to Albany, to sell their roots, (which proves worse to them than their going into the woods,) where they are always much in the way of temptation and drunkenness; especially when they have money in their pockets. The consequence has been, that many of them have laid out their money, which they have got for their roots of Ginseng, for rum; wherewith they have intoxicated themselves.

"God has been very gracious to my family of late, when some of them have been visited with sore sickness. My wife has lately been very dangerously sick, so as to be brought to the very brink of the grave. She had very little expectation of life, but seemed to be assisted to an unweaned resignation to the divine will, and an unshaken peace and joy in God, in the expectation of a speedy departure. But God was pleased to preserve her, and mercifully to restore her to a pretty good state of health. My youngest daughter also, who has been a very infirm child, was brought nigh unto death, by a sore fit of sickness, and is now also restored to her former state. My daughter Parsons, my eldest daughter, who with

her husband has removed from Northampton, and dwells in Stockbridge, has also very lately been very sick, but is in a considerable measure restored. My daughter Esther's marriage, with President Burr, of Newark, seems to be very much to the satisfaction of ministers and people in those parts, and also of our friends in Boston, and other parts of New England.

"As to the state of religion in America, I have but little to write that is comfortable; but there seems to be better appearances in some other colonies, than in New England. When I was lately in New Jersey, in the time of the Synod there, I was informed of some small movings and revivals in some places on Long Island, and New Jersey. I there had the comfort of a short interview with Mr. Davies of Virginia, and was much pleased with him and his conversation. He appears to be a man of very solid understanding, discreet in his behaviour, and polished and gentlemanly in his manners, as well as fervent and zealous in religion. He gave an account of the probability of the settlement of a Mr. Todd, a young man of good learning and of a pious disposition, in a part of Virginia near to him. Mr. Davies represented before the Synod, the great necessities of the people, in the back parts of Virginia, where multitudes were remarkably awakened and reformed several years ago, and ever since have been thirsting after the ordinances of God. The people are chiefly from Ireland, of Scotch extraction. The Synod appointed two men, to go down and preach among these people; viz. Mr. Henry, a Scotchman, who has lately taken a degree at New-Jersey College, and Mr. Greenman, the young man, who was educated at the charge of Mr. David Brainerd.

"The people of Northampton are in sorrowful circumstances, are still destitute of a minister, and have met with a long series of disappointments, in their attempts for a re-settlement of the ministry among them. My opposers have had warm contentions among themselves. Of late, they have been wholly destitute of any body, to preach steadily among them. They sometimes meet to read and pray among themselves, and at other times set travellers or transient persons to preach, that are hardly fit to be employed.

"My wife joins with me, in most respectful salutations to you and yours. Desiring your prayers, that God would be with us in all our wanderings, through the wilderness of this world,

"I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate brother, in the labours of the gospel, JONATHAN EDWARDS."

THE chagrin and mortification, and entire loss of influence and respect, consequent upon the indiscreet attempt to force Mr. Edwards from Stockbridge, by buying out all the English inhabitants, and upon its utter discomfiture, had, in its connection with the infirmities of age, such an effect upon the individual who made it, that he was, soon after, induced to part with his property in that

town, and remove to a distance. His children, though somewhat disheartened by so untoward an event, and now assured that, if help came to them, it could not come from Stockbridge; appear, however, to have resolved, that they would not lose all their labour, and all their hopes, without a struggle. The Commissioners in Boston, of the Society in London, were now to a man, firmly opposed to them, and resolved to resist them to the utmost. But their kinsman, who was a member of the Society in London, was well acquainted with its Board of Directors, and had written to them in behalf of his cousin. He had also applied to Mr. Hollis, to secure to her husband the management of his benefactions. The latter gentleman, also, and the brother of the former, had considerable influence at Boston, and this influence had now been exerted for a considerable period, to procure the removal of Mr. Edwards. At the opening of the General Court, in the autumn, all the influence and all the efforts of the family, and its friends, were brought to bear on this one point; and representations, most unfavourable to the character and qualifications of Mr. E. were made to many of the principal men of the province. The Annual Report of the resident trustee was drawn up with a direct and immediate reference to this subject, and was read to the Legislature, when Mr. Edwards knew nothing of its contents, and when, being at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles, he, of course, could not at once answer it. Mr. Woodbridge, however, was on the spot, as were the Honourable Commissioners of the Society in London, and they made such counteracting statements, as the circumstances rendered proper. Of this Report, we shall take notice further on.

While Mr. Woodbridge was at Boston, he was informed, and that too most incautiously, by the son of his opponent, who went thither in company with his brother-in-law, the author of the Report, that the latter had solicited his Excellency, Sir William Pepperell, Governour of the Province, to write to England, and to use his influence, with the Corporation in London, that Mr. Edwards might be removed from the office of missionary; and that Sir William had engaged to do it. On this information, coming so directly, Mr. Edwards felt himself bound, from a regard to his own reputation, and to the welfare of his family, to address Sir William on the subject; which he did in a letter, bearing date January 30, 1753.* In this letter, after reciting the preceding facts, as his apology for writing it, and mentioning the great disadvantage, under which he lay, in attempting to defend himself, at such a distance, when he did not know what had been said to his prejudice, he states, among other things, the following: That, since the revival of religion in 1734, the family, with which the writer of the Report was now

* This letter is too long for insertion.

connected, had discovered an unceasing hostility towards himself, and his own family, notwithstanding the best endeavours he could use to remove it; that they deeply engaged themselves in the controversy, at Northampton, on the side of his opposers, upholding, directing, and animating them, in all their measures; that two of them, especially, had been the confidential advisers of the opposition, in procuring his dismission; that when his removal to Stockbridge was proposed, the whole family, there and elsewhere, opposed it, with great vehemence, though, when they saw an entire union and universal engagedness in all the rest of the inhabitants, both English and Indians, for his settlement there, and that there was no hope of preventing it, they appeared, as though there minds were changed;—that the author of the Report, during the whole controversy at Northampton, in direct opposition to the family, with which he was now connected, had remained his zealous friend and advocate; that he warmly advocated his removal to Stockbridge, and expressed a strong desire of living under his ministry; (for the evidence of which facts, he refers Sir William to two of the most respectable gentlemen in the Province;) that this confidential friendship lasted, until his connection with that family, and then was suddenly changed, first into secret, and afterwards into open, opposition; that he had personally blamed him for preaching to the Mohawks, as *intermeddling with what was none of his business*, although Mr. E. produced the Note of the Commissioners, *expressly desiring him to preach to the Mohawks, until a distinct Missionary was appointed over them:* that the reason, openly assigned for the very great resentment of the author of the Report, and that of his friends, against Mr. Edwards, was, his having opposed the appointment of the wife of that gentleman, as teacher of the female school, although he neither said nor did any thing respecting it, until his opinion was expressly desired in writing by the Commissioners, and then, that he opposed it on the ground, that it was impossible for an individual, who had the care of two numerous families of children, to instruct and govern the children of an Indian school;—and that, as to his qualifications for the business of a missionary, his *communicative faculty*, etc., which were now denied, he could only appeal to those, who had the best opportunity of judging, from their own experience,—particularly, to every man, woman and child, in Stockbridge, that had any understanding, both English and Indians, except the families of the opponent of Mr. Woodbridge, and of the author of the Report. Mr. Edwards then adds, "Now, Sir, I humbly request, that, if you had resolved on endeavouring to have me removed from my present employment, here, you would once more take the matter into your impartial consideration. And, I would pray you to consider, Sir, what disadvantages I am under; not knowing what has been said of me in conversation; not knowing, therefore, the accusation, or what to answer to. The ruin of

my usefulness, and the ruin of my family, which has greatly suffered in years past, for righteousness' sake, are not indeed things of equal consideration with the public good. Yet certainly, I should first have an equal, impartial and candid, hearing, before I am executed for the public good. I must leave the matter, dear Sir, to your justice and christian prudence; committing the affair to him, who knows all the injuries I have suffered, and how wrongfully I now suffer, and who is the Great Protector of the innocent and oppressed; beseeching him to guide you in your determination, and mercifully to order the end."

In the month of February, 1753, the building erected for the instruction of the Mohawk boys, usually denominated the *boarding-school*, took fire in a way unknown, and, with considerable furniture in it, was reduced to ashes. Mr. Hawley had furnished a chamber in the building, and resided in it. By this calamity, he lost his clothing, books and furniture. It was supposed, with some grounds, to have been set on fire by design; and its destruction was, for the time, a very serious interruption to the labours of Mr. Hawley.

The Report of the Indian Agent was read early in the session. It contained various insinuations and charges, of a general nature, against Mr. Edwards. Other charges were busily circulated among the members, with the hope of procuring his removal. But it was well understood, that Mr. Edwards was at a great distance, and had had no notice of these charges. He had likewise a character for integrity, too well established, to be shaken by general insinuations, or covert attacks. Mr. Woodbridge, and the Commissioners, were also on the spot, and took care that the real state of things should be made known, and the conduct of Mr. Edwards adequately defended. So effectually and satisfactorily was this done, that, when Mr. Edwards received a copy of the Report by Mr. Woodbridge, he appears also to have been apprised, by his friends in Boston, that the design of his enemies, in this attack, had been completely frustrated. What these insinuations and charges were, we learn from his letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, written for the purpose of being communicated, if he thought necessary, to the Legislature. It deserves here to be mentioned, as a singular and very kind dispensation of Providence, that the author of the Report had, some time before, addressed a letter to Mr. Edwards, while he was his friend, and when he hoped for his co-operation; particularly, in the appointment of his son as school-master to the Mohawks; in which, he had either furnished the means of contradicting the statements made in the Report, or had expressly requested Mr. Edwards to do the very things, which he now complained of, and made the

ground of complaint. Of this letter, Mr. Edwards enclosed a copy; offering to forward the original, if desired, and, at the same time, to substantiate every part of his own statement, by numerous witnesses, of the most unexceptionable character.

From his letter to the Speaker, it appears, that the writer of the Report charged him—with introducing Mr. Hawley into the school;—with introducing a master, in his absence, and when there was reason to expect his return;—with doing this, when he had been at the expense of a journey of his son of 260 miles, to procure Mr. Hawley as master of the boys;—with introducing Mr. Ashley, the interpreter, as assistant instructor;—and with opposing the appointment of his wife, as teacher of the female school;—and that he also alleged, that the school was in very desirable circumstances, until Mr. Hawley took it, and that it then declined;—that the Mohawks had been discouraged, through the conduct of the agents of the mission;—and that Mr. Edwards was not qualified for his office, because, on account of his age, he could not learn the language of the Indians.

To these charges, Mr. Edwards replied,—that he introduced Mr. Hawley, because he was directed so to do, by the letter of the Commissioners, of Dec. 31, 1751;—that he introduced a master, in the absence of the author of the Report, for two reasons, 1, Because he knew not when he was to return; and, 2, Because the author of the Report, himself, in a letter sent him by his son, requested him, *at that very time*, to introduce a master into the school; of which letter he inclosed a copy, with the offer of forwarding the original, if desired;—that, when the author of the Report sent his son on the specified journey, *it was not* to procure *Mr. Hawley*, to be a master for the boys, but *it was*, that *the son himself* might be the master; for evidence of which, appeal is also made to the copy of the same letter;—that, as to the appointment of teacher of the female school, he said nothing about it, until expressly requested to give his opinion by the Commissioners;—that so far was the school from being in desirable circumstances, before the introduction of Mr. Hawley, that the author of the Report had, himself, represented it as having been, until that time, in most lamentable circumstances, in the very letter of which he enclosed a copy, in which he requested Mr. Edwards to introduce his son into the school, in the room of the former master;—that the school continued to flourish under Mr. Hawley, until his opposers used their utmost endeavours to destroy it; for evidence of which, he offers the testimony of the substantial inhabitants of the town;—that Hendrick, and the other Chiefs, and the Mohawks generally, had expressly assigned their dissatisfaction with the conduct of these individuals, as the reason of their leaving Stockbridge; for evidence of which, he offers the same testimony;—and, as to his learning the Housatonnuck language, that the author of the Re-

port knew how the case would be, before he recommended him to the office of missionary; and that Mr. Sergeant, after fourteen years study, had never been able to preach in it, nor even to pray in it except by a form, and had often expressed the opinion, previous to his death, that his successor ought not to trouble himself, in learning the language. He then requests, that the Speaker would communicate his letter to the Assembly, and prays that honourable body, if they proposed to take any order on the case, first to give him opportunity to meet his accuser face to face.

I have no means of ascertaining whether the preceding letter was, or was not, read to the Legislature. If not; it was because the Honourable Speaker, who was a personal friend of Mr. Edwards, found it to be wholly unnecessary. And it can scarcely be necessary to inform the reader, that the attack, made thus directly upon Mr. Edwards, and indirectly upon all his associates in the mission, not only failed altogether of its intended effect; but, by leading to a developement of the mercenary scheme, devised to divert, to the purposes of private emolument, the consecrated charities of the Province and of individuals, recoiled with increased violence upon its authors.

Thus far the individuals, opposed to the Stockbridge missionaries, had met with little success, to encourage their efforts. They had looked for help to various sources: to the Indians and to the people of Stockbridge, to the Commissioners and to the Provincial Legislature, to Mr. Hollis and to the Society in London: and in every instance, so far as the result was known, they had looked in vain. The Housatonnucks had refused all intercourse with them. From disgust at their management, a part of the Mohawks had actually retired, and the rest were threatening to retire, to their own country. The people of Stockbridge had, to a man, united against them. The Commissioners were equally unanimous, in sustaining the individuals, whose overthrow they had attempted. And now, before the Provincial legislature, they had made their great and united effort, and had failed. In the mean time, Mr. Edwards was even more firmly established, as the Indian Missionary, and Mr. Woodbridge as the school-master of the Housatonnucks; Mr. Hawley had not been compelled to resign his place to the son of the resident trustee; the female school had not as yet been secured to his wife, and obviously could not now be, unless secured to her in London; and the stewardship of the three schools was not likely to be conferred on himself. Such was the state of things in the spring of 1753. It looked as though the great struggle was over; and that the party, which had thitherto acted on the offensive, would thenceforward be quiet, from a conviction, that every hostile movement must issue in defeat. The result justified this conclusion.

To Mr. Edwards, and his associates in the mission, as well as to their friends, this result must have been in a high degree satisfactory. On his arrival in Stockbridge, he found this controversy waging, and soon discovered that it was a controversy between the friends and enemies of the mission; between those who aimed at the real welfare of the Indians, and those who endeavoured to use them as instruments of their own private emolument; that one party relied on wealth, and office, and influence, to carry its measures; and the other, on personal integrity, a conscientious discharge of duty, and the protection of God. For a time he avoided taking any part in it; and his own temporal comfort, and the welfare of his family, seemed to require, that he should persevere in the same course. But his conscience forbade it. He must either sit quietly by, and see the charities of the Province, of the Society in London, and of Mr. Hollis, diverted from their appointed course, to fill the coffers of private avarice; or he must unite with those who were exerting their whole influence to prevent it. In such a state of things, he could not deliberate; and, through the divine blessing, he and his associates were now permitted to see, that they had not toiled and suffered in vain.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Letter to his eldest Son.—Return of greater part of the Mohawks.—Letter to Commissioners.—Mission of Mr. Hawley to Onohquauga.—Remainder of Mohawks directed to return.—Freedom of the Will.—Letter to Mr. Erskine.—Proposal of Society in London.—Letter to Mr. Gillespie.—Design and Character of the Freedom of the Will.—Letters from Mr. Hollis.—Surrender of Mohawk School to Mr. Edwards.—Entire Defeat of Enemies of Mission.—Return of remaining Mohawks.

Early in the ensuing spring, the eldest son of Mr. Edwards, then a lad of fourteen, went to New-York, and thence to New-Jersey; and on his way, was much exposed to the small-pox. On his return to New-York, he was seized with a violent fever. His father hearing this, and not knowing whether it was an ordinary fever, or the small-pox, addressed to him the following letter; which, like all his letters to his children, indicates that his chief anxiety was for their salvation.

"To Master Timothy Edwards, at New-York.

"*Stockbridge, April*, 1753.

"My dear Child,

"Before you will receive this letter, the matter will doubtless be determined, as to your having the small-pox. You will either be sick with that distemper, or will be past danger of having it, from any infection taken in your voyage. But whether you are sick, or well, like to die, or like to live, I hope you are earnestly seeking your salvation. I am sure there is a great deal of reason it should be so, considering the warnings you have had in word and in providence. That which you met with, in your passage from New York to Newark, which was the occasion of your fever, was indeed a remarkable warning, a dispensation full of instruction, and a very loud call of God to you, to make haste, and not to delay in the great business of religion. If you now have that distemper, which you have been threatened with, you are separated from your earthly friends, as none of them can come to see you; and if you should die of it, you have already taken a final and everlasting leave of them while you are yet alive, so as not to have the comfort of their presence and immediate care, and never to see them again in the land of the living. And if you have escaped that distemper,

it is by a remarkable providence that you are preserved. And your having been so exposed to it, must certainly be a loud call of God, not to trust in earthly friends, or any thing here below. Young persons are very apt to trust in parents and friends, when they think of being on a death bed. But this providence remarkably teaches you the need of a better Friend, and a better Parent, than earthly parents are; one who is every where present, and all-sufficient, that cannot be kept off by infectious distempers, who is able to save from death, or to make happy in death, to save from eternal misery, and to bestow eternal life. It is indeed comfortable, when one is in great pain, and languishing under sore sickness, to have the presence, and kind care, of near and dear earthly friends; but this is a very small thing, in comparison of what it is, to have the presence of an heavenly Father, and a compassionate and almighty Redeemer. In God's favour is life, and his loving kindness is better than life. Whether you are in sickness or health, you infinitely need this. But you must know, however great need you stand in of it, you do not deserve it: neither is God the more obliged to bestow it upon you, for your standing in need of it, your earnest desiring of it, your crying to him constantly for it from fear of misery, and taking much pains. Till you have savingly believed in Christ, all your desires, and pains, and prayers lay God under no obligation; and, if they were ten thousand times as great as they are, you must still know, that you would be in the hands of a sovereign God, who hath mercy on whom he will have mercy. Indeed, God often hears the poor miserable cries of sinful vile creatures, who have no manner of true regard to Him in their hearts; for he is a God of infinite mercy, and he delights to show mercy for his Son's sake, who is worthy, though you are unworthy, who came to save the sinful and the miserable, yea, some of the chief of sinners. Therefore, there is your only hope; and in him must be your refuge, who invites you to come to him, and says, "Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out." Whatever your circumstances are, it is your duty not to despair, but to hope in infinite mercy, through a Redeemer. For God makes it your duty to pray to him for mercy; which would not be your duty, if it was allowable for you to despair. We are expressly commanded to call upon God, in the day of trouble, and when we are afflicted, then to pray. But, if I hear that you have escaped,—either that you have not been sick, or are restored,—though I shall rejoice, and have great cause of thankfulness, yet I shall be concerned for you. If your escape should be followed with carelessness and security, and forgetting the remarkable warning you have had, and God's great mercy in your deliverance, it would in some respects be more awful than sore sickness. It would be very provoking to God, and would probably issue in an increasing hardness of heart; and, it may be, divine vengeance may soon overtake you. I have known various in-

stances of persons being remarkably warned, in Providence, by being brought into very dangerous circumstances, and escaping, and afterwards death has soon followed in another way. I earnestly desire, that God would make you wise to salvation, and that he would be merciful and gracious to you in every respect, according as he knows your circumstances require. And this is the daily prayer of

"Your affectionate and tender father,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"P. S. Your mother and all the family send their love to you, as being tenderly concerned for you."

At length the event, so long predicted by Mr. Edwards, actually took place. The Mohawks, who had manifested exemplary patience, under the vexations and embarrassments, to which they had been subjected by the whites, were at last wearied out; and, in the month of April, the greater part of them relinquished their lands and settlements at Stockbridge, and returned finally to their own country. After a brief allusion to this fact, in a letter to the Commissioners, Mr. Edwards communicated to them a variety of interesting intelligence relative to the Iroquois, and to the mission proposed to be established among them.

"To the Commissioners in Boston.

"*Stockbridge, April* 12, 1753.

"GENTLEMEN,

"The last Tuesday, about two thirds of the Mohawks, young and old, went away from Stockbridge, and are never likely to return again. They have long manifested a great uneasiness, at the management of affairs here, and at the conduct of those persons, on whom their affairs have almost wholly fallen; and have shown themselves very much grieved, that others, who used to be concerned, have been excluded. They have, once and again, represented the grounds of their uneasiness, to the provincial agent, but without redress. They have been dissatisfied with his answers, and there has appeared in them a growing dislike of the family, who have lately left their own house, and taken up their constant abode among them, in the female boarding-school.

"The Correspondents, in New-York and New-Jersey, of the Society in Scotland, for propagating Christian Knowledge, have determined, if Providence favours, to settle a mission among the Six Nations. To that end, they have chosen Mr. Gordon, a pious young gentleman, who has lately been a Tutor at New-Jersey College, to come to Stockbridge, and remain here with Mr. Hawley, to learn the Mohawk language with him, in order to his being

fitted for the business. Mr. Gordon is expected here to prosecute this design, in the beginning of May.

"In addition to this, Mr. Brainerd, the Pastor of the Indian Congregation at Bethel in New-Jersey, who is supported by the Correspondents, having met with much trouble from the enemies of religion in those parts; and his Indians being greatly disturbed, with regard to the possession and improvement of their lands; the Correspondents have of late had a disposition, that he, with his school-master and whole congregation, should remove, if a door might be opened, and take up a new settlement, somewhere in the country of the Six Nations. Mr. Hawley has seen Mr. Brainerd, and conversed with him on the subject, this spring. He manifests an inclination to such a removal, and says his Indians will be ready for it. If such a thing as this could be brought to pass, it would probably tend greatly to the introduction of the Gospel, and the promotion of the interests of religion, among the Six Nations; as his congregation are, I suppose, the most virtuous and religious collection of Indians in America, and some of them have now been long established in religion and virtue.

"According to the best information, I can get, of the country of the Six Nations, the most convenient place, to be chosen as the chief seat of missionary operations, is the country about *Onohquauga*, near the head of the Susquehannah River.

"I apprehend, from some things, of which Mr. Woodbridge informed me, that the Commissioners have had very wrong information concerning the Onohquauga Indians, as though they were a very despicable company, a kind of renegadoes, scarcely to be reckoned as of the Six Nations, living out of the country of those nations. There are, indeed, some here, who have sometimes spoken very contemptuously of them; which seems to have been, not from any manner of ground in fact, or so much as any colour of reason; but merely because these Indians appeared peculiarly attached to Mr. Ashley and his wife, and under their influence. But there are other persons in Stockbridge, who have had as much opportunity to know what is the true state of these people, as they. The *Onohquauga* Indians, who have been here, are properly, not only of the Six Nations, but of the Five Nations, who are the original united tribes of the Iroquois. All, but one or two of them, are of the nation of the *Oneiutas;* and they appear not to be looked upon as contemptible, by the rest of the Five Nations, from what was once openly said of them, at a public Council, by the Sachems of the *Conneenchees*, or proper *Mohawks*, who advised us to treat the Onohquaugas with peculiar care and kindness, as excelling their own tribe in religion and virtue; giving at the same time, many instances of their virtue. We have found the testimony, which they gave of them, to be true. They appear to be far the best disposed Indians, with which we have had any connection.

They would be inclined to the utmost, to assist, encourage and strengthen, the hands of missionaries and instructers, should any be sent among them, and to do all they could to forward their success, among themselves, and the other Indians round about.

"There seems to be no room for a missionary, in the country of the Conneenchees. The Society for propagating the Gospel, in foreign parts, have long since taken them under their care, and pretend to support a mission among them. A mission from the Commissioners in Boston would not be borne by them, nor by the Dutch, who are always among them. And as to the country of the *Quinquas*,* and the original seat of the *Oneiutas*, they seem not to be convenient places for settling a mission, on two accounts. They are in the road to Oswego, where the Dutch are incessantly passing and repassing with their rum; with which they are continually making them drunk, and would be, in many other respects, a continual hindrance and affliction to a missionary; for they are exceedingly opposed to the New-England people having any thing to do with the Iroquois. The nation of the *Quinquas*, also, are mostly in the French interest, as well as many of the *Oneiutas;* so that a missionary would there be afflicted, and perhaps in danger, by the French. And it is very evident, that the country of the *Onoontaugas*, is no country for our missionaries to attempt to establish a mission in. It would be like establishing a mission in Canada; for that nation have entirely gone over to the French interest. They are in the road of the French, as they go up a trading to Mississippi, and their distant settlements, and the nations on the Great Lakes; and the French have of late built a fort in their country, and have in effect annexed it to Canada. And the country of the *Senecas* will not be much more convenient for the purpose, both by reason of its very good distance, and also because most of the nation are firmly united to the French, who constantly maintain their missionaries among them.

"Onohquauga is within the territory of the Five Nations, and not so far from the other settlements, but that it may be convenient for making excursions to the several tribes; as convenient perhaps as any place that can be found. It is, I suppose, as near to the heart of the country, as any place, unless *Oneiuta* and *Quinquah*. They are also much out of the way of the French, and considerably out of the way of the Dutch, are in a pleasant fruitful country, surrounded by many settlements of Indians on every side, and where the way is open by an easy passage down the river, which runs through one of the most pleasant and fruitful parts of America, for four or five hundred miles, exceedingly well peopled on both sides, and on its several branches by Indians. Onohquauga is the road, by which

* Now called the *Cayugas*.

several of the nations pass, as they go to war with the Southern nations. And there will be this advantage, which missionaries will have, that the Onohquauga Indians are fast friends to the English; and though some of the Dutch have tried much to disaffect them to the English, their attempts have been in vain. They are very desirous of instruction, and to have the gospel established in their country.

"There are several towns of the Onohquaugas; and several missionaries might probably find sufficient employment in those parts. If Mr. Brainerd should settle somewhere in that country, with his christian Indians, and one or two more missionaries, not at a great distance, they might be under advantage to assist one another; as they will greatly need one another's company and assistance, in so difficult a work, in such a strange distant land. They might be under advantage to consult one another, and to act in concert, and to help one another, in any case of peculiar difficulty. Many English people would be found to go from New England, and settle there; and the greatest difficulty would be, that there would be danger of too many English settlers, and of such as are not fit for the place.

"But, in order to accomplish this; especially in order to such a body of new Indians coming from the Jerseys, and settling in the country of the Six Nations; the consent of those nations, or at least of several of them, must be obtained. The method which Mr. Woodbridge, Mr. Hawley, and I, have thought of, which we submit to the wisdom of the Commissioners, is this,—that Mr. Woodbridge, and Mr. Ashley and his wife, should go, as speedily as possible, into the country of the Conneenchees;—they being the first tribe in honour, though not in numbers;—and there spend some weeks, perhaps a month, among them, to get acquainted with them, and endeavour to gain their approbation of a mission, for settling the gospel in the country of the Six Nations.—Mr. Hawley, in the mean time, to keep Mr. Woodbridge's school. Then, that Mr. Hawley and Mr. Gordon should join them there, and go with them from thence to Onohquauga; and when they have acquainted themselves well with the people, and the state of the country, and find things agreeable, and see a hopeful prospect, then for Mr. Woodbridge to return, and leave Mr. Hawley and Mr. Gordon there, and forthwith send word to Mr. Brainerd, and propose to him to come up, with some of his chief Indians, to see the country. And if, on the observations they make, and the acquaintance they get with the people and country, they think there is an encouraging prospect, then to endeavour to gain a conference with some of the chiefs of the Five Nations, at an appointed time, to know whether they will consent, to their coming to settle in their territories. All this will occupy some considerable time; so that, if they can obtain their consent, Mr. Brainerd must return home; and he and his chief In-

dians must come again to the Treaty, at the time and place appointed.

"You will easily perceive, Gentlemen, that these things will require time, and that, in order to carry these various measures into effect this year, there will be need of expedition, which may show the reason why we think it necessary, that Mr. Hawley should come to Boston; for, if these things are to be done this year, we had need speedily to know the minds of the Commissioners, and therefore that the case would not allow of waiting for, and depending on, uncertain accidental opportunities, of sending to them, and hearing from them. It is also proper, that the Commissioners should have opportunity to agree with Mr. Hawley, concerning the reward of his services.

"Mr. Brainerd told Mr. Hawley, that, if he removed with his Indians, he should choose to do it speedily; and that, the longer it was delayed, the more difficult it would be, by reason of his building, and the Indians increasing their buildings and improvements at Bethel. Probably, if the removal cannot be brought about the next year, it never will be. And if his Indians remove the next year, it will be necessary that they remove as early as the spring, in order to plant there that year. And if so much needs to be done this summer, it is as much as it will be possible to find time for.

"Though we project the measures mentioned above, we are sensible they will be attended with much uncertainty. *Man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps. Many are the desires of Men's hearts, but the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand.* Unthought of difficulties may arise, to confound all our projects; as unforeseen difficulties have dashed all the pleasing hopes we entertained, and the fair prospects we had, concerning the affairs of the Mohawks at Stockbridge, the year before last. And I would humbly propose it for consideration, whether it will not be necessary, to leave these affairs, in some measure at discretion, to be determined, as the complicated, uncertain, changing state of things shall require; to save the trouble and expence of frequently going or sending to Boston, for new instructions; and to prevent the disadvantages, under which our affairs may be laid, through the lengthy, uncertain way of sending for and receiving new orders, by occasional opportunities.

"There will be a necessity of Mrs. Ashley's going as an interpreter, and of her husband going with her. He will be qualified to instruct the Indians, in their husbandry; having been well instructed in it himself. I believe he will not be very difficult as to his wages, though probably he expects to know what they will be.

"I have the honour to be,

"Gentlemen,

"Your obliged and obedient servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

During the month of April, Mr. Hawley received a letter from the Commissioners, directing him to go to Onohquauga, for the purpose of commencing a new mission at that place. He left Stockbridge, May 22d, in company with Mr. Woodbridge, and Mr. and Mrs. Ashley, travelling through the wilderness, and on the 4th of June, arrived at the place of their destination. The Indians received the intelligence of their proposed mission, with strong expressions of satisfaction. Mr. Woodbridge returned soon after to Stockbridge. Mr. Hawley appears to have remained, with his interpreter; and his labours, as a missionary, were attended with considerable success.

In the course of the summer, not long after the return of the larger part of the Mohawks, from Stockbridge to their own country, a General Council of the nation was held, at their principal settlement on the Mohawk; in which, after due examination of the facts, it was decided, That the rest of the Mohawks, at Stockbridge, should return early in the spring, as soon as the hunting season was over. Instructions, to this effect, were immediately transmitted, from the Chief Sachem of the tribe, to the residue of the little colony, and made known to the people of Stockbridge.

About this time, the agent of Mr. Hollis, discouraged, doubtless, by the state of things, as far as it was known, and probably auguring no very favourable result to himself, or his friends, from the application to Mr. Hollis; quitted Stockbridge, and went back to Newington: leaving the few boys, whom, by offering to board and clothe them gratuitously, he had persuaded to live with him, in the hands of the resident trustee.

This unhappy controversy, now drawing to its close, which, during its continuance, had threatened to subvert the whole Indian mission, and to destroy the prosperity of the village, and the temporal welfare of Mr. Edwards and his family, must have occupied so much of his attention, that when our readers remember, that he preached two discourses a week to the whites, as well as one, by an interpreter, to the *Housatonnucks*, and one to the *Mohawks;* and also catechised the children of the whites, the *Housatonnucks*, and the *Mohawks;* they will be ready to believe, that he found no time for any additional labours. And when they also recollect, that, on the 23d of November, 1752, he says, in his letter to Mr. Erskine,—"I began, the last August, to write a little on the Arminian Contro-"versy, but was soon broken off: and such have been my extraor-"dinary avocations and hindrances, that I have not had time to set "pen to paper, about this matter, since. But I hope God, in his "providence, will favour me with opportunity to prosecute the de-"sign, and I desire your prayers, that God would assist me in it;" —and that this proposed work, on the Arminian controversy, was none other, than the TREATISE ON THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL; they will conclude, of course, that the execution of it must have

been deferred to some happier period, when, amid the leisure and tranquility of retirement, he could give his uninterrupted attention, and his individual strength, to its accomplishment. What then will be their surprise, when they find him opening his next letter to Mr. Erskine, under the date of April 14th, 1753, with the following announciation,—"After many hindrances, delays and interruptions, "Divine Providence has so far favoured me, and smiled on my de- "sign of writing on the Arminian controversy, that I have almost "finished the first draft of what I first intended; and am now send- "ing the proposals for subscription, to Boston, to be printed." Let it be remembered, that the Essay on the Freedom of the Will, which, in the opinion of Dugald Stewart, raises its author to the same rank, as a metaphysician, with LOCKE and LEIBNITZ, was written within the space of four months and a half; and those, not months of leisure, but demanding the additional duties of a parish, and of two distinct Indian missions, and presenting also, all the cares, perplexities and embarrassments of a furious controversy, the design of which was to deprive the author, and his family, of their daily bread. So far as I am aware, no similar example, of power and rapidity united, is to be found on the annals of Mental effort.*

"*Stockbridge, April* 14, 1753.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"After many hindrances, delays, and interruptions, Divine Providence has so far favoured me, and smiled on my design of writing on the Arminian controversy, that I have almost finished the first draught of what I first intended; and am now sending the proposals for subscription to Boston to be printed; with a letter of Mr. Foxcroft, to send thirty of those proposals to Mr. M'Laurin, with a letter to him; in which I have desired him to deliver half of them

* Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, who had the MS Letters of Mr. Edwards to Dr. Erskine in his possession, while writing his LIFE of the latter, observes, "It was not, however, till the month of July, 1752, that he [Mr. Edwards] ap- "pears to have resumed his studies, on the subject of Free-will; for, on the 7th "of that month, he writes Dr. Erskine, that *he hoped soon to be at leisure, to re-* "*sume his design.*" He then adds, "Whatever opinion may be held, with re- "gard to Mr. Edwards' argument, it must appear astonishing to those, who "are capable of appreciating the difficulty of his subject, that, in *nine* months "from the date of this letter, (on the 14th of April, 1753,) he could write Dr. "Erskine, *that he had almost finished the first draft of what he originally intend-* "*ed.*" The passage, in Mr. Edwards' letter of Nov. 23, 1752, announcing, that he began to write in August, but was soon broke off; and had not, from that time, been able to put pen to paper, about the matter; and that he hoped, that God, in his providence, would favour him with an opportunity to prosecute the design; obviously escaped Sir Henry's notice. If he regarded it as astonishing, that Mr. Edwards should have been able to write the work in *nine* months; what would have been his views of the subject, if, after first reading the details of the Stockbridge controversy, he had then discovered, that it was written, not in *nine* months, but in *four and a half.*

to you, as you have manifested yourself ready to use endeavours to get subscriptions in Scotland. The printing will be delayed to wait for subscriptions from thence. I therefore request that you endeavour to promote and expedite the affair.

"Stockbridge affairs, relating to the Indians are, in many respects, under a very dark cloud. The affair of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, here, is almost at an end, as I have given a more particular account to Mr. M'Laurin. The Commissioners in Boston, I believe, are discouraged about it, and have thoughts of sending and settling a missionary in their own Country. The Correspondents of the Society in Scotland, have also determined to send a missionary there, and have chosen Mr. Gordon, a tutor of the College at Newark, for that end. Mr. Gordon is expected here at the beginning of May, to live at my house with Mr. Hawley, in order to learn the Iroquois language with him. It is probable that he and Mr. Hawley will go up, and spend the summer, in the Iroquois country.

"The Correspondents have also a disposition, that Mr. Brainerd should remove, with his whole congregation of Indians, to settle somewhere in the country of the Six Nations; and he himself and his Indians, are ready for it. 'Tis probable that something will be done, to prepare the way for it; and at least to see, whether the way can be prepared, or any door opened for it, this summer. Some of these Indians have a great desire, that the Gospel should be introduced and settled in their country.

"Some of the Stockbridge Indians have of late been under considerable awakenings,—two or three elderly men, that used to be vicious persons. My family is now in usual health. My daughter Burr, in New-Jersey, has been very ill, all the winter past. We last heard from her about five weeks ago; when it was hoped there was some amendment.

"My wife joins with me, in respectful and affectionate salutations to you and Mrs. Erskine. Desiring a remembrance in your prayers,

"I am, dear Sir,
"Your affectionate brother,
" and obliged friend and servant,
"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

The representations of the nephew of the opponent of Mr. Woodbridge, and those of the Commissioners of Boston, to the Society in London, the former hostile, and the latter friendly, to Mr. Edwards and his associates, were sent forward, and arrived at their place of destination, in due season. That gentleman had entertained an overweening estimate of his own influence, with the Board of Directors of the Society in London. They gave full credit to the statements of their own Commissioners, and

sustained them, in upholding their missionaries and instructers. Perceiving, however, that an unhappy controversy subsisted at Stockbridge, relative to the mission, and knowing that their Commissioners at Boston were 150 miles distant; they endeavoured to devise a plan, by which, the existing evils might be remedied. Mr. Edwards, in his letter to Mr. Mauduit, one of their number, had observed, "What renders it the more necessary, that things "here should be under the immediate care of Trustees on the spot, "is, the misunderstanding and jealousy here subsisting, between "some of the chief of the present English inhabitants of the town, "which is one of our greatest calamities. Things, on this account, "do much need careful inspection; and therefore, the gentlemen "intrusted ought to be such, as are perfectly impartial, and no way "interested in, or related to, these contending parties." The plan, suggested by the Directors, was this, That eleven persons—two in New-York, two in Albany, one in Wethersfield, two in Hartford, one in Windsor, one in Suffield, one in Hadley, and one in Stockbridge,—should be a Board of consultation, to advise their agents at Stockbridge, and to act, by correspondence, with the Commissioners; and they counted upon the preceding extract, as what had confirmed them in the measure.* At the request of the Hon. Mr. Bromfield, one of the Commissioners, Mr. Edwards, in a letter, dated Oct. 19, 1753, expressed his own views of the plan, and pointed out its inconvenience, if not utter impracticability. The Commissioners having expressed similar views to the Directors; the plan was relinquished. This was the result of the application to the Society in London.†

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, for the year 1753, having refused, by a very small majority, to restore Mr. Gillespie to the ministry in the kirk, and to his parish of Carnock;—an act of plain justice, which he would not ask them to render him;—Mr. Edwards addressed to him the following letter; a part of which, must have been sweet and consoling, to the feelings of suffering piety.

"*Stockbridge, October* 18, 1753.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"The last November, I wrote you a letter, and desired Mr.

* The Directors, knowing the characters of the respective individuals residing in these places, whom they designated; and perceiving, from an inspection of the map, that Stockbridge was nearly central to most of the places mentioned; appear to have supposed, that they might all meet there, without inconvenience.

† On this account only, is the plan worthy of being mentioned here.

Foxcroft to put up with it, for you, one of my Answers to Mr. Williams. After that, in the latter part of the winter, I received a letter from you, dated June 15th, 1752, with Milton on Hirelings; and duplicates of a Letter from a Gentleman in town, etc.; and Answers to the Reasons of Dissent, etc. I now return you my hearty thanks for these things. Since that, I have received letters from Mr. McLaurin and Mr. Erskine, with various pamphlets and prints relative to your extraordinary affair. I think, dear Sir, although your sufferings are like to continue, the General Assembly having refused to restore you to your former station and employments, in the church of Scotland; yet they are attended with many manifestations of the goodness, and fatherly kindness, and favour of the great Governor of the world, in the many alleviations and supporting circumstances of your persecutors; in that so many of God's ministers and people have appeared to be so much concerned for you; and have so zealously, and yet so properly, exerted themselves in your behalf; and have so many ways given their testimony to the goodness of the cause in which you suffer, and the unrighteousness of the hardships which you have been subjected to; and that even so great a part of the General Assembly, themselves, have, in effect, given this testimony for you, there being but a very small majority, but what openly appeared for the taking off of the censure of the former Assembly, without any recantation on your part, or so much as an application from you, desiring them so to do. You have some peculiar reasons to rejoice in your sufferings, and to glorify God on account of them. They having been so greatly taken notice of, by so many of the people of God; and there being so much written concerning them; tends to render them, with their circumstances, and particularly the patience and meekness with which you have suffered, so much the more extensively and durably, to the glory of the name of your blessed Lord, for whom you suffer. God is rewarding you for laying a foundation, in what has been said and done and written concerning your sufferings, for glory to his own name, and honour to you, in his church, in future generations. Your name will doubtless be mentioned hereafter with peculiar respect, on the account of these sufferings, in Ecclesiastical History; as they are now the occasion of a peculiar notice, which saints and angels in heaven take of you, and of their praises to God on your account; and will be the occasion of a peculiar reward, which God will bestow upon you, when you shall be united to their assembly.

"As to my own circumstances, I still meet with trouble, and expect no other, as long as I live in this world. Some men of influence have much opposed my continuing a missionary at Stockbridge, and have taken occasion abundantly to reproach me, and endeavour my removal. But I desire to bless God, he seems in some respects to set me out of their reach. He raises me up

friends, who are exerting themselves to counteract the designs of my opposers; particularly the Commissioners for Indian affairs in Boston; with whom innumerable artifices have been used, to disaffect them towards me; but altogether in vain. Governour Belcher, also, has seen cause much to exert himself, in my behalf, on occasion of the opposition made to me. My people, both English and Indians, steadfastly adhere to me; excepting the family with whom the opposition began, and those related to them; which family greatly opposed me while at Northampton. Most numerous, continued and indefatigable, endeavours have been used, to undermine me, by attempting to alienate my people from me; innumerable mean artifices have been used with one and another, with young and old, men and women, Indians and English: but hitherto they have been greatly disappointed. But yet they are not weary.

"As we, dear Sir, have great reason to sympathize, one with another, with peculiar tenderness; our circumstances being in many respects similar; so I hope I shall partake of the benefit of your fervent prayers for me. Let us then endeavour to help one another, though at a great distance, in travelling through this wide wilderness: that we may have the more joyful meeting in the land of rest, when we have finished our weary pilgrimage.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your most affectionate brother,

"and fellow servant,

"Jonathan Edwards.

"P. S. My wife joins in most affectionate regards to you and yours."

The proposals, for publishing the Essay on the Freedom of the Will, were issued in Massachusetts, in 1753; but, in consequence of the kind offer of Mr. Erskine and Mr. McLaurin, to circulate the papers, and procure subscribers for it, in Scotland, the printing was postponed, until the success of their efforts was known. What that success was, probably, cannot now be ascertained. The work was published early in the year 1754, under the title of "A careful and strict Enquiry into the modern prevailing notions of that Freedom of the Will, which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame." This work is justly considered, as the most laboured and important of the metaphysical investigations, undertaken by the author. The subject, as will be obvious from the preceding title, lies at the very foundation of all religion, and of all morality. That it was also a subject of no ordinary difficulty, appears generally to have been felt, and in effect acknowledged; for, until the time of Mr. Edwards, it had never been thoroughly investigated, either by philosophers or theologians, though it was constantly recurring, in their reasonings on the great principles, connected with the moral government of God, and the character of man. Calvin, in his chapter on the Slavery

of the Will, may be taken as an example of the most that had been done, to settle the opinions of the orthodox, and refute their opposers, on this subject, before this period. His defect, and that of his followers until the time of Mr. Edwards, is seen in this one thing: that they insisted on the great fact, merely, that the will of man was not in a state of indifference, but so strongly fixed in its choice, as to require supernatural grace for conversion; overlooking, in a great measure, the nature of moral agency, and what is essential to its nature. Their opposers, on the contrary, were constantly affirming, that freedom of will was necessary to moral agency, and carried their views to the extent, that the will *determined itself*, and could not be enslaved. In this state of ethical and theological science, Mr. Edwards set himself to the task of examining the great subject of Moral Agency, as connected with the human will: and, by the precision of his definitions and statements, the cogency of his reasonings, the fulness of his illustrations, the thorough handling of all objections, and the application of his views to many scriptural truths, he placed the grand points of his subject in a light so overwhelmingly convincing, as to leave little room for any doubt or dispute afterwards.

In this Treatise it is contended, that *the power of choosing*, or *willing*, does itself constitute freedom of agency; and that particular acts of will are determined, i. e. are rendered certain, or become such as they are, rather than otherwise, by some sufficient cause or reason, in perfect consistency with their being acts of will, or in perfect consistency with that power of willing which constitutes freedom of agency. On the ground that the power of willing pertains to man, the author asserts a *Natural Ability*, which is the just occasion of precept, invitation, etc., or of the will of God being addressed to him; and on the ground, that his acts of will are rendered certain, by a sufficient cause, the author asserts a *Moral Inability*. The principal point contended for, and which is most essential to the defence of the Calvinistic scheme of faith, in distinction from the Arminian, is the latter one, *that the acts of the will are rendered certain, by some other cause than the mere power of willing*. What the particular cause, or causes, may be, is not particularly considered; but this question is dismissed with a few brief remarks. The fact, that there is, and must be, some such cause, is the great subject argued, and most powerfully demonstrated. This cause he asserts is the foundation of *necessity*, in the sense merely of *certainty*, of action, and does not therefore destroy natural ability, or the power of choice, nor imply that man acts otherwise than electively, or by choice; so that it is a necessity consistent with accountability, demerit, or the contrary, and so with rewards and punishments. He asserts that all such terms as *must*, *cannot*, *impossible*, *unable*, *irresistible*, *unavoidable*, *invincible*, etc., when applied here, are not applied in their proper signifi-

cation, and are either used nonsensically, and with perfect insignificance, or in a sense quite diverse from their proper and original meaning, and their use in common speech; and that such a necessity, as attends the acts of men's wills, is more properly called *certainty*, than *necessity*.

Rightly to understand this controversy, it must be observed, that he and his opponents, alike, considered sin to consist in acts of will. Had this not been the case, it would have been idle for Mr. Edwards to have confined himself, in his whole treatise, to acts of choice, and the manner in which they are determined, i. e. rendered certain. He must, in that case, have agitated the previous question, respecting acts of choice themselves; and have asserted and maintained, that something else of specifically a different nature, enters into moral character, and forms the ground of praise and blame, or retribution. But the question, which he considered to be at issue, is this: *Does the mind will, in any given manner, without a motive, cause or ground, which renders the given choice, rather than a different choice, certain.* Whitby, the writer whom he especially has in view, in his remarks on the Freedom of Man, asserts, that man, by his own activity alone, decides the choice. Mr. Edwards acknowledges that man chooses, but asserts, in opposition to the opinion of Whitby, and those who side with him, that there must be some other ground or cause, beside the mere activity of man, or his power of choosing, which occasions his choosing in one manner, rather than another. He asserts that, "doubtless common sense requires men's being the authors of their own acts of will, in order to their being esteemed worthy of praise or dispraise, on account of them." The very act of volition, itself, is doubtless a determination; i. e. it is the mind's drawing up a conclusion, or coming to a choice, between two things or more, proposed to it. But determining, among external objects of choice, is not the same, as determining the act of choice itself, among various possible acts of choice. The question is, What influences, directs or determines, the mind or will, to such a conclusion or choice as it does form? Or what is the cause, ground, or reason, why it concludes thus, and not otherwise? This is the question, on his own statement.

In the latter part of February, 1754, a letter was received from Mr. Hollis, by Mr. Edwards, containing his explicit directions, as to the School, for which he had expended so much money, to so little purpose. By this letter, Mr. Hollis withdrew the care of the school, and the expenditure of his benefactions, from the hands of those, who had had the charge of them, and placed them in the hands of Mr. Edwards.* On the 25th, Mr. Edwards enclosed a

* Many benevolent men, on being apprized of such a wanton and shameful perversion of the funds, appropriated by themselves to a given charity, would, at once, have wholly discontinued their benefactions; but the benevolence of Mr. Hollis, like a living and copious fountain, could neither be dried up, nor obstructed.

copy of this letter, in a note to the provincial agent, requesting, from him, an account of the existing state of the school, and of the furniture and books, belonging to it. On the 27th, he went to the school, to examine into its actual condition, and found in it *six* Indian boys. The following day, he mentioned this fact, in a second note to the agent, and informed him, that, as the Mohawks had long had the resolution to leave Stockbridge, early in the spring, he had appointed a conference with them, on the 1st of March, to learn whether they still persisted in that resolution; to the end, that, if they did so, he might suspend any farther expense upon them, on Mr. Hollis' account. At this conference, which was held with all the Mohawks, men, women and children, in the presence of many of the people of the town, they informed him, that they had all agreed in the autumn, that they would return, in the spring, to their own country; and that this agreement was owing to the determination of the Council of their nation, the Sachems of the *Conneenchees*, and could not be altered, unless by a new determination of their Sachems. Of this, he gave the agent due notice, the day following, as well as of his purpose to expend none of Mr. Hollis' money upon them, so long as they persisted in that resolution.

As the General Court had interested themselves, in the affairs of Mr. Hollis, and had waited to know his mind concerning them, that they might order their own measures accordingly; Mr. Edwards, in a letter to the Secretary of the Province, dated March 8th, inclosed an extract from the letter of Mr. Hollis, and informed him of the actual state of the school, of the determination of the Council of the Mohawks, and the consequent resolution of the little colony, to return to their own country, and of the notice he had given the agent, that he should withhold any subsequent expense of Mr. Hollis' money upon them. He likewise informed him, that some of the Mohawks had, since the conference, brought their children to him, and earnestly requested that they might be instructed; offering to take the charge of their maintenance themselves; and that he had consented to receive them.* He also asks the advice of the Secretary, whether he might still occupy the schoolhouse, which had been built on the lands of the Indians, at the expense of the Province, for the benefit of Mr. Hollis' school.

The individuals, opposed to Mr. Edwards and Mr. Woodbridge, thus

* These children of the Mohawks, and the children of the Onohquaugas, constituted, from this time, the male Iroquois boarding-school, at Stockbridge. How long it was continued, I have not been able to ascertain; but suppose it was removed to Onohquauga, soon after the establishment of the mission of Mr. Hawley, at that place.

found every plan, which they had formed, of connecting themselves with the Stockbridge Mission, defeated, and their last hope extinguished. In 1750, the prospects of the mission, in consequence of the arrival of the two detachments of the Mohawks and Onohquaugas, which seemed to be mere harbingers of still larger colonies of their countrymen, were uncommonly bright and promising. And, could the benevolent intentions of Mr. Hollis, of the Society in London, and of the Provincial Legislature, in behalf of the Iroquois, have been carried forward to their full completion, with no obstructions thrown in their way, by greedy avarice, or unhallowed ambition; it is difficult to conceive of the amount of good, which might have been accomplished. A large and flourishing colony of the Iroquois would soon have been established, at Stockbridge, drawn thither for the education of their children, and brought directly within the reach of the means of Salvation. What would have been the ultimate effect of such a colony, on their countrymen at home, and on the more remote Indian Tribes, can only be conjectured. By the steadfast resolution of those persons, to oppose these plans of benevolence, unless the management of the funds, by which they were to be accomplished, could be placed in their own hands, this whole system of beneficence towards the Iroquois, which would only have enlarged with the opportunity of exerting it, was frustrated finally and forever. We will not cherish the belief, that the disappointed individuals found any thing, in this melancholy result, to console them, under the shame and mortification of their own defeat: although they thus effectually prevented the benevolent efforts of their opponents, by driving the intended objects of them beyond their reach. A short time after the letter of Mr. Hollis was received, the individual, in whose hands the Mohawk school had been left by the former teacher, removed with his family, to his former place of residence; leaving behind him only one of his associates at Stockbridge.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Sickness of Mr. Edwards.—"God's Last End in Creation."—"Nature of Virtue."—Mr. Edwards' second son resides at Onohquauga.—Dangers of the War.—Letter to Mr. Erskine.—Letter to Col. Williams.—Lord Kaimes.—Letter to Mr. Erskine.—Letter to Mr. M'Culloch.—Letter of Dr. Bellamy.—Treatise on Original Sin.—Letter to his Father.—Letter to Mr. Erskine.

In July 1754, Mr. Edwards had a most severe attack of the ague and fever, which lasted until January. It wholly disqualified him from writing, even to his correspondents, and greatly enfeebled his constitution. In the course of the spring following, he began the preparation of two other Treatises, which were entitled "A Dissertation, concerning the End for which God created the world;" and "A Dissertation, concerning the Nature of True Virtue." These two subjects are fundamental, in a System of Theology. On the first, many writers had hazarded occasional remarks; yet it has rarely occupied the space even of a chapter, or a section, in theological systems; and I know not whether any writer, before Mr. Edwards, had made it the subject of a formal and separate Treatise. From the purest principles of reason, as well as from the fountain of revealed truth, he demonstrates, that the *chief* and *ultimate* end of the Supreme Being, in the works of Creation and Providence, was the manifestation of his own glory, in the highest happiness of his creatures. The treatise was left, by the author, as at first written, without being prepared for the press; yet it exhibits the subject, in a manner so clear and convincing, that it has been the manual of theologians from the time of its publication to the present.

The Nature of Virtue has been a frequent subject of discussion, among ethical writers of almost every class,—heathen, infidel and christian. Aristotle, and other ancient moralists, supposed virtue to consist in avoiding *extremes*, and in following *the mean* in every thing. Others of the ancients, defined virtue to be *living according to Nature*. Balguy and Doddridge represent it as consisting in *acting agreeably to the Moral Fitness of things*. Wollaston places it in *regard to Truth*. Hutcheson defines it to be "*a quality apprehended in some actions, which produces approbation and love towards the actor, from those who receive no benefit from the action.*"

Many writers, ancient and modern, have placed virtue in *Imitation of God;* and many others in *Obedience to the Will of God.* Waterland, Rutherforth and (John) Brown, have placed it in *a wise regard to Our own Interest.* Bishop Butler says, that "a due concern about our own interest or happiness, and a reasonable endeavour to promote it, is Virtue;" and that "Benevolence, singly considered, is in no sort the whole of Virtue." Hume, who appears to have read several of the works of Edwards, and to have made use of them in accommodation to his own views, includes in his description of virtue, *whatever is Agreeable and Useful to ourselves and others.* Adam Smith refers it to *the principle of Sympathy.* Paley, who read Edwards with care, defines Virtue to be "*The Doing Good to mankind in obedience to the Will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness.*" Cumberland, in his *Laws of Nature,* justly regards it as consisting in *the love of God, and of our fellow-creatures;* and explains himself thus; "The foundation of all natural law is *the greatest benevolence of every rational agent towards all.*

Mr. Edwards represents Virtue as founded in HAPPINESS; and as being *Love to the greatest Happiness,* or *Love to the Happiness of Universal Being.* He describes it, as leading its possessor to desire, and to promote, as far as in him lies, the happiness of all beings, and a greater degree of happiness in preference to a less. His account of the subject is in exact accordance, with the decision of Reason. Happiness is the *end,* for which intelligent beings were made, the perfection of their existence: and therefore Virtue, or Moral Excellence, must be love to that Happiness. It is also in exact accordance with the Scriptures. The Sum of our duty is unquestionably Virtue. But Moses sums up our duty in the two commands, "*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,*" and "*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself:*" In other words, *Thou shalt love the Happiness of Universal Being.*

When the Scriptures had so plainly pointed out the Nature of Virtue, as consisting in Love; and its Foundation, as being Happiness; it is not a little remarkable, that so many acute writers, with the Scriptures in their hands, should have formed views either so obscure, or so erroneous, of these subjects; and, perhaps not less remarkable, that Mr. Edwards should have been able to discover its true Nature, and its real Foundation, at a very early age, as clearly as he did in after life. That this was the case, no one will want evidence, who reads the various articles, under the head of EXCELLENCY, particularly the last, in the NOTES ON THE MIND.*

* See Appendix, II. In several of the articles under the head of EXCELLENCY, the reader will find, if I mistake not, as striking specimens of powerful metaphysical reasoning, as any to be found in the Essay on the Freedom of the Will.

These two treatises were first published together in a pamphlet, in Boston, in 1788, without alteration from the rough draft of the author. He designed them both for publication, but never prepared either of them for the press. Though conceived and expressed with great perspicuity, they treat of subjects, which demand close thought in the reader, as well as the writer; and, on this account, have often been imperfectly comprehended, even by divines. But wherever they have been read and understood, they have, to such a degree formed and regulated the views of theologians, with regard to the subjects of which they treat, that other treatises are consulted, rather as objects of curiosity, or history, than as guides of opinions and principles.*

In February, or early in March, this year, Mr. Edwards sent his second son, Jonathan,† then a lad of nine years of age, to Onohquauga, to reside with Mr. Hawley, that he might learn more perfectly the language of the Iroquois. He continued there about a twelvemonth: when, in consequence of the war with France, the danger of attack from the Indians became so imminent, that Mr. Hawley returned with him to his father's house.

The war of 1754 was most disastrous to the colonies; and the frontier settlements of New England, of which Stockbridge was one, were exposed to unceasing anxiety and alarm, from their constant liability to attack from the French and savages. In the autumn, several of the inhabitants of Stockbridge were killed by these marauders; in consequence of which it became a garrisoned town; and every family had quartered upon it its own quota of the soldiers, necessary for the defence of the place. The state of things, in this respect, may be learned from the following letter of Mr. Edwards, to the officer who had the command of the troops in that part of the county.

"*Stockbridge Feb.* 26, 1755.

"Sir,

We have not lodgings and provisions, so as to board and lodge more than four soldiers; and being in a low state as to my health, and not able to go much abroad, and upon that and other accounts, under much greater disadvantages, than others, to get provisions, it is for this reason, and not because I have a disposition to make dif-

* Bishop Butler has left a "Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue," which the curious reader will do well to examine in connexion with Mr. Edwards' "Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue;" if he wishes to compare the powers of these two distinguished men, when endeavouring to grasp the same subject.

† Afterwards the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D. D. President of Union College, Schenectady. He was familiarly acquainted with the Housatonnuck and the Iroquois; in early life, more so than with the English.

ficulty, that I told the soldiers of this province, who had hitherto been provided for here, that we could not board them any longer. I have often been told that you had intimated, that you have other business for them in a short time. Capt. Hosmer has sent three of his men to lodge at my house, whom I am willing to entertain, as I choose to board such, as are likely to be continued for our defence, in times of danger. Stebbins has manifested to us a desire to continue here. Him, therefore, I am willing to entertain, with your consent. Requesting your candid construction of that, which is not intended in any inconsistence, with my having all proper honour and respect, I am

"Your humble servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

The subsequent letter to Mr. Erskine will show, still more fully, the state of alarm and terror, then existing at Stockbridge.

"*Stockbridge, April* 15, 1755.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"The last year, in the spring, I received, without a letter, a pacquet, containing the following books: Casaubon on Enthusiasm; Warburton's Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion; Merrick on Christ the True Vine; Campbell's Apostles no Enthusiasts; Discourse on the Prevailing evils of the present time; Remarks on Apostles no Enthusiasts; Moncrief's Review and Examination of some principles in Campbell's Apostles no Enthusiasts; Gilbert on the Guilt and Pardon of Sin; Hervey on the Cross of Christ; An account of the Orphan School, etc. at Edinburgh; Memorial concerning the Surgeon's Hospital; Gairdner's Account of the Old People's Hospital; State of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge; Abridgement of the Rules of said Society; Regulations of the Town's Hospital at Glasgow; and Annals of the Persecution of the Protestants in France.

"In the beginning of last December, I received another pacquet, without a letter: the wrapper superscribed with your hand. In this, were the following pamphlets: A Sermon by a Lay Elder, before the Commission; A Letter to a gentleman at Edinburgh; Resolutions of the General Assembly, of May 22d, 1736; Rutherford's Power of Faith and Prayer; Enquiry into the method of settling Parishes; The nature of the Covenant and Constitution of the Church of Scotland; Essay on Gospel and Legal Preaching; Necessity of Zeal for the Truth; A Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine of Justification, against the charge of Antinomianism. The last week, I received a letter from you, dated 11th July, '54; which was found at Mr. Prince's, by one that went to Boston from hence, and had lain there, Mr. Prince could not tell how long. In this letter, you make mention of these last mentioned pamphlets,

received last December. I now return you my hearty thanks for this letter, and these generous presents. I should have written to you long ago, had I not been prevented, by the longest and most tedious sickness, that ever I had in my life: I being followed with fits of ague, which came upon me about the middle of last July, and were, for a long time, very severe, and exceedingly wasted my flesh and strength, so that I became like a skeleton. I had several intermissions of the fits, by the use of the Peruvian bark; but they never wholly left me, till the middle of last January. In the mean time, I several times attempted to write letters to some of my friends, about affairs of importance, but found that I could bear but little of such writing. Once, in attempting to write a letter to Mr. Burr, a fit of the ague came upon me, while I was writing, so that I was obliged to lay by my pen. When my fits left me, they left me in a poor, weak state, so that I feared whether I was not going into a dropsy. Nevertheless, I have, of late, gradually gained strength.

"I lately received a letter from Mr. M'Laurin, dated Aug. 13, '54; which Mr. Prince sent me, with a letter from himself, wherein he informed me, that a Captain of a ship from Glasgow, then lately arrived, brought an account of Mr. M'Laurin's death, that he died very suddenly, with an apoplexy, a little before he left Glasgow. Since I received that letter, I sent to Mr. Prince, desiring to know more of the certainty of the account. This is an affecting piece of news. It is an instance of death, which I have much cause to lament. He has long shown himself to be a very worthy, kind and obliging, friend and correspondent of mine. And doubtless, the Church of Scotland has much cause to lament his death. There is reason to think, that he was one of them that stood in the gap, to make up the hedge, in these evil times. He was a wise, steady and most faithful, friend of Gospel truth, and vital piety, in these days of great corruption. I wish that I may take warning by it, as well as by my own late sickness, to prepare for my own departure hence.

"I have nothing very comfortable to write, respecting my own success in this place. The business of the Indian mission, since I have been here, has been attended with strange embarrassments, such as I never could have expected, or so much as once dreamed of: of such a nature, and coming from such a quarter, that I take no delight in being very particular and explicit upon it. But, beside what I especially refer to, some things have lately happened, that have occasioned great disturbance among the Indians, and have tended to alienate them from the English. As particularly, the killing of one of them in the woods, by a couple of travellers white men, who met him, and contended with him. And though the men were apprehended and imprisoned; yet, on their trial they escaped the sentence of death: one of them only receiving a

lighter punishment, as guilty of manslaughter: by which these Indians, and also the Indians of some other tribes, were greatly displeased, and disaffected towards the English. Since the last fall, some Indians from Canada, doubtless instigated by the French, broke in upon us, on the Sabbath, between meetings, and fell upon an English family, and killed three of them; and about an hour after, killed another man, coming into the town from some distant houses; which occasioned a great alarm in the town, and in the country. Multitudes came from various parts, for our defence, that night, and the next day; and many of these conducted very foolishly towards our Indians, on this occasion, suspecting them to be guilty of doing the mischief, charging them with it, and threatening to kill them, and the like. After this, a reward being offered by some private gentlemen, to some that came this way as soldiers, if they would bring them the scalp of a Canada Indian; two men were so extremely foolish and wicked, that they, in the night, dug up one of our Indians, that had then lately died, out of his grave, to take off his scalp; that, by pretending that to be a scalp of a Canada Indian, whom they had met and killed in the woods, they might get the promised reward. When this was discovered, the men were punished. But this did not hinder, but that such an act greatly increased the jealousy and disaffection of the Indians, towards the English. Added to these things, we have many white people, that will, at all times, without any restraint, give them ardent spirits, which is a constant temptation to their most predominant lust.

"Though I have but little success, and many discouragements, here at Stockbridge, yet Mr. Hawley, now a missionary among the Six Nations, who went from New-England to Onohquauga, a place more than 200 miles distant from hence, has, of late, had much encouragement. Religion seems to be a growing, spreading thing, among the savages in that part of America, by his means. And there is a hopeful prospect, of way being made for another missionary in those parts, which may have happy consequences, unless the Six Nations should go over to the French; which there is the greatest reason to expect, unless the English should exert themselves, vigorously and successfully, against the French, in America, this year. They seem to be waiting, to see whether this will be so or no, in order to determine, whether they will entirely desert the English, and cleave to the French. And if the Six Nations should forsake the English, it may be expected, that the Stockbridge Indians, and almost all the nations of Indians in North America, will follow them. It seems to be the most critical season, with the British dominions in America, that ever was seen, since the first settlement of these colonies; and all, probably, will depend on the warlike transactions of the present year. What will be done, I cannot tell. We are all in commotion, from one end of British America, to the other; and various expeditions are

projected, and preparing for; one to Ohio, another to the French Forts in Nova Scotia, another to Crown Point. But these affairs are not free from embarrassments: great difficulties arise, in our present most important affairs, through the dispirited state of the several governments. It is hard for them to agree upon means and measures. And we have no reason to think, that the French are behind us, in their activity and preparations. A dark cloud seems to hang over us: we need the prayers of all our friends, and all friends to the Protestant interest. Stockbridge is a place much exposed; and what will become of us, in the struggles that are coming on, God only knows. I have heard that Messrs. Tennent and Davies are arrived in America, having had good success, in the errand they went upon. Mr. Bellamy is not likely to go to New-York, principally by reason of the opposition of some of the congregation, and also of some of the neighbouring ministers. I have heard, they have lately unanimously agreed to apply themselves to Mr. M'Gregor, of New-Londonderry, alias Nutfield, in New-England, to be their minister; who is a gentleman, that, I think, if they can obtain him, will be likely to suit them, and competent to fill the place. And I have heard, that there has been some difference in his own congregation, that has lately made his situation there uneasy. If so, he will be more likely to consent to the motion from New-York.

"My wife joins with me, in respectful and affectionate salutations, to you and Mrs. Erskine.

"I am, dear Sir, your affectionate and obliged brother,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

"P. S. In a journey I went to Northampton, the last April, I carried the foregoing letter, with others for Scotland, so far, seeking an opportunity to send them from thence to Boston; and there I met another letter from Mr. Prince, with a joyful contradiction of his former account of Mr. M'Laurin's death; which occasioned my bringing my pacquet home again. Nevertheless, after I had broken open, and perused this letter, I thought best to send it along, enclosed in a wrapper to Mr. M'Laurin; who, I hope, is yet living, and will convey it to you. "J. E.

"*Stockbridge, June* 2, 1755."

In the beginning of September, the danger became so imminent, that Mr. Edwards, at the request of the people of the town, addressed the following urgent letter to the Colonel of the County.

"To Col. Israel Williams.

"*Stockbridge, Sept.* 5, 1755.

"SIR,

"Yesterday the English inhabitants of the town sent away a let-

ter, directed to you, to be conveyed to Hatfield, respecting the state of the town, stating that it was left very greatly exposed, by the drawing off of all the Connecticut soldiers; that Gov. Shirley, by his urgency, had persuaded away almost all the Indian inhabitants, fit for war, who objected much against going, on that account, that the departure of so many would leave the town, and their wives and children too, defenceless; that the Governour removed their objection, by promising, that a sufficient number of English soldiers should be maintained here, during their absence, for the defence of the town; and also, that we had just now information sent in writing, from Mr. Vanschaak, that two large parties of Indians are lately gone out of Crown Point, against our frontiers: and so entreating that soldiers may be speedily sent. But being informed to-day, that you are gone from Hatfield, and not knowing whether you will seasonably receive the aforementioned letter, I now, at the desire of the people, give you this brief information of what was therein written; earnestly desiring, that we may not be left so easy and open a prey to our enemies, who, we have reason to think, have the means of learning our situation, and are certainly preparing to attack some of the most defenceless of the frontier villages. We hope that the troops may be forwarded immediately; for, having no adequate means of repelling an attack, we have no security for a single day.

"I am, respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

In 1751, an anonymous work was published in Edinburgh, entitled "ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY, AND NATURAL RELIGION,"* of which Henry Home,† Esq. soon avowed himself the author. These Essays, though written by a member of the Church of Scotland, were regarded as decidedly sceptical in their tendency, and brought the author into some difficulties with the particular church with which he was connected. This led to a public discussion of the character of the work at large—particularly of the ESSAY ON LIBERTY AND NECESSITY. When this discussion was commencing, the ESSAY ON THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL arrived in Scotland. It was extensively read by men of speculative minds; and, though presenting a view of the subject wholly new, gave great satisfaction to men of all classes. Lord Kaimes and his friends, having read the work of Mr. Edwards, endeavoured to

* The subjects treated of in this volume were, ATTACHMENT TO OBJECTS OF DISTRESS. LAW OF NATURE. LAW OF NECESSITY. BELIEF. PERSONAL IDENTITY. AUTHORITY OF OUR SENSES. IDEA OF POWER. KNOWLEDGE OF FUTURE EVENTS. DREAD OF SUPERNATURAL POWERS IN THE DARK. OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE DEITY.

† Soon after created a Lord of Session, with the the title of *Lord Kaimes*.

show that the view of Liberty and Necessity, in the FREEDOM OF THE WILL, was substantially the same with that given by his Lordship. Mr. Erskine appriezd Mr. Edwards of this fact. In the following letter, the latter barely alludes to the work of Lord Kaimes, as a work of corrupt tendency. In a subsequent Letter to his friends, written in the summer of the following year, and now appended to the Treatise on the Freedom of the Will,* he examines the views of Liberty and Necessity by his Lordship, shows their entire discordance with his own views, as exhibited in the Freedom of the Will, and exposes their inconsistency, not only with reason, but with each other. This letter from a sense of justice to its author, was immediately published, in the form of a pamphlet, by Mr. Erskine, and produced a universal conviction, that Lord Kaimes had wholly misunderstood the view taken of Liberty and Necessity, by Mr. Edwards; and that his own views of it were at war, alike, with Reason and Revelation. Indeed, his Lordship himself appears to have been of the same opinion; for, in a subsequent edition, the Essay on Liberty and Necessity is said to have been much changed, as to present essentially different views of those important subjects.

"To the Rev. John Erskine, Minister of the Gospel, at Culross,
"Scotland.

"*Stockbridge, Dec.* 11, 1755.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"I last wrote to you July 24th, 1755. Since that I received a letter from you, dated June 23, 1755, together with the *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*,† from Mr. Hogg, and the Analysis of the moral and religious sentiments of Sopho, from yourself. I thank you for your letter and present, and shall write a letter of thanks to Mr. Hogg, for his present by your hand, added to former instances of his generosity. I had before read that book of Essays, having borrowed Mr. Bellamy's, and also that book of Mr. David Hume's, which you speak of. I am glad of an opportunity to read such corrupt books, especially when written by men of considerable genius; that I may have an idea of the notions that prevail in our nation. You say that some people say, that Lord Kaimes' being made a Lord of Session would have been prevented, if Chancellor Hardwick and Archbishop Herring had seasonably seen his book. I should be glad to know

* See Vol. II; pp. 290–300. Lord Kaimes had a much higher reputation, as a writer, fifty years ago, than at present. The perusal of his Essay on Liberty and Necessity, and of the remarks upon it, in the letter of Mr. Edwards, here referred to, will inevitably lead to the conviction, that, as a metaphysician, he was neither accurate, nor profound.

† By Lord Kaimes.

who this Chancellor Hardwick is, and what is his character. By your mentioning him in such a manner, I am ready to suppose he may be in some respects, of good character; and it is a matter of thankfulness, if a man of good character, and a friend to religion, be Lord Chancellor.

"As to our warlike concerns, I have not heretofore been very particular in writing about them, in my letters to Scotland, supposing it highly probable, that you would have earlier accounts from Boston, New-York and Philadelphia, than any I can send you, living at so great a distance from any of the sea ports. Nevertheless, seeing you propose my sending you some account of the present posture of affairs, I would say, that it appears to me, that notwithstanding some remarkable favours of heaven, of which we are very unworthy, it has in the general been a year of great frowns of Providence on British America. Notwithstanding our success at Nova Scotia, and in having the better in the battle near Lake George, and taking the French General prisoner; yet, considering the advantages the enemy hath obtained against us, by General Braddock's defeat, especially in gaining over and confirming the Indians on their side, and disheartening and weakening our friends, and what we have suffered from our enemies, and how greatly we are weakened and almost sunk with our vast expenses, especially in New England, and the blood as well as money we have expended; I say considering these things, and how little we have gained by our loss and trouble, our case is no better, but far worse, than it was in the beginning of the year. At least, I think it certain, that we have attained no advantage, in any wise, to balance our trouble and expense of blood and treasure. The expedition to the eastward has been remarkably successful, but the other three expeditions, that against the French forts on the Ohio, that against Niagara, and that against Crown Point, have all been unsuccessful, as to their main designs. And though the army under General Johnson had a kind of victory over the French, and took the Baron Dieskau, their General, prisoner; yet we suffered very greatly in the battle, and the taking of the French General probably was the saving of his army. For, by telling a lie to our army, viz. that the French were in constant expectation of being greatly enforced by a large body, that marched another way, and had appointed to meet them near that place, our army was prevented from pursuing the enemy, after they had repelled them; which, if they had done, the French might have been under great advantages to have cut them off, and prevented the return of almost all of them to Crown Point, which could be no otherwise than through the water in their batteaux. Our army never proceeded any farther than the place of their engagement; but, having built a fort there, near Lake George, *alias*, Lake St. Sacrament, after they had built another near Hudson's River, about fourteen miles, on this side and

left garrisons, has lately returned. As also has the army under General Shirley, (who went with designs against Niagara,) after having built some vessels of force in the Lake Ontario, and strengthened the fortifications at Oswego, and sent for the remains of General Braddock's army to Albany, there to go into winter quarters. The Governours of the several Provinces, in the latter part of the last month, had a meeting to confer together, concerning our warlike affairs, and to agree on a plan of operations to be recommended to the government at home for the next year. But I have heard nothing of their determinations. The Indians have not done much mischief on the frontiers of New England, since our army have been about us; but have been dreadful in their ravages, on the back settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

"It is apparent that the ministry at home miss it very much, in sending over British forces to fight with Indians in America, and in sending over British officers, to have the command of our American forces. Let them send us arms, ammunition, money and shipping; and let New England men manage the business in their own way, who alone understand it. To appoint British officers, over them, is nothing but a hindrance and discouragement to them. Let them be well supplied, and supported, and defended by sea, and then let them go forth under their own officers and manage in their own way, as they did in the expedition against Cape Breton. All the Provinces in America seem to be fully sensible, that New England men are the only men to be employed against Canada; as I had opportunity abundantly to observe, in my late journey to New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia. However, we ought to remember that neither New England men, nor any other, are any thing, unless God be with us; and when we have done all, at finding fault with men and instruments employed, we cannot expect prosperity, unless the accursed thing be removed from our camp.

"God has lately frowned on my family, in taking away a faithful servant, who was a great help to us; and one of my children has been under threatening infirmities, but is somewhat better. I desire your prayers for us all.

"My wife joins with me, in affectionate and respectful salutations to you and Mrs. Erskine.

"I am, Rev. and dear Sir,
"Your obliged brother,
" and affectionate friend,
"Jonathan Edwards."

The effect of the war on the Indian Mission, will be seen from the following letter to Mr. McCulloch.

"*Stockbridge, April* 10, 1756.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"I thank you for your favour of August, 1755, with Mr. Imries' letter, which came to hand in the latter part of the last month. It recommends a man, especially a minister of the gospel, to me, to see in him evidences of a disposition to be searching into the prophecies of Scripture, relating to the future advancement of Christ's kingdom on earth. It looks as though he was a man, who felt concern for Christ's kingdom and interests in the world; as though he were one of those, who took pleasure in the stones, and favoured the dust of Zion. But it has proved by events, that many divines, who have been of this character, have been over forward to fix the times and the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. However, I will not positively charge Mr. Imries with this, before I see what he has to offer, in proof of those things which he has advanced. I think that neither I, nor any other person, that knows no more than what is contained in his letter, of the reasons that he builds his opinions upon, have any opportunity to judge of those opinions. And therefore I should think it a pity, that his private letter to Mr. Hogg was published to the world, before his reasons were prepared for the press. This letter has been reprinted in Boston: but coming abroad, with so little mention of the grounds of his opinion, it gives occasion to the profane to reproach and ridicule it, and its author.

"With respect to Mr. Hawley, and Mr. Brainerd, and their Indians, concerning which you desire to be informed; the Correspondents have altered their determination, from time to time, with respect to Mr. Brainerd and his Indians. They seemed inclined at first to their removal to *Wawwoming*, alias, *Wyoming*, and then to Onohquaga, and then to Wyoming again; and finally, about a twelvemonth ago, they wholly dismissed him from employ as a missionary to the Indians, and pastor to the Indian Church at Bethel. I cannot say I am fully satisfied with their conduct in doing this so hastily; nor do I pretend to know so much, concerning the reasons of their conduct, as to have sufficient grounds positively to condemn their proceedings. However, the congregation is not wholly left, as sheep without a shepherd, and are in part committed to the care of Mr. William Tennent, who lives not far off, and is a faithful, zealous minister, who visits them, and preaches to them, once a week; but I think not often upon the sabbath. The last fall, I was in New Jersey and Philadelphia, and was present at a meeting of the Correspondents; when Mr. Tennent gave an agreeable account of the then present state of these Indians, with respect to religion, and also of their being in better circumstances, as to their lands, than they had been. Mr. Brainerd was then at Newark with his family, where he had been preaching, as a probationer for settlement, ever since Mr. Burr's dismission from that place, on ac-

count of his business as President of the College. But whether Mr. Brainerd is settled, or like to settle there, I have not heard. At the forementioned meeting of the Correspondents, I used some arguments, to induce them to re-establish Mr. Brainerd, in his former employ with his Indians, and to send them to Onohquaugha. But I soon found it would be fruitless to urge the matter. What was chiefly insisted on, as an insuperable obstacle to Mr. Brainerd's going, with his family, so far into the wilderness, was Mrs. Brainerd's very infirm state. Whether there was indeed any sufficient objection to such a removal, at that time, or no; divine Providence, has, since that, so ordered the state and consequences of the war, subsisting here in America, that insuperable obstacles are laid in the way of their removal, either to Onohquauga, Wowwoming, or any other parts of America, that way. The French, by their indefatigable endeavours with the nation of the *Delawares*, so called, from their ancient seat about Delaware river, though now chiefly residing on the Susquehannah and its branches, have stirred them up to make war on the English; and dreadful have been the ravages and desolations, which they have made of late, on the back parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. They are the principal nation, inhabiting the parts about Susquehannah river, on which both Wyoming and Onohquauga stand. The latter indeed is above the bounds of their country, but yet not very far from them: and the Delaware Indians are frequently there, as they go to and fro; on which account there is great danger, that Mr. Hawley's mission and ministry there will be entirely broken up. Mr. Hawley came from there about two months ago, with one of my sons, about ten years old; who had been there with him near a twelvemonth, to learn the Mohawk language. He has since been to Boston, to consult the Commissioners for Indian affairs, that have employed him, and returned: and yesterday went from my house, to meet some of his Indians, at an appointed time and place in the Mohawk country; to determine with them, whether it will be safe for him to return to abide with them. If not, yet will he be under the pay of the Commissioners till next fall, and the issue be seen of the two expeditions now in prosecution, one against Crown Point, the other against the French forts at Frontenac and Niagara, near Lake Ontario; which may possibly make a great alteration, as to the state of the war with the Indians. If Mr. Hawley determines not to return to Onohquauga this spring, he will probably go as chaplain to the Indians, in General Shirley's army, in the expedition to Lake Ontario.

"You speak of the vast superiority of the numbers of the English, in America, to those of the French; and that some therefore think, the settlements of the former are in no great danger from the latter. Though it be true, that the French are twenty times less than we are in number, yet it may be a question, whether other

things, in which they exceed us, when all jointly considered, will not more than counterbalance all our excess of numbers. They vastly exceed us in subtlety and intrigue, in vigilance and activity, in speed and secrecy; in acquaintance with the continent of North America, in all parts west of the British settlements, for many hundred leagues, the rivers, lakes and mountains, the avenues and passes; and also in the influence they have among the various tribes and nations of Indians, and in their constant skill, and indefatigable diligence in managing them, to alienate them from the English, attach them firmly to themselves, and employ them as their tools. Beside the vast advantage they have, in time of war, in having all united under the absolute command of one man, the Governour of Canada; while we are divided into a great many distinct governments, independent one of another, and, in some respects, of clashing interests: interests, which unspeakably clog and embarrass our affairs, and make us, though a great, yet an unwieldly, unmanageable body, and an easy prey to our vigilant, secret, subtle, swift and active, though comparatively small, enemy.

"As to a description of the situation of those parts you mention, I can give you no better than you have, in many that abound in Great Britain. With respect to the situation of Stockbridge, it is not in the Province of New York, as you have been informed, but in the utmost border of the Province of Massachusetts, on the west, next to the Province of New York; about 40 miles west of Connecticut river, about 25 miles east of Hudson's river, and about 35 miles south east from Albany: a place exposed in this time of war. Four persons were killed here, in the beginning of September, 1754, by Canada Indians; which occasioned a great alarm to us, and to a great part of New England. Since then, we have had many alarms; but God has preserved us.

"I desire your prayers that we may still be preserved, and that God would be with me and my family, and people, and bless us in all respects. My wife and family join with me, in their respects to you and yours.

"I am, dear Sir, your affectionate brother and servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS.

In consequence of the ill success attending the British arms, during the campaign of '56, the danger of the frontiers became extreme, and the friends of Mr. Edwards were, for a time, exceedingly anxious for his personal safety. Mr. Bellamy, at this period, sent him the following kind invitation, to look to Bethlem, as the place of retreat, for himself and his family.

"*Bethlem, May* 31, 1756.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am in pain, fearing our army against Crown Point will be defeated. God only knows, how it will be. Your own discretion

will make you sufficiently speedy, to secure yourself and family. We stand as ready to receive you, and any of your family, to all the comforts our house affords, as if you were our children. I am greatly interested in your safety.—I am concerned for Mr. Hawley. I fear he will be too venturesome, and fling away his life for nothing.—I wish, if you know how to get one along, you would send him a letter.—Our youngest child still remains somewhat unwell. The Indian boys grow more and more easy and content, but they love play too well—are very ignorant—and very stupid, as to the things of religion—and in Arithmetic, when I would teach them any thing that is a little difficult, they are soon discouraged, and don't love to try. So I take them off, and put them to writing again—designing, by little and little, to get them along. They will not endure hardship, and bend their minds to business, like English boys. It seems they were never taught their Catechism: Shall I teach it? I have got three Bibles; but have not yet given them to the boys, they are so ignorant. I expect you will give me any instructions you think proper; and remain, Rev. Sir,

"Your unworthy friend and servant,

"J. Bellamy."

It is probable that Mr. Edwards began his Treatise on Original Sin, about this period, and that he devoted the leisure hours of the summer, autumn and winter, to the preparation of that work. The date of the author's Preface, May 26, 1757, shows the time when it was finished for the press.

The views of Mr. Edwards, in this Treatise, are these: that there is a tendency in human nature, prevailing and effectual, to that sin, which implies the utter ruin of all; that this tendency originates in the sin of Adam, of which the whole race are imputed the partakers; and that this tendency consists, in their being left of God, at their original, in the possession of merely human appetites and passions, in themselves "innocent," and without the influx of those superior principles, which come from divine influences. The only guilt, attributed by him to mankind, before they come to the exercise of moral agency themselves, is that of participating in the apostasy of Adam, in consequence of the original constitution of God, which made him and his race "*one*."

He supposes this tendency to sin, pertaining to men, at their original, to constitute the subject of it a sinner, only, because he regards him as a participator in that sin, by which Adam apostatized, with his whole race. This tendency, he calls "sinful," "corrupt," "odious," etc., because it is a tendency "to that *moral evil*, by which, the subject of it becomes odious in the sight of God." (Part I. Chap. II. Sec. III.) He supposes that infants, who have this tendency in their nature, are, as yet, "sinners, only by the one act or offence of Adam;" and, that "they have not renewed the

act of sin themselves." (Part I. Chap. IV.) He utterly denies any positive agency of God, in producing sin; and resolves the tendency to sin, into the "innocent principles" of human nature; (which God might create, without sin;) and the withholding of that positive influence, from which spring superior and divine principles:—which act of withholding, is not infusing, or positively creating, any thing. These "innocent principles"—such as hunger and thirst, love and hatred, desire and fear, joy and sorrow, and self-love, as distinguished from *selfishness*,—which are necessary to the nature of man, and belong to him, whether holy or sinful, are not, in his view, *sin*. They barely constitute the *ground of certainty*, that the being, who has them, will sin, as soon as he is capable of sinning, if that positive influence, from which spring superior and divine principles, is withheld; and, in this relation, they are spoken of, under the general designation, "a tendency," "a propensity," etc. to sin.

The views of Imputation, contained in this work, are such, as had been long and extensively entertained; yet, some of them, certainly, are not generally received, at present. With this exception, the Treatise on Original Sin is regarded as the standard work, on the subject of which it treats; and is doubtless the ablest defence of the doctrine of human depravity, and of the doctrine that that depravity is the consequence of the sin of Adam, which has hitherto appeared.

The father of Mr. Edwards, as the reader may remember, on account of the increasing infirmities of age, had requested his people to settle a colleague in the ministry in 1752, but continued to preach to them regularly until the summer of 1755, when he was in his eighty-seventh year. The following letter, probably the last ever written to him by his son, shows the gradual decline of his health and strength, during the two following years.

"To the Rev. Timothy Edwards, East Windsor.

"*Stockbridge, March* 24, 1757.

"Honoured Sir,

"I take this opportunity just to inform you, that, through the goodness of God, we are all in a comfortable state of health, and that we have heard, not long since, of the welfare of our children in New Jersey and Northampton. I intend, God willing, to be at Windsor some time near the beginning of June; proposing then to go a journey to Boston. I intended to have gone sooner; but I foresee such hindrances, as will probably prevent my going till that time. We rejoice much to hear, by Mr. Andrewson, of your being so well, as to be able to baptize a child at your own house the Sabbath before last. We all unite in duty to you and my honoured mother, and in respectful and affectionate salutations to

sisters and cousins; and in a request of a constant remembrance in your prayers.

"I am, honoured Sir,
"Your dutiful son,
"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

Not long after Mr. Edwards had forwarded to Mr. Erskine his vindication of himself,* against the charge of having advanced, in the Freedom of the Will, the same views of Liberty and Necessity, with those exhibited by Lord Kaimes; he received from his friend a pamphlet, entitled "Objections to the Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion examined;" in which the opinion was directly advanced, that, if it were really true, (as Mr. Edwards had insisted and demonstrated in the Freedom of the Will,) that there is no *Liberty of Contingence*, nor *Self-determining Power in the Will*, as opposed to *Moral Necessity*, or the *Certain Connection between motives and volitions;* yet it was best for mankind, that the truth, in this respect, should not be known, because, in that case, they would not regard either themselves, or others, as deserving of praise or blame for their conduct. In the following letter, Mr. Edwards exposes the folly and absurdity of this opinion; and explains, in a remarkably clear and convincing manner, *the practical bearing* of the great principles advanced in the Freedom of the Will, on the subject of salvation. This letter might well have been published at the time, and circulated through the Church at large. And we recommend it to the frequent and prayerful perusal both of those clergymen, who cannot clearly comprehend the distinction between *Physical*, and *Moral*, Inability, and of those, who do not perceive the importance of explaining and enforcing this distinction from the desk; as exhibiting the consequences of representing impenitent sinners, to be possessed of any other Inability to repent and believe, than mere *Unwillingness*, in a manner too awful to be resisted, by a conscientious mind.

"To Mr. Erskine.

"*Stockbridge, August* 3, 1757.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"In June last, I received a letter from you, dated January 22, 1757, with "Mr. Anderson's complaint verified," and "Objections to the Essays* examined." For these things, I now return you my hearty thanks.

"The conduct of the vindicator of the "Essays," from objec-

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* See Vol. II. pp. 299---300.

* Essays on the principles of Morality and Natural Religion, by Lord Kaimes.

tions made against them, seems to be very odd. Many things are produced from Calvin, and several Calvinistic writers, to defend what is not objected against. His book is almost wholly taken up about that, which is nothing to the purpose; perhaps only to amuse and blind the common people. According to your proposal, I have drawn up something, stating the difference between my hypothesis, and that of the Essays; which I have sent to you, to be printed in Scotland, if it be thought best; or to be disposed of as you think proper.† I have written it in a letter to you: and if it be published, it may be as "A letter from me to a minister in Scotland." Lord Kaimes's notion of God's deceiving mankind, by a kind of invincible or natural instinct or feeling, leading them to suppose, that they have a liberty of *Contingence* and *Self-determination of Will*, in order to make them believe themselves and others worthy to be blamed or praised for what they do, is a strange notion indeed; and it is hard for me to conjecture, what his views could be, in publishing such things to the world.

"However, by what I have heard, some others seem to be so far of the same mind, that they think, that if it be really true, that there is no self-determining power in the will, as opposed to any such moral necessity, as I speak of, consisting in a certain connexion between motives and volitions, it is of mischievous tendency to say any thing of it; and that it is best that the truth in this matter should not be known, by any means. I cannot but be of an extremely different mind. On the contrary, I think that the notion of Liberty, consisting in a *Contingent self-determination of the Will*, as necessary to the morality of men's dispositions and actions, is almost inconceivably pernicious; and that the contrary truth is one of the most important truths of moral philosophy, that ever was discussed, and most necessary to be known; and that for want of it, those schemes of morality and religion, which are a kind of Infidel schemes, entirely diverse from the virtue and religion of the Bible, and wholly inconsistent with, and subversive of, the main things belonging to the gospel scheme, have so vastly and so long prevailed, and have stood in such strength. And I think, whoever imagines that he, or any body else, shall ever see the doctrines of grace effectually maintained against these adversaries, till the truth in this matter be settled, imagines a vain thing. For, allow these adversaries what they maintain in this point, and I think they have strict demonstration against us. And not only have these errors a most pernicious influence, in the public religious controversies, that are maintained in the world; but such sort of notions have a more fatal influence many ways, on the minds of all ranks, in all transactions between God and their souls. The longer I live, and the

† See the letter in Vol. II. pp. 290—300.

more I have to do with the souls of men, in the work of the ministry, the more I see of this. Notions of this sort are one of the main hindrances of the success of the preaching of the word, and other means of grace, in the conversion of sinners. This especially appears, when the minds of sinners are affected with some concern for their souls, and they are stirred up to seek their salvation. Nothing is more necessary for men, in such circumstances, than thorough conviction and humiliation; than that their consciences should be properly convinced of their real guilt and sinfulness in the sight of God, and their deserving of his wrath. But who is there, that has had experience of the work of a minister, in dealing with souls in such circumstances, that does not find that the thing, that mainly prevents this, is men's excusing themselves with their own inability, and the moral necessity of those things, wherein their exceeding guilt and sinfulness in the sight of God, most fundamentally and mainly consist: such as, living from day to day, without one spark of true love to the God of infinite glory, and the Fountain of all good; their having greater complacency, in the little vile things of this world, than in him; their living in a rejection of Christ, with all his glorious benefits and dying love; and after all the exhibition of his glory and grace, having their hearts still as cold as a stone towards Him; and their living in such ingratitude, for that infinite mercy of his laying down his life for sinners. They, it may be, think of some instances of lewd behaviour, lying, dishonesty, intemperance, profaneness, etc. But the grand principles of iniquity, constantly abiding and reigning, from whence all proceeds, are all overlooked. Conscience does not condemn them for those things, because *they cannot love God of themselves, they cannot believe of themselves*, and the like. They rather lay the blame of these things, and their other reigning wicked dispositions of heart, to God, and secretly charge him with all the blame. These things are very much, for want of being thoroughly instructed, in that great and important truth, *that a bad will, or an evil disposition of heart, itself, is wickedness*. It is wickedness, in its very being, nature and essence, and not merely the occasion of it, or the determining influence, that it was at first owing to. Some, it may be, will say, "they own it is their fault that they have so bad a heart, that they have no love to God, no true faith in Christ, no gratitude to him, because they have been careless and slothful in times past, and have not used means to obtain a better heart, as they should have done." And it may be, they are taught, "that they are to blame for their wickedness of heart, because they, as it were, brought it on themselves, in Adam, by the sin which he voluntarily committed, which sin is justly charged to their account;" which perhaps they do not deny. But how far are these things from being a proper conviction of their wickedness, in their enmity to God and Christ. To be convinced of the sin of something that, long

ago, was the occasion of their enmity to God; and to be convinced of the wickedness of the enmity itself; are quite two things. And if sinners, under some awakening, find the exercise of corruption of heart, as it appears in a great many ways; in their meditations, prayers, and other religious duties, and on occasion of their fears of hell, etc. etc.; still, this notion of their inability to help it, excusing them, will keep them from proper conviction of sin herein. Fears of hell tend to convince men of the hardness of their hearts. But then, when they find how hard their hearts are, and how far from a proper sensibility and affection in things of religion; they are kept from properly condemning themselves for it, from the *moral necessity*, or *inability*, which attends it. For the very notion of hardness of heart, implies moral inability. The harder the heart is, the more dead is it in sin, and the more unable to exert good affections and acts. Thus the strength of sin, is made the excuse for sin. And thus I have known many under fears of hell, justifying, or excusing, themselves, at least implicitly, in horrid workings of enmity against God, in blasphemous thoughts, etc.

"It is of great importance, that they, that are seeking their salvation, should be brought off from all dependence on their own righteousness: but these notions above all things prevent it. They justify themselves, in the sincerity of their endeavours. They say to themselves, that they do what they can; they take great pains; and though there be great imperfection in what they do, and many evil workings of heart arise, yet these they cannot help: here moral necessity, or inability, comes in as an excuse. Things of this kind have visibly been the main hindrance of the true humiliation and conversion of sinners, in the times of awakening, that have been in this land, every where, in all parts, as I have had opportunity to observe, in very many places. When the gospel is preached, and its offers, and invitations, and motives, most powerfully urged, and some hearts stand out, here is their strong hold, their sheet-anchor. Were it not for this, they would either comply; or their hearts would condemn them, for their horrid guilt in not complying. And if the law of God be preached in its strictness and spirituality, yet conscience is not properly convinced by it. They justify themselves with their *inability*; and the design and end of the law, as a school-master, to fit them for Christ, is defeated. Thus both the law and the gospel are prevented from having their proper effect.

"The doctrine of a Self-determining Will, as the ground of all moral good and evil, tends to prevent any proper exercises of faith in God and Christ, in the affair of our salvation, as it tends to prevent all dependence upon them. For, instead of this, it teaches a kind of absolute independence on all those things, that are of chief importance in this affair; our righteousness depending originally on our own acts, as self-determined. Thus our own holiness is from ourselves, as its determining cause, and its original and high-

est source. And as for imputed righteousness, that should have any merit at all in it, to be sure, there can be no such thing. For self-determination is necessary to praise and merit. But what is imputed from another is not from our self-determination or action. And truly, in this scheme, man is not dependent on God; but God is rather dependent on man in this affair: for he only operates consequentially in acts, in which he depends on what he sees we determine, and do first.

"The nature of true faith implies a disposition, to give all the glory of our salvation to God and Christ. But this notion is inconsistent with it, for it in effect gives the glory wholly to man. For that is the very doctrine that is taught, that the merit and praise is his, whose is the original and effectual determination of the praiseworthy deed. So that, on the whole, I think it must be a miracle, if ever men are converted, that have imbibed such notions as these, and are under their influence in their religious concerns.

"Yea, these notions tend effectually to prevent men's ever seeking after conversion, with any earnestness. It is manifest, that men never will be in earnest in this matter, till their consciences are awakened, and they are made sensible of God's anger, and their danger of suffering the terrible effects of it. But that stupidity, which is opposed to this awakening, is upheld chiefly by these two things: their insensibility of their guilt, in what is past, and present; and their flattering themselves, as to what is future. These notions of liberty of indifference, contingence, and self-determination, as essential to guilt or merit, tend to preclude all sense of any great guilt for past or present wickedness. As has been observed already, all wickedness of heart is excused, as what, in itself considered, brings no guilt. And all that the conscience has to recur to, to find any guilt, is the first wrong determination of the will, in some bad conduct, before that wickedness of heart existed, that was the occasion of introducing or confirming it. Which determination arose contingently from a state of indifference. And how small a matter does this at once bring men's guilt to, when all the main things, wherein their wickedness consists, are passed over. And indeed the more these principles are pursued, the more and more must guilt vanish, till at last it comes to nothing, as may easily be shown.

"And with respect to self-flattery and presumption, as to what is future, nothing can possibly be conceived more directly tending to it, than a notion of a liberty, at all times possessed, consisting in a power to determine one's own will to good or evil; which implies a power men have, at all times, to determine them to repent and turn to God. And what can more effectually encourage the sinner, in present delays and neglects, and embolden him to go on in sin, in a presumption of having his own salvation at all times at his com-

mand? And this notion of self-determination and self-dependence, tends to prevent, or enervate, all prayer to God for converting grace; for why should men earnestly cry to God for his grace, to determine their hearts to that, which they must be determined to of themselves. And indeed it destroys the very notion of conversion itself. There can properly be no such thing, or any thing akin to what the scripture speaks of conversion, renovation of the heart, regeneration, etc. if growing good, by a number of self-determined acts, are all that is required, or to be expected.

"Excuse me, Sir, for troubling you with so much on this head. I speak from the fulness of my heart. What I have long seen of the dreadful consequences of these prevalent notions every where, and what I am convinced will still be their consequences so long as they continue to prevail, fills me with concern. I therefore wish that the affair were more thoroughly looked into, and searched to the very bottom.

"I have reserved a copy of this letter, and also of my other to you, dated July 25, intending to send them to Mr. Burr, to be by him conveyed, by the way of New-York or Philadelphia. Looking on these letters as of special importance, I send duplicates, lest one copy should fail. The pacquet, in which I inclose this, I cover to Mr. Gillies, and send to Boston, to the care of Mr. Hyslop, to be conveyed to Mr. Gillies. But yet have desired him, if he has a more direct opportunity, to convey the pacquet to Edinburgh, by the way of London, then to put a wrapper over the whole, inscribed to you; and to write to you, desiring you to break open the pacquet, and take out the letters which belong to you.

"You will see, Sir, something of our sorrowful state, on this side of the water, by my letter to Mr. M'Culloch. O, Sir, pray for us; and pray in particular, for

"Your affectionate and obliged
"Friend and brother,
"JONATHAN EDWARDS."

CHAPTER XXX.

Death of President Burr.—His character.—Mr. Edwards chosen his successor.—Letters of Mrs. Burr,—To a gentleman in Scotland—To a gentleman in Boston—To her Mother.—Letter of Mr. Edwards, to the Trustees of the College.—Letter of Mrs. Burr, to her father.—Letter to Dr. Bellamy.—Council dismiss Mr. Edwards.—Inauguration as President.—First Sermon at Princeton.—Sickness.—Death.—Letter of Dr. Shippen.—Letters of Mrs. Edwards, and of her daughter, to Mrs. Burr.—Death of Mrs. Burr.—Death of Mrs. Edwards.

The Rev. Aaron Burr, President of the College at Princeton, and the son-in-law of Mr. Edwards, died, on the 24th of September, 1757, two days before the public Commencement. He was a native of Fairfield, Connecticut, was born in 1716, and was graduated at Yale College, in 1735. In 1738, he was ordained, as pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Newark. In 1748, he was unanimously elected President of the College, as successor to Mr. Dickinson. Though possessed of a slender and delicate constitution, he joined, to uncommon talents for the dispatch of business, a constancy of mind, that commonly secured to him success. The flourishing state of the College, at the time of his death, was chiefly owing to his great and assiduous exertions. Until the autumn of 1755, he discharged the duties, both of President and Pastor of the Church.* Mr. Burr was greatly respected, in every station and relation of life. He was a man of acknowledged talents, of sound, practical good sense, of unimpeachable integrity, and of ardent piety. Polished in his manners, he had uncommon powers in conversation, and possessed the happy art, of inspiring all around him with cheerfulness. As a reasoner, he was clear and solid; and as a preacher, animated, judicious, fervent and successful. He had warm affections, was greatly endeared to his family and friends, and was open, fair and honourable, in all his intercourse with mankind. During the period of his Presidency, he secured the high esteem and confidence of all, who were interested in the College.—In the latter part of July, or the beginning of August, being in a low state of health, he made a rapid and exhausting vi-

* In the autumn of 1756, or early in 1757, the College was removed to Princeton.

sit to Stockbridge, in a very hot, sultry season. He soon returned to Princeton, and went immediately to Elizabethtown; where, on the 19th of August, he made an attempt, before the Legislature, to procure the legal exemption of the students from military duty. On the 21st, at Newark, being much indisposed, he preached an extemporaneous funeral sermon, in consequence of a death in the family of his successor. He then returned to Princeton, and, in a few days, went to Philadelphia, on the business of the College. On the way, his disorder took the form of an intermittent fever. On his return, he learned that his friend, Governor Belcher, died at Elizabethtown, on the 31st of August, and that he had been designated, to preach the funeral sermon. His wife, perceiving his increasing illness, besought him to spare himself, and decline the undertaking; but he felt himself bound, if possible, to perform it. Having devoted the afternoon of Sept. 2d, to the task of preparing the sermon, in the midst of a high fever, which was succeeded by delirium in the night, he rode the next day to Elizabethtown, about forty miles, and, on the 4th, in a state of extreme languor and exhaustion, when it was obvious to every one, that he ought to have been confined to a sick bed, he with great difficulty preached the sermon. He returned to Princeton the following day; and his disorder immediately assumed the character of a fixed and violent fever, seated on the nerves. At the approach of death, that gospel, which he had preached to others, gave him unfailing support. He was patient and resigned, and cheered with the liveliest hope of a happy immortality.

The Corporation of the College met, two days after his death, and on the same day made choice of Mr. Edwards, as his successor.

Some of the circumstances, connected with the sickness and death of her husband, are alluded to in the following letter from Mrs. Burr, to a gentleman in Scotland, written soon after Mr. Burr's decease.

"Honoured Sir,

"I flatter myself I shall not be thought intrusive, if I acknowledge, in a few lines, the receipt of your letter, dated in August, to my late dear husband, which reached me, after he was beyond the reach of all mortal things. The affectionate regard that you express for one, who was dearer to me than my own life, was extremely affecting to me; nor can I forgive myself, if I neglect to acknowledge it, in terms of lively gratitude. You, Sir, had a large share, with me, in that dear good man's heart, which he often expressed, with the warmest affection. I thought it might not be improper, to lay your letter before the Trustees, as they were then convened, and it chiefly concerned the College; and then I sent it to my honoured father, the Rev. Mr. Edwards, who is chosen to succeed my dear husband; which, I hope, will be grateful to the

friends of the College, in Scotland. I here inclose you, Sir, the last attempt, my dear husband made, to serve God in public, and to do good to his fellow-creatures—a Sermon, that he preached at the funeral of our late excellent Governor. You will not think it strange, if it has imperfections; when I tell you, that all he wrote on the subject, was done in a part of one afternoon and evening, when he had a violent fever on him, and the whole night after, he was irrational.

"Give me leave to beg an interest in your prayers, at the throne of Grace, for a poor, disconsolate widow, and two fatherless orphans. Please to present, with great respect, my kindest regard to your lady and daughters.

"I am, honoured Sir,

"Your most obliged and humble servant,

"Esther Burr."

The two following extracts from letters, written soon after the death of Mr. Burr, will show the strength of her own feelings, as well as her religious sentiments, and the exercises of her heart. The first is from a letter to a near friend of the family, in Boston.

"Your most kind letter of condolence gave me inexpressible delight, and, at the same time, set open afresh all the avenues of grief, and again probed the deep wound death has given me. My loss—Shall I attempt to say, how great my loss is—God only can know—And to him alone, would I carry my complaint.—Indeed, Sir, I have lost all that was, or could be desirable, in a creature. —I have lost all, that ever I set my heart on in this world.—I need not enlarge, on the innumerable amiable qualities of my late dear husband, to one that was so well acquainted with him, as you were; however pleasing it is to me, to dwell on them.—Had not God supported me, by these two considerations; first, by showing the right he has to his own creatures, to dispose of them when, and in what manner he pleases; and secondly, by enabling me to follow him beyond the grave, into the eternal world, and there to view him, in unspeakable glory and happiness, freed from all sin and sorrow; I should, long before this, have been sunk among the dead, and been covered with the clods of the valley.—God has wise ends, in all that he doth. This thing did not come upon me by chance; and I rejoice, that I am in the hands of such a God."

The other is from a letter to her mother, dated at Princeton, Oct. 7, 1757. After giving some account of Mr. Burr's death, and representing the sense she had of the greatness of the loss, which she and her children had sustained; she writes in the following words:

"No doubt, dear madam, it will be some comfort to you to hear,

that God has not utterly forsaken, although he has cast down. I would speak it to the glory of God's name, that I think he has, in an uncommon degree, discovered himself to be an all-sufficient God, a full fountain of all good. Although all streams were cut off, yet the fountain is left full.—I think I have been enabled to cast my care upon him, and have found great peace and calmness in my mind, such as this world cannot give nor take.—I have had uncommon freedom, and nearness to the throne of grace. God has seemed sensibly near, in such a supporting and comfortable manner, that I think I have never experienced the like. God has helped me to review my past and present mercies, with some heart-affecting degree of thankfulness.

"I think God has given me such a sense of the vanity of the world, and uncertainty of all sublunary enjoyments, as I never had before. The world vanishes out of my sight! Heavenly and eternal things appear much more real and important, than ever before. I feel myself to be under much greater obligations to be the Lord's, than before this sore affliction.—The way of salvation, by faith in Jesus Christ, has appeared more clear and excellent; and I have been constrained to venture my all upon him; and have found great peace of soul, in what I hope have been the actings of faith. Some parts of the Psalms have been very comforting and refreshing to my soul.—I hope God has helped me to eye his hand, in this awful dispensation; and to see the infinite right he has to his own, and to dispose of them as he pleases.

"Thus, dear madam, I have given you some broken hints of the exercises and supports of my mind, since the death of him, whose memory and example will ever be precious to me as my own life. O, dear madam! I doubt not but I have your, and my honoured father's prayers, daily, for me; but, give me leave to entreat you both, to request earnestly of the Lord, that I may never despise his chastenings, nor faint under this his severe stroke; of which I am sensible there is great danger, if God should only deny me the supports, that he has hitherto graciously granted.

"O, I am afraid I shall conduct myself so, as to bring dishonour on my God, and the religion which I profess! No, rather let me die this moment, than be left to bring dishonour on God's holy name.—I am overcome—I must conclude, with once more begging, that, as my dear parents remember themselves, they would not forget their greatly afflicted daughter, (now a lonely widow,) nor her fatherless children.—My duty to my ever dear and honoured parents, and love to my brothers and sisters.

"From, dear madam,

"Your dutiful and affectionate daughter,

"Esther Burr."

"The news of his appointment to the Presidency," says Dr.

Hopkins, "was quite unexpected, and not a little surprising, to Mr. Edwards. He looked on himself, in many respects, so unqualified for that business, that he wondered, that gentlemen of so good judgment, and so well acquainted with him, as he knew some of the Trustees were, should think of *him* for that place. He had many objections, in his own mind, against undertaking the business, both from his unfitness, and his particular circumstances; yet could not certainly determine, that it was not his duty to accept it. The following extract of a letter, which he wrote to the Trustees, will give the reader a view of his sentiments and exercises, on this occasion, as well as of the great designs he was deeply engaged in, and zealously prosecuting."

"*Stockbridge, Oct.* 19, 1757.

"Rev. and Hon. Gentlemen,

"I was not a little surprised, on receiving the unexpected notice, of your having made choice of me, to succeed the late President Burr, as the Head of Nassau Hall.—I am much in doubt, whether I am called to undertake the business, which you have done me the unmerited honour to choose me for.—If some regard may be had to my outward comfort, I might mention the many inconveniences, and great detriment, which may be sustained, by my removing, with my numerous family, so far from all the estate I have in the world, (without any prospect of disposing of it, under present circumstances, but with great loss,) now when we have scarcely got over the trouble and damage, sustained by our removal from Northampton, and have but just begun to have our affairs in a comfortable situation, for a subsistence in this place; and the expense I must immediately be at, to put myself into circumstances, tolerably comporting with the needful support of the honours of the office I am invited to; which will not well consist with my ability.

"But this is not my main objection. The chief difficulties in my mind, in the way of accepting this important and arduous office, are these two: First, my own defects, unfitting me for such an undertaking, many of which are generally known; beside others, of which my own heart is conscious.—I have a constitution, in many respects peculiarly unhappy, attended with flaccid solids, vapid, sizy and scarce fluids, and a low tide of spirits; often occasioning a kind of childish weakness and contemptibleness of speech, presence, and demeanor, with a disagreeable dulness and stiffness, much unfitting me for conversation, but more especially for the government of a college.—This makes me shrink at the thoughts of taking upon me, in the decline of life, such a new and great business, attended with such a multiplicity of cares, and requiring such a degree of activity, alertness, and spirit of government; especially as succeeding one so remarkably well qualified in these respects, giving occasion to every one to remark the wide difference. I am also deficient in

some parts of learning, particularly in Algebra, and the higher parts of Mathematics, and in the Greek Classics; my Greek learning having been chiefly in the New Testament.—The other thing is this; that my engaging in this business will not well consist with those views, and that course of employ in my study, which have long engaged and swallowed up my mind, and been the chief entertainment and delight of my life.

"And here, honoured Sirs, (emboldened, by the testimony I have now received of your unmerited esteem, to rely on your candour,) I will with freedom open myself to you.

"My method of study, from my first beginning the work of the ministry, has been very much by writing; applying myself, in this way, to improve every important hint; pursuing the clue to my utmost, when any thing in reading, meditation, or conversation, has been suggested to my mind, that seemed to promise light, in any weighty point; thus penning what appeared to me my best thoughts, on innumerable subjects, for my own benefit.—The longer I prosecuted my studies, in this method, the more habitual it became, and the more pleasant and profitable I found it.—The farther I travelled in this way, the more and wider the field opened, which has occasioned my laying out many things in my mind, to do in this manner, if God should spare my life, which my heart hath been much upon; particularly many things against most of the prevailing errors of the present day, which I cannot with any patience see maintained, (to the utter subverting of the gospel of Christ,) with so high a hand, and so long continued a triumph, with so little control, when it appears so evident to me, that there is truly no foundation for any of this glorying and insult. I have already published something on one of the main points in dispute between the Arminians and Calvinists: and have it in view, God willing, (as I have already signified to the public,) in like manner to consider all the other controverted points, and have done much towards a preparation for it.—But beside these, I have had on my mind and heart, (which I long ago began, not with any view to publication,) a great work, which I call a *History of the Work of Redemption*, a body of divinity in an entire new method, being thrown into the form of a history; considering the affair of Christian Theology, as the whole of it, in each part, stands in reference to the great work of redemption by Jesus Christ; which I suppose to be, of all others, the grand design of God, and the *summum* and *ultimum* of all the divine operations and decrees; particularly considering all parts of the grand scheme, in their historical order.—The order of their existence, or their being brought forth to view, in the course of divine dispensations, or the wonderful series of successive acts and events; beginning from eternity, and descending from thence to the great work and successive dispensations of the infinitely wise God, in time, considering the chief events coming to pass in the church of God, and revolutions

in the world of mankind, affecting the state of the church and the affair of redemption, which we have an account of in history or prophecy; till at last, we come to the general resurrection, last judgment, and consummation of all things; when it shall be said, *It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End.*—Concluding my work, with the consideration of that perfect state of things, which shall be finally settled, to last for eternity.—This history will be carried on with regard to all three worlds, heaven, earth and hell; considering the connected, successive events and alterations in each, so far as the scriptures give any light; introducing all parts of divinity in that order which is most scriptural and most natural; a method which appears to me the most beautiful and entertaining, wherein every divine doctrine will appear to the greatest advantage, in the brightest light, in the most striking manner, shewing the admirable contexture and harmony of the whole.

"I have also, for my own profit and entertainment, done much towards another great work, which I call the *Harmony of the Old and New Testament*, in three parts. The first, considering the Prophecies of the Messiah, his redemption and kingdom; the evidences of their references to the Messiah, etc. comparing them all one with another, demonstrating their agreement, true scope, and sense; also considering all the various particulars wherein those prophecies have their exact fulfilment; showing the universal, precise, and admirable correspondence between predictions and events. The second part, considering the Types of the Old Testament, shewing the evidence of their being intended as representations of the great things of the gospel of Christ; and the agreement of the type with the antitype. The third and great part, considering the Harmony of the Old and New Testament, as to doctrine and precept. In the course of this work, I find there will be occasion for an explanation of a very great part of the holy Scriptures; which may, in such a view, be explained in a method, which to me seems the most entertaining and profitable, best tending to lead the mind to a view of the true spirit, design, life and soul of the scriptures, as well as their proper use and improvement.—I have also many other things in hand, in some of which I have made great progress, which I will not trouble you with an account of. Some of these things, if divine providence favour, I should be willing to attempt a publication of. So far as I myself am able to judge of what talents I have, for benefitting my fellow creatures by word, I think I can write better than I can speak.

"My heart is so much in these studies, that I cannot find it in my heart to be willing to put myself into an incapacity to pursue them any more in the future part of my life, to such a degree as I must, if I undertake to go through the same course of employ, in the office of president, that Mr. Burr did, instructing in all the languages, and taking the whole care of the instruction of one of the classes, in all parts of

learning, besides his other labours. If I should see light to determine me to accept the place offered me, I should be willing to take upon me the work of a president, so far as it consists in the general inspection of the whole society; and to be subservient to the school, as to their order and methods of study and instruction, assisting, myself, in the immediate instruction in the arts and sciences, (as discretion should direct, and occasion serve, and the state of things require,) especially of the senior class; and added to all, should be willing to do the whole work of a professor of divinity, in public and private lectures, proposing questions to be answered, and some to be discussed in writing and free conversation, in meetings of graduates, and others, appointed in proper seasons, for these ends. It would be now out of my way, to spend time, in a constant teaching of the languages; unless it be the Hebrew tongue; which I should be willing to improve myself in, by instructing others.

"On the whole, I am much at a loss, with respect to the way of duty, in this important affair: I am in doubt, whether, if I should engage in it, I should not do what both you and I would be sorry for afterwards. Nevertheless, I think the greatness of the affair, and the regard due to so worthy and venerable a body, as that of the trustees of Nassau Hall, requires my taking the matter into serious consideration. And unless you should appear to be discouraged, by the things which I have now represented, as to any farther expectation from me, I shall proceed to ask advice, of such as I esteem most wise, friendly and faithful: if, after the mind of the Commissioners in Boston is known, it appears that they consent to leave me at liberty, with respect to the business they have employed me in here."

Soon after the death of President Burr, Mr. Edwards addressed a letter to his greatly afflicted daughter, fraught with all the affectionate instruction and consolation which such a father could impart.* To this she returned the following answer:

"To the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, Stockbridge.

"*Princeton, Nov.* 2, 1757.

"To my ever honoured father,

"Honoured Sir,

"Your most affectionate, comforting letter, by my brother Parsons, was exceedingly refreshing to me; although I was somewhat damped by hearing, that I should not see you until spring.† But

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* Unfortunately this letter is lost.

†When Mr. Edwards wrote the letter to which she refers, he did not think of going to Princeton till spring; but he afterwards determined otherwise.

it is my comfort in this disappointment, as well as under all my affliction, that God knows what is best, for me, and for his own glory. Perhaps I counted too much on the company, and conversation, of such a near and dear affectionate father and guide. I cannot doubt but all is for the best; and I am satisfied that God should order the affair of your removal, as shall be for his glory, whatever becomes of me.

"Since I wrote my mother a letter, God has carried me through new trials, and given me new supports. My little son has been sick with a slow fever, ever since my brother left us, and has been brought to the brink of the grave; but, I hope in mercy, God is bringing him back again. I was enabled, after a severe struggle with nature, to resign the child with the greatest freedom. God showed me that the children were not my own, but his, and that he had a right to recall what he had lent, whenever he thought fit; and that I had no reason to complain, or say that God was hard with me. This silenced me. But O how good is God. He not only kept me from complaining, but comforted me, by enabling me to offer up my child by faith, if ever I acted faith. I saw the fulness there was in Christ for little infants, and his willingness to accept of such as were offered to him. "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not;" were comforting words. God also showed me, in such a lively manner, the fulness there was in himself of all spiritual blessings, that I said, "Although all streams were cut off, yet so long as my God lives, I have enough." He enabled me to say, "Although thou slay me, yet will I trust in thee." In this time of trial, I was led to enter into a renewed and explicit covenant with God, in a more solemn manner than ever before; and with the greatest freedom and delight, after much self-examination and prayer, I did give myself and my children to God, with my whole heart. Never, until then, had I an adequate sense of the privilege we are allowed in covenanting with God. This act of soul left my mind in a great calm, and steady trust in God. A few days after this, one evening, in talking of the glorious state my dear departed husband must be in, my soul was carried out in such large desires after that glorious state, that I was forced to retire from the family to conceal my joy. When alone I was so transported, and my soul carried out in such eager desires after perfection and the full enjoyment of God, and to serve him uninterruptedly, that I think my nature would not have borne much more. I think, dear Sir, I had that night, a foretaste of heaven. This frame continued, in some good degree, the whole night, I slept but little, and when I did, my dreams were all of heavenly and divine things. Frequently since, I have felt the same in kind, though not in degree. This was about the time that God called me to give up my child. Thus a kind and gracious God has been with me, in six troubles and in seven.

"But, O, Sir, what cause of deep humiliation and abasement of soul, have I, on account of remaining corruption, which I see working continually in me, especially pride. O, how many shapes does pride cloak itself in. Satan is also busy, shooting his darts. But, blessed be God, those temptations of his, that used to overthrow me, as yet, have not touched me. I will just hint at one or two, if I am not tedious as to length.—When I was about to renew my covenant with God, the suggestion seemed to arise in my mind, "It is better you should not renew it, than break it when you have: what a dreadful thing it will be, if you do not keep it." My reply was, "I did not do it in my own strength." Then the suggestion would return, "How do you know that God will help you keep it." But it did not shake me in the least.—Oh, to be delivered from the power of Satan, as well as sin! I cannot help hoping the time is near. God is certainly fitting me for himself; and when I think that it will be soon, that I shall be called hence, the thought is transporting.

"I am afraid I have tired out your patience, and will beg leave only to add my need of the earnest prayers of my dear and honoured parents, and all good people, that I may not at last be a cast-a-way; but that God would constantly grant me new supplies of divine grace. I am tenderly concerned for my dear brother Timothy, but I hope his sickness will not be unto death, but for the glory of God.—Please to give my duty to my honoured mother, and my love to all my brothers and sisters.

"I am, honoured and dear Sir,

"With the greatest respect,

"Your affectionate and dutiful daughter,

"ESTHER BURR."

While Mr. Edwards was in the state of suspense, alluded to in his letter to the Trustees of the College, he determined to ask the advice of a number of gentlemen in the ministry, on whose judgment and friendship he could rely, and to act accordingly. One of those invited, on this occasion, was his old and faithful friend, and former pupil, Mr. Bellamy, of Bethlem; to whom, having received from him, on the last day of November, two letters, dated on the 12th and 17th of that month, he returned, on the next day, the following answer; which, while it refers to the subject of the Council, shows also, in a very striking manner, with what ease and readiness, he could throw a clear and certain light, on any dark and difficult passage of the word of God.

"*Stockbridge, Dec.* 1, 1757.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"Yesterday, I received your two letters, of the 12th and 17th of Nov.: but I saw and heard nothing of Mr. Hill. I thank you for

your concern, that I may be useful in the world.—I lately wrote you a letter, informing you of our choice of a Council, to sit here on the 21st of this month; and inclosed in it a letter missive to Mr. Brinsmade, who is one of the Council. I hope, before this time, you have received it. Don't fail of letting me see you here; for I never wanted to see you more.

"As to the question you ask, about Christ's argument, in John x. 34—36, I observe,

"*First.* That it is not *all princes* of the earth, who are called *gods*, in the Old Testament; but only the *princes of Israel*, who ruled over God's people. The princes, who are called gods, in Psalm 82, here referred to, are, in the same sentence, distinguished from the *princes of the nations of the world*—"I have said, Ye are *gods;* but ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the *princes*."

"*Secondly.* That the reason, why these princes of Israel were called *gods*, was, that they, as the rulers and judges of God's Israel, were types and figures of Him, who is the True King of the Jews, and the Prince of God's people, who is to rule over the house of Jacob forever, the Prince and Saviour of God's church, or spiritual Israel, gathered from all nations of the earth; who is God indeed. The throne of Israel, or of God's people, properly belonged to Christ. He only was the proper *Heir* to that throne; and therefore, the princes of Israel are said to sit upon *the throne of the Lord*, 1 Chron. xxix. 23; and the kingdom of Israel, under the kings of the house of David, is called *the kingdom of the Lord.* 2 Chron. xiii. 8. And because Christ took the throne, as the *Antitype* of those kings, therefore he is said, Luke i. 32, to sit upon *their throne.*—Thus, the princes of Israel, in the 82d Psalm, are called *gods*, and *sons of God*, or "all of them *children of the Most High;*" being appointed *types* and remarkable representations of the true Son of God, and in him, of the true God. They were called *gods*, and *sons of God*, in the same manner as the Levitical Sacrifices were called an *Atonement* for sin, and in the same manner as the Manna was called the *Bread of Heaven*, and *Angels' Food.* These things represented, and, by special divine designation, were *figures*, of the true Atonement, and of Him who was the true Bread of Heaven, and the true Angels' Food; in the same sense as Saul, the person especially pointed out in the 82d Psalm, is called "*the Lord's anointed*," or (as it is in the original) *Messiah*, or *Christ*, which are the same. And it is to be observed, that these typical gods, and judges of Israel, are particularly distinguished from the true God, and true Judge, in the next sentence, Ps. lxxxii. 8, "Arise, O God, thou Judge of the earth; for thou shalt inherit all nations."—This is a wish for the coming of that King, that should reign in righteousness, and judge righteously; who was to inherit the Gentiles, as well as the Jews; and

the words, as they stand in connexion with the two preceding verses, import thus much—"As to you, the temporal princes and judges of Israel, you are called gods, and sons of God, being exalted to the place of kings, judges, and saviours of God's people, the Kingdom and Heritage of Christ; but you shall die like men, and fall like other princes; whereby it appears that you are truly no gods, nor any one of you the true Son of God, which your injustice and oppression also shows. But Oh, that He, who is truly God, the Judge of the earth, the true and just Judge and Saviour, who is to be King over Gentiles as well as Jews, would come and reign!"—It is to be observed, that when it is said in this verse—"Arise, O *God*"—the word rendered *God*, is *Elohim*—the same used in verse 6, "I have said, Ye are *gods*,"—I have said, Ye are *elohim*.

"*Thirdly*. As to the words of Christ, in John x. 35, "If he called them gods, UNTO WHOM THE WORD OF GOD CAME," I suppose that, by the *word of God coming* to these princes of Israel, is meant, their being set forth by special and express divine designation, to be types, or figurative significations of God's Mind. Those things, which God had appointed to be types, to signify the mind of God, were a *Visible Word*. Types are called *the word of the Lord*—as in Zech. xi. 10, 11, and in Zech. iv. 4—6.—The word of God came to the princes of Israel, both as they, by God's ordering, became subjects of a typical representation of a divine thing, which was a visible word of God; and also, as this was done by express divine designation, as they were marked out to this end, by an express, audible and legible word, as in Ex. xxii. 28, and Ps. lxxxii. 1; and besides, the thing, of which they were appointed types, was Christ, who is called "*the Word of God*."—Thus, the word of God came to Jacob, as a type of Christ, 1 Kings xviii. 31, "And Elijah took twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes of Jacob, UNTO WHOM THE WORD OF THE LORD CAME, saying, *Israel* shall be thy name."—The word Israel is PRINCE OF GOD:—Jacob being, by that express divine designation, appointed as a type of Christ, the true Prince of God, (who is called, in Isa. xlix. 3, by the name of *Israel*,) in his prevailing in his wrestling with God, to save himself and his family from destruction by Esau, who was then coming against him, and obtaining the blessing for himself and his seed.—Now,

"*Fourthly*. Christ's argument lies in these words, *The Scripture cannot be broken*. That word of God, by which they are called gods, as *types* of Him who is truly God, must be verified, which they cannot be, unless the *Antitype* be truly God.—They are so called, as types of the Messiah, or of the *Anointed One*, (which is the same,) or the *Sanctified* or *Holy One*, or Him that was to be *sent*; which were all known names, among the Jews, for the Messiah. (See Dan. ix. 24, 25; Ps. lxxxix. 19, 20; Ps. xvi. 10, John ix.

7.) But it was on this account, that those types or images of the Messiah were called gods, because He, whom they represented, was God indeed. If he were not God, the word by which they were called gods could not be verified, and must be broken. As the word, by which the Legal Sacrifices were called an Atonement, and are said to atone for sin, was true in no other sense, than as they had relation to the Sacrifice of Christ the true Atonement. If Christ's Sacrifice had not truly atoned for sin; the word, which called the types or representations of it an atonement, could not be verified. So, if Jesus Christ had not been the true Bread from Heaven, and Angels' Food indeed; the Scripture which called the type of him, the Bread from Heaven, and Angels' Food, would not have been verified, but would have been broken.

"These, Sir, are my thoughts on John x. 34, etc.

"I am yours, most affectionately,

"J. Edwards.

"*P. S. Dec.* 5.—The opportunity for the conveyance of my letters, to the ministers chosen to be of the Council, your way, not being very good; I here send other letters, desiring you to take the charge of conveying them, with all possible care and speed."

The gentlemen invited to the Council, at his desire, and that of his people, met at Stockbridge, January 4, 1758;* and, having heard the application of the agents of the College, and their reasons in support of it;† Mr. Edwards' own representation of the matter; and what his people had to say, by way of objection, against his removal; determined that it was his duty, to accept of the invitation to the Presidency of the College. When they published their judgment and advice to Mr. Edwards and his people, he appeared uncommonly moved and affected with it, and fell into tears on the occasion, which was very unusual for him, in the presence of others; and soon after, he said to the gentlemen who had given their advice, that it was matter of wonder to him, that they could so easily, as they appeared to do, get over the objections he had made against his removal.‡ But, as he thought it his duty to be directed by their advice, he should now endeavour cheerfully to undertake it, believing he was in the way of his duty.

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*I have ascertained the names of only three of the members of the Council—Mr. Bellamy, Mr. Brinsmade, and Mr. Hopkins. This date is right, though it differs from that mentioned in the letter to Mr Bellamy.

† The agents of the College were, Rev. Messrs. Caleb Smith and John Brainerd.

‡ The Council, at the request both of the English and Indian congregations at Stockbridge, addressed a letter to the Commissioners in Boston, requesting that the Rev. John Brainerd might be appointed Mr. Edwards' successor:—the Housatonnucks offering land for a settlement to the In-

"Accordingly, having had, by the application of the Trustees of the College, the consent of the Commissioners of the "Society in London, for propagating the Gospel, in New England, and the parts adjacent," to resign their mission; he girded up his loins, and set off from Stockbridge for Princeton, in January. He left his family at Stockbridge, not to be removed till the spring. He had two daughters at Princeton; Mrs. Burr, and Lucy, his eldest daughter, that was unmarried. His arrival at Princeton was to the great satisfaction and joy of the college. And indeed all the greatest friends to the college, and to the interests of religion, were highly satisfied and pleased with the appointment."

It was a singular fact, that, soon after his arrival at Princeton, he heard the melancholy tidings of the death of his father. It occurred on the 27th of January, 1758, in the 89th year of his age.

"The corporation met as soon as could be with convenience, after his arrival at the college, when he was, by them, fixed in the president's chair. While at Princeton, before his sickness, he preached in the college-hall, sabbath after sabbath, to the great acceptance of the hearers;* but did nothing as president, unless it was to give out some questions in divinity to the senior class, to be answered before him; each one having opportunity to study and write what he thought proper, upon them. When they came together to answer them, they found so much entertainment and profit by it, especially by the light and instruction, Mr. Edwards communicated, in what he said upon the questions, when they had delivered what they had to say, that they spoke of it with the greatest satisfaction and wonder.

"During this time, Mr. Edwards seemed to enjoy an uncommon degree of the presence of God. He told his daughters he once had great exercise, concern and fear, relative to his engaging in that business; but since it now appeared, so far as he could see, that he was called of God, to that place and work, he did cheerfully devote himself to it, leaving himself and the event with God, to order what seemed to him good.

"The small pox had now become very common in the country, and was then at Princeton, and likely to spread. And as Mr. Edwards had never had it, and inoculation was then practised with great success in those parts, he proposed to be inoculated, if the

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dian congregation at Cranberry, New Jersey, if they would remove to Stockbridge:—and another letter to the Trustees of the College, requesting that they would use their collective and individual influence, to procure the appointment of Mr. Brainerd, and his removal to Stockbridge.

* The first sermon, which he preached at Princeton, was on the Unchangeableness of Christ, in Vol. VIII. It was upwards of two hours in the delivery; but is said to have been listened to with such profound attention, and deep interest, by the audience, that they were unconscious of the lapse of time, and surprised that it closed so soon.

physician should advise to it, and the corporation would give their consent. Accordingly, by the advice of the physician, and the consent of the corporation, he was inoculated February 13th. He had it favourably, and it was thought all danger was over; but a secondary fever set in, and, by reason of a number of pustules in his throat, the obstruction was such, that the medicines necessary to check the fever, could not be administered. It therefore raged till it put an end to his life, on the 22d of March, 1758, in the 55th year of his age.

"After he was sensible that he could not survive that sickness, a little before his death, he called his daughter to him, who attended him in his sickness, and addressed her in a few words, which were immediately taken down in writing, as near as could be recollected, and are as follows:—"Dear Lucy, It seems to me to be the "will of God, that I must shortly leave you; therefore give my "kindest love to my dear wife, and tell her, that the uncommon "union, which has so long subsisted between us, has been of such a "nature, as, I trust, is spiritual, and therefore will continue forev-"er: and I hope she will be supported under so great a trial, and "submit cheerfully to the will of God. And as to my children, "you are now like to be left fatherless; which I hope will be an "inducement to you all, to seek a Father, who will never fail you. "And as to my funeral, I would have it to be like Mr. Burr's; and "any additional sum of money, that might be expected to be laid "out that way, I would have it disposed of to charitable uses."*

"He said but very little in his sickness: but was an admirable instance of patience and resignation, to the last. Just at the close of life, as some persons, who stood by, expecting he would breath his last in a few minutes, were lamenting his death, not only as a great frown on the college, but as having a dark aspect on the interest of religion in general; to their surprise, not imagining that he heard, or ever would speak another word, he said, "Trust in God, and ye need not fear." These were his last words. What could have been more suitable to the occasion! And what need of more! In these there is as much matter of instruction and support, as if he had written a volume. This was the only consolation to his bereaved friends, deeply sensible, as they were of the loss which they, and the church of Christ, had sustained in his death: GOD IS ALL-SUFFICIENT, AND STILL HAS THE CARE OF HIS CHURCH.†

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* President Burr, ordered, on his death bed, that his funeral should not be attended with pomp and cost; that nothing should be expended, but what was agreeable to the dictates of christian decency; and that the sum which must be expended at a fashionable funeral, above the necessary cost of a decent one, should be given to the poor, out of his estate.

† The reader may wish to see the notice taken of the death of Mr. Edwards, at the time when it occurred. The following is the account of it,

"He appeared to have the uninterrupted use of his reason to the last, and died with as much calmness and composure, to all appearance, as that with which one goes to sleep."

The physician, who inoculated and constantly attended him, in his sickness, addressed the following letter to Mrs. Edwards, on this occasion:

"To Mrs. Sarah Edwards, Stockbridge.

"*Princeton, March* 22, 1758.

"MOST DEAR AND VERY WORTHY MADAM,

"I am heartily sorry for the occasion of my writing to you, by this express, but I know you have been informed, by a line from your excellent, lovely and pious husband, that I was brought here to inoculate him, and your dear daughter Esther, and her children, for the small-pox, which was then spreading fast in Princeton; and that, after the most deliberate and serious consultation, with his nearest and most religious friends, he was accordingly inoculated with them, the 23d of last month; and although he had the small-pox favourably, yet, having a number of them in the roof of his mouth and throat, he could not possibly swallow a sufficient quantity of drink, to keep off a secondary fever, which has proved too strong for his feeble frame; and this afternoon, between two and three o'clock, it pleased God to let him sleep in that dear Lord Jesus, whose kingdom and interest he has been faithfully and painfully serving all his life. And never did any mortal man, more fully and clearly evidence the sincerity of all his professions, by one continued, universal, calm, cheerful resignation, and patient submission to the divine will, through every stage of his disease, than he; not so much as one discontented expression, nor the least appearance of murmuring, through the whole. And never did any person expire with more perfect freedom from pain;—not so much as one distorted hair—but in the most proper sense of the words, he fell asleep. Death had certainly lost its sting, as to him.

"Your daughter, Mrs. Burr, and her children, through the mercy of God, are safely over the disease, and she desires me to send

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in the Boston Gazette, of April 10, 1750.—"On Wednesday, the 22d of last month, died, by inoculation, at Nassau Hall, an eminent servant of God, the Rev. pious, Mr. Jonathan Edwards, President of the College of New Jersey; a gentleman of distinguished abilities, and an heavenly temper of mind: a most rational, generous, catholic and exemplary christian, admired by all who knew him, for his uncommon candour and disinterested benevolence; a pattern of temperance, meekness, patience and charity; always steady, calm and serene; a very judicious and instructive preacher, and a most excellent divine. And, as he lived, cheerfully resigned to the will of Heaven, so he died, or rather, as the Scriptures emphatically express it, with respect to good men, *he fell asleep in Jesus*, without the least appearance of pain."

her duty to you, the best of mothers. She has had the small-pox the heaviest of all, whom I have inoculated, and little Sally, far the lightest; she has but three in her face. I am sure it will prove serviceable to her future health.

"I conclude, with my hearty prayer, dear Madam, that you may be enabled to look to that God, whose love and goodness you have experienced a thousand times, for direction and help, under this most afflictive dispensation of his providence, and under every other difficulty, you may meet with here, in order to your being more perfectly fitted for the joys of heaven, hereafter.

"I am, dear Madam,
"Your most sympathizing
"And affectionate friend,
"And very humble servant,
"WILLIAM SHIPPEN."

This letter reached Mrs. Edwards, while in a feeble state of health, when she was preparing to pay a visit, first to her sister, Mrs. Hopkins, at West Springfield, and then to her mother, Mrs. Edwards, of Windsor, in consequence of the death of Mr. Edwards' father. What her feelings were, and those of her family, under this unexpected and overwhelming dispensation, can be more easily conceived than described.

"She had long told her intimate friends, that she had, after long struggles and exercises, obtained, by God's grace, an habitual willingness to die herself, or part with any of her most near relatives. That she was willing to bring forth children for death; and to resign up him, whom she esteemed so great a blessing to her and her family, her nearest partner, to the stroke of death, whenever God should see fit to take him. And when she had the greatest trial, in the death of Mr. Edwards, she found the help and comfort of such a disposition. Her conduct on this occasion, was such as to excite the admiration of her friends; it discovered that she was sensible of the great loss, which she and her children had sustained in his death; and, at the same time, showed that she was quiet and resigned, and had those invisible supports, which enabled her to trust in God with quietness, hope, and humble joy."

A few days afterwards, she addressed the following Letter to Mrs. Burr.

"*Stockbridge, April* 3, 1758.

"MY VERY DEAR CHILD,

"What shall I say! A holy and good God has covered us with a dark cloud. O that we may kiss the rod, and lay our hands on our mouths! The Lord has done it. He has made me adore his goodness, that we had him so long. But my God lives; and he

has my heart. O what a legacy my husband, and your father, has left us! We are all given to God; and there I am, and love to be.

"Your ever affectionate mother,

"SARAH EDWARDS."

On the same sheet, was the following letter from one of her daughters.

"MY DEAR SISTER,

"My mother wrote this, with a great deal of pain, in her neck, which disabled her from writing any more. She thought you would be glad of these few lines from her own hand.

"O, sister, how many calls have we, one upon the back of another. O, I beg your prayers, that we, who are young in this family, may be awakened and excited to call more earnestly on God, that he would be our Father and friend forever.

"My father took leave of all his people and family as affectionately, as if he knew he should not come again. On the Sabbath afternoon, he preached from these words,—*We have no continuing city, therefore let us seek one to come.* The chapter that he read was Acts the 20th. O, how proper; what could he have done more. When he had got out of doors he turned about,—"I commit you to God,"—said he.—I doubt not but God will take a fatherly care of us, if we do not forget him.

"I am your ever affectionate sister,

"SUSANNAH EDWARDS."

"*Stockbridge, April* 3, 1758.

"Mrs. Burr and her children were inoculated, at the same time that her father was, and had recovered when he died. But after she was perfectly recovered, to all appearance, she was suddenly seized with a violent disorder, which carried her off in a few days; and which, the physician said, he could call by no name, but that of *a messenger, sent suddenly, to call her out of the world.* She died, April 7, 1758, sixteen days after her father, in the 27th year of her age. She was married to Mr. Burr, June 29, 1752. They had two children, a son and a daughter.

"Mrs. Burr exceeded most of her sex, in the beauty of her person, as well as in her behaviour and conversation. She discovered an unaffected, natural freedom, towards persons of all ranks, with whom she conversed. Her genius was much more than common. She had a lively, sprightly imagination, a quick and penetrating discernment, and a good judgment. She possessed an uncommon degree of wit and vivacity; which yet was consistent with pleasantness and good nature; and she knew how to be facetious and sportive, without trespassing on the bounds of decorum, or of strict and serious religion. In short, she seemed formed to please,

and especially to please one, of Mr. Burr's taste and character, in whom he was exceedingly happy. But what crowned all her excellencies, and was her chief glory, was RELIGION. She appeared to be the subject of divine impressions, when seven or eight years old; and she made a public profession of religion, when about fifteen. Her conversation, until her death, was exemplary, as becometh godliness."—She was, in every respect, an ornament to her sex, being equally distinguished for the suavity of her manners, her literary accomplishments, and her unfeigned regard to religion. Her religion did not cast a gloom over her mind, but made her cheerful and happy, and rendered the thought of death transporting. She left a number of manuscripts, on interesting subjects, and it was hoped they would have been made public; but they are now lost.

Mrs. Edwards did not long survive her husband. In September, she set out, in good health, on a journey to Philadelphia, to take care of her two orphan grand-children, which were now in that city; and had been, since the death of Mrs. Burr. As they had no relations in those parts, Mrs. Edwards proposed to take them into her own family. She arrived there, by the way of Princeton, Sept. 21, in good health, having had a comfortable journey. But, in a few days, she was seized with a violent dysentery, which, on the fifth day, put an end to her life, October 2d, 1758, in the 49th year of her age. She said not much in her sickness; being exercised, most of the time, with violent pain. On the morning of the day she died, she apprehended her death was near, when she expressed her entire resignation to God, and her desire that he might be glorified in all things; and that she might be enabled to glorify him to the last: and continued in such a temper, calm and resigned, till she died.

Her remains were carried to Princeton, and deposited with those of Mr. Edwards. Thus they, who were in their lives remarkably lovely and pleasant, in their death were not much divided. Here, the father and mother, the son and daughter, were laid together in the grave, within the space of a little more than a year; though a few months before, their dwelling was more than 150 miles apart: —two Presidents of the same College, and their consorts, than whom, it will doubtless be hard to find four persons, more valuable and useful!

By these repeated strokes, following in quick succession, the American Church, within a few months, sustained a loss, which probably, in so short a space of time, will never be equalled.

Mr. and Mrs. Edwards lived together, in the married state, above thirty years; in which time, they had eleven children, three sons, and eight daughters. The second daughter died, Feb. 14,

1748. The third daughter was Mrs. Burr. The youngest daughter, Elizabeth, died soon after her parents.*

The Trustees of the College erected a marble monument, over the grave of Mr. Edwards, which has the following inscription:

M. S.
Reverendi admodum Viri,

JONATHAN EDWARDS, A. M.

Collegii Novæ Cæsariæ Præsidis.
Natus apud Windsor Connecticutensium V. Octobris.
A. D. MDCCIII, S. V.
Patre Reverendo Timotheo Edwards oriundus,
Collegio Yalensi educatus;
Apud Northampton Sacris initiatus, XV Februarii,
MDCCXXVI–VII.
Illinc dimissus XXII Junii, MDCCL.
Et Munus Barbaros instituendi accepit.
Præses Aulæ Nassovicæ creatus XVI Februarii,
MDCCLVIII.
Defunctus in hoc Vico XXII Martii sequentis, S. N.
Ætatis LV, heu nimis brevis!
Hic jacet mortalis pars.
Qualis Persona quæris, Viator?
Vir Corpore procero, sed gracili,
Studiis intensissimis, Abstinentia, et Sedulitate,
Attenuato.
Ingenii acumine, Judicio acri, et Prudentiâ,
Secundus Nemini Mortalium.
Artium liberalium et Scientiarum peritia insignis,
Criticorum sacrorum optimus, Theologus eximius,
Ut vix alter æqualis; Disputator candidus;
Fidei Christianæ Propugnator validus et invictus;
Conconiator gravis, serius, discriminans;
Et, Deo ferente, Successu
Felicissimus.
Pietate præclarus, Moribus suis severus,
Ast aliis æquus et benignus.
Vixit dilectus, veneratus—
Sed, ah! lugendus
Moriebatur.
Quantos Gemitus discedens ciebat!
Heu Sapientia tanta! heu Doctrina et Religio!
Amissum plorat Collegium, plorat et Ecclesia:
At, eo recepto, gaudet
Cœlum.
Abi, Viator, et pia sequere Vestigia.

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* See Appendix K.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Concluding Remarks.

The writer of the preceding pages regrets, at least as sincerely as any of his readers, that the collection of facts, which they contain, is not more full and complete; yet, in consequence of the long interval, which has elapsed since the death of President Edwards, they are all, which, after much time, and labour and travel, he has been able to discover. Such as they are, they constitute, with his writings, the body of materials, from which we are to form our estimate of his character, as an intelligent and moral being.

In reviewing them, it is delightful to remember, in the outset, that, so far as the human eye could judge, the individuals of both the families from which he derived his descent, were, as far back as we can trace them, distinguished for their piety. Each married pair, in both lines, with that care and conscientiousness, which so generally marked the Pilgrims of New England, and their Puritan ancestors, trained up their children in the fear of God; and continued, through life, to supplicate daily the Divine favour, on them and their descendents, in all succeeding generations. Their prayers, ascending separately and successively indeed, were yet embodied in their influence, and from Him, who "showeth mercy to thousands of generations of them that love him, and keep his commandments," called down concentrated blessings on their common offspring. So full, so rich, were these blessings, as bestowed on the subject of this memoir, that, perhaps, no one example on record furnishes a stronger encouragement to parents, to wrestle with God for the holiness and the salvation of their posterity.

It was owing to the moral influence thus exerted, and to the Divine favour thus secured, that, when we review the childhood and youth of Mr. Edwards, we find them not only passing without a stain upon his memory, but marked by a purity and excellence, rarely witnessed at so early a period of life. The religious impressions, made upon his mind in childhood, were certainly frequent, deep, and of long continuance, and had a powerful effect upon his ultimate character; yet the estimate, formed of their real nature by different persons, will probably be different. His own estimate of them was, unquestionably, that they were not the result of real religion.

The circumstances, which led him to this conclusion, were these

two :—First, That, after he had cherished the hope of his own conversion, for a considerable period, and had experienced a high degree of joy, in what he regarded as communion with God, he lost imperceptibly this spirituality of mind, relinquished for a season the "constant performance" of the practice of secret prayer, and cherished many affections of a worldly and sinful character :—Secondly, That, when he recovered from this state of declension, his views of divine truth, particularly those connected with the Sovereignty of God, were in many respects new, and far more clear and delightful, than any which he had previously formed.

Without calling in question the fact, that a given individual has, on some accounts, decidedly superior advantages for judging of his own christian character, than others enjoy ; and without presuming to decide on the correctness of the estimate, thus formed by Mr. Edwards ; it may not be improper to state various circumstances, which lead me to suspect, that it may perhaps have been erroneous: 1. The declension, of which he complains, appears to have been chiefly, or wholly, a declension in the state of the affections. 2. Those impressions began, when he was seven or eight years of age, and were so powerful and lasting, as to render religion the great object of attention, for a number of years. As made on the mind of such a child, they were very remarkable, even if we suppose them to have resulted in piety. 3. The season of his declension commenced soon after his admission to college, when he was twelve years of age. That a truly pious child, in consequence of leaving his early religious connections and associations, and especially the altar and the incense of the parental sanctuary, of removing to a new place of residence, of entering on a new course of life, of forming new acquaintances and attachments, of feeling the strong attractions of study, and the powerful incentives of ambition, and of being exposed to the new and untried temptations of a public seminary ; should, for a season, so far decline from his previous spirituality, as to lose all hope of his own conversion, is so far from being a surprizing event, that, in ordinary cases, it is perhaps to be expected. Piety, at its commencement in the mind, is usually feeble ; and especially is it so, in the mind of a child. How often are similar declensions witnessed, even at a later age. Yet the subject of such backsliding, though, during its continuance, he may well renounce the hope of his conversion, does not usually regard the period of his recovery, as the commencement of his christian life.—4. He had not, at this period, made a public profession of religion ; and, of course, was not restrained from such declension by his own covenant, by communion with christians, or by the consciousness, that, as a visible christian, his faults were subjected to the inspection and the censure of the surrounding world. 5. Though charitable in judging others, he was at least equally severe in judging himself. 6. He appears, at a very early period, to have

formed views of the purity of the christian character—of the degree of freedom from sin, and of the degree of actual holiness, requisite to justify the hope of conversion—altogether more elevated in their nature, than the truth will warrant. 7. That his views of divine truth—particularly of the Sovereignty of God—should have opened, after the age of twelve, with so much greater clearness and beauty, as to appear wholly new, was to have been expected from the nature of the case. 8. At a subsequent period, when his mind was incessantly occupied by the unusual perplexities of his tutorship, he complained of a similar declension. 9. The purity, strength and comprehensiveness, of his piety, as exhibited *immediately after* his public profession of christianity, was so much superior to what is frequently witnessed, in christians of an advanced standing, as almost to force upon us the conviction that it commenced,—not a few months before, at the time of his supposed conversion, but—at a much earlier period of life. Rare indeed is the fact, that holiness is not, at its commencement in the soul, " as a grain of mustard-seed, which is the least of all seeds;" and though in the rapidity of its growth, it differs widely in different soils, yet *time* is indispensably necessary, before its fruits can cover the full-grown plant, like the clusters on the vine.—These considerations, and particularly the last, have led me to believe, that the early religious impressions of Mr. Edwards are to be regarded, as having been the result of a gracious operation of the Spirit of God, upon his heart.

Under this happy influence, exerted in childhood, his character was formed. It prompted him then to study the Scriptures, to love prayer, to sanctify the sabbath, and to pay an unusual attention to the duties of religion. It inspired him with reverence towards God, and made him afraid to sin. It rendered him conscientious in the performance of every relative duty, in manifesting love and gratitude, honour and obedience, towards his parents, kindness and courteousness towards his sisters, and the other companions of his childhood, respect and deference to his superiors, and good will to all around him. It led him also, at a very early period, to overcome that aversion to mental labour, which is so natural to man, and to devote himself with exemplary assiduity to the great duty, daily assigned him, of storing his mind with useful knowledge. Some of our readers, we are aware, may perhaps regard the recollections of his earlier years, as of little importance; but those, who cherish common sympathies, with the whole body of evangelical christians, in the deep interest which they feel in his character and efforts, and who reflect, that the foundation of that character and of those efforts was then laid, will require of us no apology for thus exhibiting the comparative innocence and purity, the docility and amiableness, the tenderness of conscience, the exemplary industry, and the ar-

dent thirst for knowledge, which characterized this vernal season of his life.

The developement of mental superiority, in the childhood and youth of Mr. Edwards, was certainly uncommon, if not singular. Boys of the age of eleven and twelve, even when receiving every aid from their parents and instructors, and when feeling the influence of all the motives, which *they* can present, are usually unwilling, in any branch of natural science, to examine, so as thoroughly to comprehend, the discoveries and investigations of others. Still more unwilling are they to make this examination, when no such aid is furnished, and no such inducements are presented. But rare indeed is the instance, in which the attention of such a boy has been so far arrested, by any of the interesting phenomena, in either of the kingdoms of nature, that he has been led, without prompting, and without aid, to pursue a series of exact observations and discoveries, as to the facts themselves; to search out their causes; and, as the result of the whole, to draw up and present a lucid, systematic and well digested, report of his investigations.— The examination of the character and habits of the Wood-spider, made of his own accord by Edwards, at the age specified, and pursued through a long series of observations and deductions, evinces a power of attention, and an accuracy of conclusion, which would have qualified him at that time, if possessed of the proper instruments and specimens, for almost any investigations of Natural History. The Report of it, also, if we except the childishness of some of its phraseology, which, indeed, only adds to its interest, is as well arranged and luminous, as the well-written papers, which we now find in the Journals of Science. Perhaps it may be questioned, whether higher evidence of a mature and manly mind, in so young a child, has hitherto been presented to the world.

After the lapse of a little more than a year, just as he attained the age of fourteen, we find him entering on pursuits of a still higher character. Few boys of that age have sufficient strength of intellect, to comprehend the Essay on the Human Understanding. Of those who have, but a small proportion can be persuaded to read it; and a much smaller, still, are found to read it voluntarily, and of choice. We find Edwards. however, at this period of life, not only entering on this work, of his own accord, and with deep interest, but at once relinquishing every other pursuit, that he may devote himself wholly to the philosophy of the mind; and, to use his own language, "enjoying a far higher pleasure in the perusal of its pages, than the most greedy miser finds, when gathering up handfuls of silver and gold, from some newly discovered treasure." Nor is this all. While reading the work of Locke, he presents himself before us, not as a pupil, nor simply as a critic; but in the higher character of an investigator, exploring for himself the universe of minds, and making new and interesting discoveries. For-

tunately his investigations are preserved, and may be compared with the efforts of other distinguished men, at the same period of life, in other countries and in other ages. And if any one of all those efforts discovers greater perspicacity and mental energy, than the "NOTES ON THE MIND;" particularly, the articles entitled, *Being, Space, Motion, Genus, the Will, and Excellency;* we are yet to learn where it is to be found, and who was its author. The discussion of the very important and difficult question, in the last of these articles, WHAT IS THE FOUNDATION OF EXCELLENCY—of Excellency in its most enlarged acceptation, in things material and spiritual, in things intellectual, imaginative and moral,—is not only original, as to its youthful author, and profound, but is even now, we believe, in various respects, new to the investigations of philosophy.* The NOTES ON NATURAL SCIENCE, furnish similar proofs of high mental superiority; and, by their variety of topics, their general accuracy, and their originality, evince a power and comprehension, discovered by only here and there an individual, when possessed of the full maturity of his faculties. His habits of thinking and reasoning, at this time of life, appear to have been as severe, as exact and as successful, as those of the most accomplished scholars usually are, in the vigour of manhood. The plan of study, itself, which he then formed,—of studying with his pen; and of immediately, and of course, employing the principles of the science he was examining, which had been already detailed and demonstrated by others, in the discovery of new principles,—is at least equal evidence of the same superiority. So vigorous was the mental soil, that the seeds of thought could not be implanted therein, without being quickened at once, and made to grow into a rich and abundant harvest. Looking at these two series of NOTES, in connection with the plan of study under which they grew, and then comparing them, by the aid of recollection, with the efforts of other children and youths of uncommon promise; we instinctively ask, When, and where, has the individual lived, who has left behind him substantial proofs, that he has possessed, at the same age, a mind more powerful, comprehensive or creative?

These conclusions are only confirmed, by the survey of his succeeding years. Though drawn away from the entire devotion of his mind to his collegiate studies, by (what were to him) the alluring blandishments of Mental philosophy, he yet sustained in his class the first standing as a scholar; and, though leaving college when sixteen, he was not too young to receive its highest honours. Having entered the desk at eighteen, he was, after a few trials, designated by a number of gentlemen of a superior character, for a very

* The last article under this head, is obviously the foundation of the author's subsequent Treatise on the Nature of True Virtue.

important and difficult station; to which, as well as to various other interesting fields of labour, he received most pressing invitations.

The extraordinary difficulties and perplexities of the college, while he was one of its officers, sufficient as they were to have overwhelmed a common mind, only served to furnish him and his colleagues a fairer opportunity, to show forth the superiority of their own character. By their wisdom and fidelity, the college was preserved and enlarged, when in imminent danger of ruin; and the period of their administration will ever be regarded, as one of the most important eras in its history.

While the review of the childhood and youth of Mr. Edwards thus forces upon us the conviction, that, in the early developement of extraordinary mental powers, he has had few equals; and enables us to reflect, with pleasure, that these powers were never prostituted to folly, or to vice, but, from the beginning were faithfully devoted to the great end for which they were given; it also leads us to remark, that his character, as a moral being, was thoroughly formed and established, at a very early period of life. Like a dutiful child, he listened, indeed, to the counsels of his parents, as to the principles by which his conduct should be regulated; but he also examined for himself the foundations of those principles, and, having discovered that they were firm and immoveable, formed out of them a series of rules, for the systematic regulation of his own conduct. These rules, particularly as exemplified in the journal of his daily life, evince not only a pure and transparent sincerity, and the greatest openness of soul towards God; as well as an inspection, metaphysically accurate, of his own mind, and a thorough acquaintance with his own heart; but a knowledge of his duty,—to God, his fellow-men and himself,—and a conscientiousness in performing it, which are usually the result of great wisdom and piety, combined with long experience. They grew, obviously, out of a disposition to turn every occurrence of life to a religious use, and thus to grow wiser and better, continually, under the course of discipline, to which the providence of God subjected him. They appear to have been made under the immediate inspection of the Omniscient eye, with a solemn conviction that he was an immortal being, formed to act on the same theatre with God, and angels, and the just made perfect, in carrying forward the kingdom of holiness and joy, in its ever enlarging progress. Viewing himself, as just entering on this career of glory, he adopted, for the permanent direction of his course, the best and noblest resolution, that an intelligent being can form;—"Resolved, That I will do *whatsoever* I think to be most to the glory of God, and my own good, profit and pleasure, in the whole of my duration; without any consideration of *the time*, whether now, or never so many myriads of ages hence: resolved, to do whatsoever I think to be my *duty*, and most for the good and advantage of mankind in general: resolved, so to do, whatever *diffi-*

culties I meet with, how many soever, and how great soever." In the spirit of this resolution, we find him, with all the earnestness of which he was capable, giving up himself to God,—all that he was, and all that he possessed,—so as habitually to feel that he was in no respect his own, and could challenge no right to the faculties of his body, to the powers of his mind, or the affections of his heart; receiving Christ as a prince, and a saviour, under a solemn covenant to adhere to the faith and obedience of the gospel, however hazardous and difficult the profession and practice of it might be; and taking the Holy Spirit as his teacher, sanctifier and only comforter. And, in accordance with both, we find him, at this time, regularly making the glory of God the great end for which he lived; habitually trusting in God, to such a degree, as to feel no uneasiness about his worldly condition; maintaining the most open and confidential intercourse with his Maker; cherishing exalted thoughts of Christ and his salvation; feeling himself to be a part of Christ, and to have no separate interest from his; exercising a filial and delightful sense of dependence on the Holy Spirit, for the daily communication of his grace; regarding communion with God as the very life and sustenance of the soul; delighting in praising God, and in singing his praises, and as much when alone, as in the company of others; often observing days of secret fasting, that he might discover, and repent of, and renounce every sin; maintaining a constant warfare against sin and temptation; frequently renewing his dedication of himself to God; conversing daily and familiarly with his own death and his own final trial; rejoicing habitually in the divine perfections and the divine government; reverentially acknowledging the divine hand in all the works of nature, and in all the events of providence; exhibiting a calm and sweet submission to the divine will under all the afflictions of life, so that he could regard afflictions as real and great blessings; and enabled so to live with God. from day to day, and from hour to hour, as to be delightfully conscious of his presence, to refer his inmost mind to the inspection of his eye, to value his approbation above all things else, to cherish a joyful sense of union to him, to converse with him, as a father, concerning his wants, infirmities and sins, his dangers, duties and trials, his joys and sorrows, his fears and desires, his hopes and prospects, and to commune with him in all his works and dispensations, in his perfections and his glory. And, as the result of this, we find the Spirit of God unfolding to him the wonders of divine truth; vouchsafing to him joyful and glorious discoveries of the perfections of God, as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; enabling him to live, as in the immediate presence and vision of the things that are unseen and eternal; and communicating to him a joyful assurance of the favour of God, and of a title to future glory.

This state of his heart towards God, prepared him for a just es-

timate of his own character, for the formation of the best habits, and for a conscientious and faithful government over himself. The daily and careful survey of his sins, by the light of the divine holiness, enabled him to discover the deceitfulness of his own heart, and led him habitually to abhor himself, to form none but humbling and abasing views of his own attainments in piety, and to esteem others better than himself. There was something extremely delicate in his constitution; which always obliged him to the exactest rules of temperance, and every method of cautious and prudent living. His temperance was the result of principle. It was not the mere ordinary care and watchfulness of temperate people, but such a degree of self-denial, both as to the quantity and quality of his food, as left his mind, in every part of the day, alike unclouded in its views, and unembarrassed in its movements. We have seen, from his diary, that he rose at a very early hour, throughout the year; that, in the morning, he considered well the business and studies, of the day, resolved to pursue that which was the most important; that his habits of punctuality were exact and thorough; that he husbanded his time, as the miser guards his choicest treasures; not losing it even in his walks, his rides, or his journeys; and not allowing himself to leave his study for the table, if his mind would thereby lose its brighter moments, and its happier sequences of thought and discovery; and that, in consequence of this regularity of life, and an exact and punctilious regard to bodily exercise, he was enabled to spend an unusual portion of every day, in severe and laborious mental application.* Let it also be remembered, by every clergyman, that notwithstanding the exact discipline to which his mind had been subjected, by the course of his education, and by his long devotion to metaphysical pursuits, he continued his attention to *mathematical* studies, as a source, alike, of recreation, and improvement, throughout the whole of his ministerial life.

The habits of his religious life, which he formed in his youth, were not less thorough and exact. His observation of the sabbath was such as to make it, throughout, a day of real religion; so that not only were his conversation and reading conformed to the great design of the day, but he allowed himself in no thoughts or meditations, which were not decidedly of a religious character. It was his rule, not only to search the Scriptures daily, but to study them so steadily, constantly and frequently, as that he might perceive a regular and obvious growth in his knowledge of them. By prayer and self-application, he took constant care to render them the

*On a preceding page it is stated, on the authority of Dr. Hopkins, that he regularly spent *thirteen hours*, every day, in close study. After receiving the invitation to Princeton, he told his eldest son, that he had for many years spent *fourteen hours* a day in study; and mentioned the necessity of giving up a part of this time to other pursuits, as one of his chief objections against accepting the office of President.

means of progressive sanctification. He made a secret of his private devotions, observes Dr. Hopkins, and therefore they cannot be particularly known; though there is much evidence that he was punctual, constant and frequent, in secret prayer, and often kept days of fasting and prayer in secret, and set apart time for serious, devout meditations on spiritual and eternal things, as part of his religious exercises in secret. It appears from his Diary, that his *stated* seasons of secret prayer were, from his youth, three times a day,—in his journeys, as well as at home. He was, so far as can be known, much on his knees in secret, and in devout reading of God's word, and meditation upon it. And his constant, solemn converse with God, in these exercises of secret religion, made his face, as it were, to shine before others. His appearance, his countenance, his words and whole demeanour, were attended with a seriousness, gravity and solemnity, which was the natural, genuine, indication and expression, of a deep abiding sense of divine things on his mind, and of his living constantly in the fear of God. His watchfulness over himself—over his external conduct and over his secret thoughts and purposes—was most thorough and exemplary. The fear of God, and a consciousness of his own weakness, made him habitually apprehensive of sin, and led him most carefully to avoid every temptation. His self-examination was regular, universal, and in a sense constant. Every morning he endeavoured to foresee, and to guard against, the dangers of the day. Every night he carefully reviewed the conduct of his mind, during its progress, and enquired, wherein he had been negligent; what sin he had committed; wherein he had denied himself; and regularly kept an account of every thing, which he found to be wrong. This record he reviewed at the close of the week, of the month, and of the year, and on the occurrence of every important change in life; that he might know his own condition, and that he might carry his sins in humble confession before God. Whenever he so much questioned whether he had done his duty, as that the quiet of his mind was thereby disturbed, he regularly set it down, that he might examine its real nature; and, if found in any respect to be wrong, might put it away. Every course of conduct, which led him in the least to doubt of the love of God; every action of his mind, the review of which would give him uneasiness in the hour of death, and on his final trial; he endeavoured, with all his strength, to avoid. Every obvious sin, he traced back to its original, that he might afterward know where his danger lay. Every desire, which might prove the occasion of sin,—the desire of wealth, of ease, of pleasure, of influence, of fame, of popularity,—as well as every bodily appetite, he strove not only to watch against, but habitually and unceasingly to mortify; regarding occasions of great self-denial as glorious opportunities of destroying sin, and of confirming himself in holiness; and uniformly finding that his greatest mortifications were succeeded

by the greatest comforts. On the approach of affliction, he searched out the sin, which he ought especially to regard, as calling for such a testimony of the divine displeasure, that he might receive the chastisement with entire submission, and be concerned about nothing but his duty and his sin. The virtues and sins of others led him to examine himself, whether he possessed the former, and whether he did not practice the latter. Thus his whole life was a continued course of self-examination; and in the duty of secret fasting, and humiliation, which he very frequently observed,—a duty enjoined by Christ, on his followers, as explicitly, and in the same terms, as the duty of secret prayer; enjoined too, for the very purpose of discovery, confession, and purification,—he was accustomed, with the greatest unreservedness of which he was capable, to declare his ways to God, and to lay open his soul before him, all his sins, temptations, difficulties, sorrows and fears, as well as his desires and hopes; that the light of God's countenance might shine upon him without obstruction.

The fear of God had a controlling influence, also, in regulating his intercourse with mankind. The basis of that intercourse, in all the relations of life, and indeed of his whole character, was *evangelical integrity*,—a settled unbending resolution to do what he thought right, whatever self-denial or sacrifices it might cost him. This trait of character he early discovered, in the unfavourable estimate, which he formed, of his youthful attainments in religion; and in the severe judgment, which he passed upon the period of his official connection with college, as a period of marked declension in his christian life. He discovered it, during that connection, in his most conscientious and honourable efforts to promote the welfare of that institution, under uncommon difficulties and trials. He discovered it during his ministry at Northampton, in the very laborious performance of every ministerial duty, and in his firm and fearless defence of the truth, in opposition to numbers, power and influence. He discovered it eminently in the affair of his dismission. His conscience at first hesitated, as to the lawfulness of the prevailing mode of admission to the church. Still, he regarded the question as altogether doubtful. It had been once publicly discussed; his own colleague and grandfather, who had introduced it at Northampton, being one of the combatants; and the victory had been supposed to be on *his* side, and in favour of the existing mode. The churches of the county had adopted it; and the whole current of public opinion,—the united voice of wealth, fashion, numbers, learning and influence,—was in its favour. If he decided against continuing the practice, all these would certainly be combined against him; his people would demand his dismission, before a tribunal which had prejudged the case; his only means of supporting a young and numerous family would be taken away, at a

time of life, when an adequate provision for their wants would probably involve him in extreme embarrassment. Yet none of these things moved him; and his only anxiety was, to ascertain and to perform his duty. He discovered it, in the same manner, in the controversy at Stockbridge. There, the same influence, which, in the former case, had effected his dismission, he knew would be combined against him, with increased hostility, and in all probability would deprive his family a second time of their support; unless he sat quietly by, and saw the charities of christian philanthropy perverted to sources of private emolument. But in such a crisis he could not deliberate for a moment.

"He had a strict and inviolable regard to justice, in all his dealings with his neighbours, and was very careful to provide things honest in the sight of all men; so that scarcely a man had any dealings with him, who was not conscious of his uprightness.

"His great benevolence to mankind discovered itself, among other ways, by the uncommon regard he showed to liberality, and charity to the poor and distressed. He was much in recommending this, both in his public discourses, and in private conversation. He often declared it to be his opinion, that professed christians were greatly deficient in this duty, and much more so than in most other parts of external christianity. He often observed how much this is spoken of, recommended and encouraged, in the holy Scriptures, especially in the New Testament. And it was his opinion, that every particular church ought, by frequent and liberal contributions, to maintain a public stock, that might be ready for the poor and necessitous members of that church; and that the principal business of deacons is, to take care of the poor, in the faithful and judicious improvement and distribution of the church's contributions, lodged in their hands. And he did not content himself with merely recommending charity to others, but practised it much himself: though, according to his Master's advice, he took great care to conceal his acts of charity; by which means, doubtless, most of his alms-deeds will be unknown till the Resurrection, but which, if known, would prove him to have been as honourable an example of charity, as almost any that can be produced. This is not mere conjecture, but is evident many ways. He was forward to give, on all public occasions of charity; though, when it could properly be done, he always concealed the sum given. And some instances of his giving more privately have accidentally come to the knowledge of others, in which his liberality appeared in a very extraordinary degree. One of the instances was this: upon his hearing that a poor obscure man, whom he never saw, or any of his kindred, was, by an extraordinary bodily disorder, brought to great straits; he, unasked, gave a considerable sum to a friend, to be delivered to the distressed person; having first required a promise of him, that he would let neither the person, who was the object of his

charity, nor any one else, know, by whom it was given. This may serve both as an instance of his extraordinary charity, and of his great care to conceal it."*

Not less exemplary was his practice of the kindred virtue of hospitality, so much enjoined on all christians, in the sacred scriptures. As his acquaintance was very extensive, his house was the frequent resort of gentlemen from all parts of the colonies; and the friend, and the stranger of worth, ever found a kind and cordial welcome at his table, and in the midst of his family.

"He was thought by some to be *distant* and *unsociable*, in his manners; but this was owing to the want of a better acquaintance. He was not, indeed, a man of many words, and was somewhat reserved in the company of strangers, and of those, on whose candour and friendship, he did not know that he could rely. And this was probably owing to two causes. First, the strict guard he set over his tongue, from his youth. From experience and observation he early discovered, that the sins of the tongue, make up a very formidable proportion of all the sins committed by men, and lead to a very large proportion of their remaining sins. He therefore resolved to take the utmost care, *never to sin with his tongue;* to avoid not only uttering reproaches himself, but receiving them, and listening to them from others; to say nothing for the sake of giving pain, or wounding the feelings or reputation of others; to say nothing evil concerning them, except when an obvious duty required him to do it, and then to speak, as if nobody had been as vile as himself, and as if he had committed the same sins, or had the same infirmities or failings, as others; never to employ himself in idle, trivial and impertinent talk, which generally makes up a great part of the conversation of those, who are full of words, in all companies; and to make sure of that mark of a perfect man, given by James, "If any man offend not *in word*, the same is a perfect man, and able, also, to bridle the whole body." He was sensible, that "in the multitude of words, there wanteth not sin;" and therefore refrained his lips, and habituated himself to *think* before he *spoke*, and to propose some good end in all his words; which led him conformably to an apostolic precept, to be, above many others, *slow to speak*.—Secondly, this was in part, the effect of his bodily constitution. He possessed but a comparatively small stock of animal life: his spirits were low, and he had neither the vivacity nor strenth of lungs to spare, that would have been requisite in order to render him what might be called an affable, sprightly companion, in all circles. They, who have a great flow of animal spirits, and so can speak

* "As both the giver, and the object of his charity, are dead, and all the ends of the proposed secrecy are answered; it is thought not inconsistent with the above mentioned promise, to make known the fact, as it is here related."

with more ease, and less expense, and exhaustion, than others, may doubtless, lawfully engage in free conversation, in all companies, for a lower end than that which he proposed: e. g. to please, or to render themselves agreeable to others. But not so he, who has not such an abundant supply: it becomes him to reserve what he has, for higher and more important service. Besides, the want of animal spirit, lays a man under a *natural* inability of exercising that freedom of conversation, at all times, and in whatever company he is, which those possessed of more vivacity naturally and easily glide into; and the greatest degree of humility and benevolence, of good sense and social feeling, will not remove this obstacle.

"He was not forward to enter into any dispute before strangers, and in companies, where there might be persons of different sentiments; being sensible that such disputes are generally unprofitable and often sinful, and of bad consequence. He thought he could dispute to the best advantage with his pen; yet he was always free to give his sentiments, on any subject proposed to him, and to remove any difficulties or objections offered by way of enquiry, as lying in the way of what he looked upon to be the truth. But how groundless, with regard to him, the imputation of being *distant* and *unsociable* was, his known and tried friends best knew. They always found him easy of access, kind and condescending; and though not talkative, yet affable and free. Among those, whose candour and friendship he had experienced, he threw off all that, which to others, had the appearance of reserve, and was most open and communicative: and was always patient of contradiction, while the utmost opposition was made to his sentiments, that could be made by any arguments or objections, whether plausible or solid. And indeed he was, on all occasions, quite sociable and free, with all who had any special business with him.

"His conversation with his friends was always savoury and profitable: in this he was remarkable, and almost singular. He was not accustomed to spend his time with them in evil speaking, or foolish jesting, idle chit-chat, and telling stories; but his mouth was that of the just, which bringeth forth wisdom, and whose lips dispense knowledge. His tongue was as the pen of a ready writer, while he conversed about important heavenly and divine things, of which his heart was so full, in a manner so new and original, so natural and familiar, as to be most entertaining and instructive, so that none of his friends could enjoy his company without instruction and profit, unless it was by their own fault.

"He was cautious in choosing his *intimate friends*, and therefore had not many, that might properly be called such; but to them he showed himself friendly in a peculiar manner. He was, indeed, a faithful friend, and able above most others to keep a secret. To them he discovered himself, more than to

others, and led them into his views and ends in his conduct in particular instances: by which they had abundant evidence that he well understood human nature, and that his general reservedness, and many particular instances of his conduct, which a stranger might impute to ignorance of men, were really owing to his uncommon knowledge of mankind.

"In his family, he practiced that conscientious exactness, which was conspicuous in all his ways. He maintained a great esteem and regard for his amiable and excellent consort. Much of the tender and affectionate was expressed in his conversation with her, and in all his conduct towards her. He was often visited by her, in his study, and conversed freely with her on matters of religion; and he used commonly to pray with her in his study, at least once a day, unless something extraordinary prevented. The season for this, commonly, was in the evening, after prayers in the family, just before going to bed. As he rose very early himself, he was wont to have his family up betimes in the morning; after which, before they entered on the business of the day, he attended on family prayers; when a chapter in the bible was read, commonly by candle-light in the winter; upon which he asked his children questions, according to their age and capacity; and took occasion to explain some passages in it, or enforce any duty recommended, as he thought most proper.

"He was careful and thorough in the government of his children; and, as a consequence of this, they reverenced, esteemed and loved, him. He took the utmost care to begin his government of them, when they were very young. When they first discovered any degree of self-will and stubbornness, he would attend to them, until he had thoroughly subdued them, and brought them to submit. Such prudent discipline, exercised with the greatest calmness, being repeated once or twice, was generally sufficient for that child; and effectually established his parental authority, and produced a cheerful obedience ever after.

"He kept a watchful eye over his children, that he might admonish them of the *first* wrong step, and direct them in the right way. He took opportunities to converse with them singly, and closely, about the concerns of their souls, and to give them warnings, exhortations and directions, as he saw them severally need." The salvation of his children was his chief and constant desire, and aim, and effort concerning them. In the evening, after tea, he customarily sat in the parlour, with his family, for an hour, unbending from the severity of study, entering freely into the feelings and concerns of his children, and relaxing into cheerful and animated conversation, accompanied frequently with sprightly remarks, and sallies of wit and humour. But, before retiring to his study, he usually gave the conversation, by degrees, a more serious turn, addressing his children, with great tenderness and earnestness, on the subject of

their salvation; when the thought, that they were still strangers to religion, would often affect him so powerfully, as to oblige him to withdraw, in order to conceal his emotions.—"He took much pains to instruct his children, in the principles and duties of religion, in which he made use of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism: not merely by taking care, that they learned it by heart; but by leading them into an understanding of the doctrines therein taught, by asking them questions on each answer, and explaining it to them. His usual time to attend to this was on the evening before the sabbath. And, as he believed that the sabbath, or holy time, began at sunset, on the evening preceding the first day of the week, he ordered his family to finish all their secular business by that time, or before; when all were called together, a psalm was sung, and prayer offered, as an introduction to the sanctification of the sabbath. This care and exactness effectually prevented that intruding on holy time, by attending to secular business, which is too common even in families, where the evening before the sabbath is professedly observed.

"He was utterly opposed to every thing like unseasonable hours, on the part of young people, in their visiting and amusements; which he regarded as a dangerous step towards corrupting them, and bringing them to ruin. And he thought the excuse offered by many parents, for tolerating this practice in their children,—*that it is the custom, and that the children of other people are allowed thus to practice, and therefore it is difficult, and even impossible, to restrain theirs*,—was insufficient and frivolous, and manifested a great degree of stupidity, on the supposition that the practice was hurtful and pernicious to their souls. And when his children grew up, he found no difficulty in restraining them from this improper and mischievous practice; but they cheerfully complied with the will of their parents. He allowed none of his children to be absent from home, after nine o'clock at night, when they went abroad to see their friends and companions; neither were they allowed to sit up much after that time, in his own house, when any of their friends came to visit them. If any gentleman desired to address either of his daughters, after the requisite introduction and preliminaries, he was allowed all proper opportunities of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the manners and disposition of the young lady, but must not intrude on the customary hours of rest and sleep, nor on the religion and order of the family."

Perhaps there never was a man more constantly retired from the world, giving himself to reading and contemplation; and it was a wonder that his feeble frame could subsist, under such fatigues, daily repeated, and so long continued. Yet, upon this being alluded to by one of his friends, only a few months before his death, he said to him, "I do not find, but that I now am as well able to bear the closest study, as I was thirty years ago; and can go through the

exercises of the pulpit, with as little uneasiness or difficulty."—In his youth, he appeared healthy, and with a good degree of vivacity, but was never robust. In middle life, he appeared very much emaciated, by severe study, and intense mental application.—In his person, he was tall of stature, and of a slender form.* He had a high, broad, bold forehead, and an eye unusually piercing and luminous; and on his whole countenance, the features of his mind—perspicacity, sincerity and benevolence—were so strongly impressed, that no one could behold it, without at once discovering the clearest indications of great intellectual and moral elevation. His manners were those of the christian gentleman, easy, tranquil, modest and dignified; yet they were the manners of the student, grave, sedate and contemplative; and evinced an exact sense of propriety, and an undeviating attention to the rules of decorum. "He had," observes one of his cotemporaries, "a natural steadiness of temper, and fortitude of mind; which, being sanctified by the Spirit of God, was ever of vast advantage to him, to carry him through difficult services, and to support him under trying afflictions, in the course of his life.—Personal injuries, he bore with a becoming meekness, and patience, and a disposition to forgiveness."—According to Dr. Hopkins, himself an eye-witness, these traits of character were eminently discovered, throughout the whole of his long-continued trials at Northampton. His own narrative of that transaction, his remarks before the Council, his letters relating to it, and his farewell sermon, all written in the midst of the passing occurrences, bespeak as calm, and meek, and unperturbed a state of mind, as they would have done, had they been written by a third person, long after the events took place.—"The humility, modesty and serenity of his behaviour, much endeared him to his acquaintance, and made him appear amiable in the eyes of such, as had the privilege of conversing with him.—The several relations sustained by him, he adorned with exemplary fidelity; and was solicitous to fill every station with its proper duty.—In his private walk as a christian, he appeared an example of truly rational, consistent, uniform religion and virtue; a shining instance of the power and efficacy of that holy faith, to which he was so firmly attached, and of which he was so zealous a defender. He exhibited much of spirituality, and a heavenly bent of soul. In him, one saw the loveliest appearance—a rare assemblage of christian graces, united with the richest gifts, and mutually subserving and recommending one another."

"He had an uncommon thirst for knowledge, in the pursuit of which he spared no cost nor pains. He read all the books, especially books treating of theology, that he could procure, from which

* His height was about six feet one inch.

he could hope to derive any assistance, in the discovery of truth. And in this, he did not confine himself to authors of any particular sect or denomination; but even took much pains to procure the works of the most distinguished writers, who advanced views of religion or morals, most contrary to his own principles; particularly the ablest Arminian, Socinian and Infidel, writers. But he studied the Bible more than all other books, and more than most other divines do." He studied the Bible, to receive implicitly what it teaches; but he read other books to examine their soundness, and to employ them as helps in the investigation of principles, and the discovery of truth. His uncommon acquaintance with the Bible, appears in his Sermons, in his Treatises,—particularly in the treatises on the Affections, on the History of Redemption, on United and Extraordinary Prayer, on the Types of the Messiah, on the Qualifications for Communion, and on God's Last End in the Creation, —in his Notes on the Scriptures, and in his Miscellaneous Observations and Remarks. Any person who will read his works with close attention, and then will compare them with those of other theological writers, since the days of the Apostles, will easily be satisfied that no other divine has as yet appeared, who has studied the scriptures more thoroughly, or who has been more successful in discovering the mind of the Holy Spirit. He took his religious principles from the Bible, and not from Treatises, or Systems of theology, or any work of man. On the maturest examination of the different schemes of faith, prevailing in the world, and on comparing them with the sacred scriptures, he adhered to the main articles of the Reformed Religion, with an unshaken firmness and with a fervent zeal, yet tempered with charity and candour, and governed by discretion. Few men are less under the bias of education, or the influence of bigotry: few receive the articles of their creed so little upon trust, or discover so much liberality or thoroughness in examining their foundation. His principles have been extensively styled *Calvinistic*, yet they differ widely, from what has usually been denominated *Calvinism*, in various important points; particularly, in all immediately connected with Moral Agency; and he followed implicitly, if any man ever followed, the apostolic injunction, to *call no man, Father*, by receiving nothing on human authority, and examining scrupulously every principle, which he adopted. He thought, and investigated, and judged for himself; and from the strength of his reasoning powers, as well as from his very plan of study, he became truly an *original* writer. As we have already sufficiently seen, *reading* was not the only, nor the chief, method, which he took, of improving his mind; but he devoted the strength of his time and of his faculties to *writing*, without which no student, and, be it remembered, no clergyman, can make improvements to the best advantage. He preached extensively on subjects, continued through a series of discourses:—ma-

of his Treatises having been a course of sermons actually delivered from the desk. In this practice, every clergyman who has a mind fitted for investigation, would do well to follow him. "Agreeably to the 11th Resolution, he applied himself, with all his might, to find out Truth: he searched for it as for silver, and digged for it as for hidden treasures. Every thought, on any subject, which appeared to him worth pursuing and preserving, he pursued as far as he then could, with a pen in his hand. Thus he was, all his days, like the industrious bee, collecting honey from every opening flower, and storing up a stock of knowledge, which was indeed sweet to him, as honey and the honey-comb."

"As a scholar, his intellectual furniture exceeded what was common, under the disadvantages experienced at that time, in these remote colonies. He had an extensive acquaintance with the arts and sciences—with classical and Hebrew literature, with physics, mathematics, history, chronology, ethics and mental philosophy. By the blessing of God on his indefatigable labours, to the last, he was constantly treasuring up useful knowledge, both human and divine.

"Thus he appears to have been uncommonly accomplished for the arduous and momentous province to which he was finally called. And had his precious life been spared, there is every reason to believe, that he would have graced the station on which he had but entered, and proved a signal blessing to the College of New-Jersey, and therein extensively served his generation according to the will of God."

His inattention to his style is certainly to be regretted. In earlier life, he appears to have thought neatness and correctness in writing, of little consequence,* and to have sent his works to the press, very much in the state in which they were first written. Let it here be remembered, that the cultivation of style was not then attended to, in the colonies; that the people at large were accustomed to discourses, written in the plainest manner; and that it is extremely doubtful, whether, in the then existing state of the country, it would have been possible for him, to have devoted much attention to the style of his sermons, without greatly diminishing their amount of impression. About the time of his leaving Northampton, he received one of the works of Richardson,† which he read with deep interest, and regarded as wholly favourable to good morals and purity of character. The perusal of it led him to attempt the formation of a more correct style, his previous inattention to which, he then deeply regretted; and in this attempt he had much success. The style of the Freedom of the Will,

*See Preface to Five Sermons, Vol. V. pp. 349, 350.

†Sir Charles Grandison. I had this anecdote through his eldest son.

though obviously that of a student, and not of a man of the world, is otherwise as correct, as that of most of the metaphysical treatreaties, to be found in the language. The same is true, generally, of the Treatise on Original Sin; although it was in the press when he died, and never received his last corrections.* In the two highest excellencies of style, perspicuity and precision, he was probably never excelled.

Of the powers of his mind, enough, perhaps, has been said already. They were certainly very varied, and fitted him for high distinction, in any of the pursuits of learning or science.—His memory was strong, exact, uniform and comprehensive.—His imagination was rich and powerful. I know that the contrary opinion has extensively prevailed, and that for three reasons. First, he paid little or no attention to his style of writing; Secondly, he never cultivated his imagination, and never indulged it but sparingly, and probably in no instance, for mere ornament. Thirdly, his great works are treatises on *metaphysical* subjects. A writer, without imagination, always thinks and writes in a *dry* manner; and, if his powers are great, like those of Aristotle, he writes like a pure intelligence. Those, who are conversant with the writings of Edwards, need not be informed, that all his works, even the most metaphysical, are rich in illustration, or that his sermons abound with imagery of every kind, adapted to make a powerful and lasting impression. In his earlier writings, this faculty of his mind was suffered to act with less restraint. The first production of his pen, on the materiality of the soul, is a constant play of imagination and wit. The boy, who could speak of the spiders of the forest, as "those wondrous animals, from whose glistening web, so much of the wisdom of the Creator shines:"—who, in describing their operations, could say, "I have seen a vast multitude of little shining webs, and glistening strings, brightly reflecting the sun-beams, and some of them of great length, and of such a height, that one would think they were tacked to the vault of the heavens, and would be burnt like tow in the sun:"—and who, in exposing the absurdity of the supposition, that there can be absolutely Nothing, observes, "When we go to form an idea of perfect Nothing, we must not suffer our thoughts to take sanctuary in a mathematical point, but we must think of the same, that

*The Treatises on the Affections, and on United Extraordinary Prayer, are the most incorrect of all his works, published by himself. In his sermons, published in his life time, somewhat of the *limae labor* is discernible. The works, published by his son, Dr. Edwards, in this country, are but little altered from the rough draught; but those first published in Edinburgh, are, generally, more so. The History of Redemption, was considerably corrected by my father, and afterwards thrown into the form of a Treatise by Dr. Erskine. The sermons, published by Dr. Hopkins, are the least correct of all his works.

the sleeping rocks do dream of;"—possessed an imagination, at once rich, brilliant and creative.—His taste, if we do not refer to style of writing, but merely to the judgment of the mind, concerning all the varieties of sublimity and beauty, was at once delicate and correct.—Few of mankind, hitherto, have possessed either invention, ratiocination or judgment, in so high a degree; and it is difficult to say, for which of these he is most distinguished. In comparing him with the metaphysicians of the old world, we must not forget his, and their, respective advantages for the culture of the mind. He was born in an obscure village, in which the ancient reign of barbarism, was only beginning to yield to the inroads of culture and civilization; in a colony comprizing but here and there a settlement; and in a country, literally in its infancy, constituting, with the exception of now and then a white plantation, one vast continuous forest, and distant three thousand miles, from Europe, the seat of arts, refinement and knowledge. He was educated at a seminary, but three years older than himself; which had as yet no domicil, and which furnished advantages totally inferior to those, now enjoyed at the respectable academies of New England. The rest of his life was passed amid the cares of a most laborious profession, and on the very frontiers, (and the latter part of it in the very midst,) of savage life; with no libraries to explore, and with no men of eminence, with whose minds, his could come into daily contact. His greatest work was written *in four months and a half*, while each Sabbath he delivered two sermons to his English flock, and two others, by interpreters, to two distinct auditories of Indians, and catechized the children of both tribes, and carried on all the correspondence of the mission, and was forced to guard against the measures of a powerful combination, busily occupied in endeavouring to drive him from his office, and thus to deprive his family of their daily bread.—With these things in view, instead of drawing any such comparison myself, I will refer my readers to the opinion of a writer of no light authority on such a subject,—I mean Dugald Stewart;—who, after having detailed the systems of Locke, and Leibnitz, and Berkeley, and Condillac, speaks thus of the subject of this memoir:—"There is, however, *one* Metaphysician, of whom America has to boast, who, in logical acuteness and subtlety, does not yield to any disputant bred in the universities of Europe. I need not say that I allude to Jonathan Edwards."

Mr. Edwards acquired a very high character, as a divine and as a preacher, during his life. "Among the luminaries of the church, in these American regions." says one of his cotemporaries,*

*I suppose the writer referred to here, and in various other places, to have been Dr. Finley.

he was justly reputed a star of the first magnitude: thoroughly versed in all the branches of theology, didactic, polemic, casuistic, experimental and practical. In point of divine knowledge and skill, he had few equals, and perhaps no superior: at least in those foreign parts."—"Mr. Edwards," says Dr. Hopkins, "had the most universal character of a *good preacher*, of almost any minister in America. There were but few that heard him, who did not call him a good preacher, however they might dislike his religious principles, and be much offended at the same truths when delivered by others; and most people admired him, above all the preachers that ever they heard." His character as a laborious and faithful minister, and especially as a powerful and successful preacher, if we may judge from the history of his life, and of the time in which he lived, was such, for many years before his death, as to leave him here without a competitor.* This was owing chiefly to his preaching and pastoral labours; for most of his laboured productions were published, either a little before, or after, his death; yet, long ere this, his fame as a preacher and minister of Christ, had pervaded the colonies, and was extensively known in Great Britain. Until within these few years, there were many living witnesses, who had heard him in their youth, and who distinctly remembered the powerful impresssions left on their minds by his preaching, and particularly described his appearance in the pulpit, the still, unmoved solemnity of his manner, the weight of his sentiments first fixing the attention, and then overwhelming the feelings, of his audience. One of his youthful auditors, afterwards a gentleman of great respectability, informed my father, that he was present, when he delivered the sermon, in the History of Redemption, in which he describes the Day of Judgment; and that so vivid and solemn, was the impression made on his own mind, that he fully supposed, that, as soon as Mr. Edwards should close his discourse, the Judge would descend, and the final separation take place. The late Dr. West, of Stockbridge, who heard him in his childhood, in that village, gave me an account generally similar, of the effects of his preaching. On one occasion, when the sermon exceeded two hours in its length, he told me that, from the time that Mr. Edwards had fairly unfolded his subject, the attention of the audience was fixed and motionless, until its close; when they seemed disappointed that it should terminate so soon. There was such a bearing down of truth upon the mind, he observed, that there was no resisting it.—In his own congregation, the visible effects of

*For many of the remarks on the character of Mr. Edwards, as a preacher and writer, I am indebted to a well written review of the Worcester edition of his works, in the Christian Spectator; but they are usually so blended with my own, that it is impossible to designate the passages.

his preaching were such, as were never paralleled in New England. Often, also, he was invited to great distances to preach; and these occasional sermons sometimes produced a wonderful effect. One of these instances, which occured at Enfield, at a time of great religious indifference there, is thus mentioned by the Rev. Dr. Trumbull. "When they went into the meeting house, the appearance of the assembly was thoughtless and vain. The people hardly conducted themselves with common decency. The Rev. Mr. Edwards, of Northampton, preached; and before the sermon was ended, the assembly appeared deeply impressed, and bowed down with an awful conviction of their sin and danger. There was such a breathing of distress and weeping, that the preacher was obliged to speak to the people and desire silence, that he might be heard." This was the commencement of a general and powerful revival of religion.

To what, it may not improperly be asked, are this reputation and this success to be ascribed. It was not to his style of writing: that had no claims to elegance, or even to neatness.—It was not to his voice: that, far from being strong and full, was, in consequence of his feeble health, a little languid, and too low for a large assembly; though relieved and aided by a proper emphasis, just cadence, well placed pauses, and great clearness, distinctness and precision of enunciation.—It was not owing to attitude or gesture, to his appearance in the pulpit, or to any of the customary arts of eloquence. His appearance in the pulpit was with a good grace, and his delivery easy, perfectly natural, and very solemn. He *wrote* his sermons; and in so fine and so illegible a hand, that they could be read only by being brought near to the eye. "He carried his notes with him into the desk, and read most that he wrote: still, he was not confined to them; and, if some thoughts were suggested to him while he was preaching, which did not occur to him when writing, and appeared pertinent, he would deliver them with as great propriety and fluency, and often with greater pathos, and attended with a more sensibly good effect on his hearers, than what he had written."* While preaching, he customarily stood, holding his small

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*"Though, as has been observed," says Dr. Hopkins, "he was wont to read so considerable a part of what he delivered, yet he was far from thinking this the best way of preaching in general; and looked upon using his notes, so much as he did, a deficiency and infirmity, and in the latter part of his life, he was inclined to think it had been better, if he had never been accustomed to use his notes at all. It appeared to him, that preaching wholly without notes, agreeably to the custom in most Protestant countries, and in what seems evidently to have been the manner of the Apostles and primitive ministers of the Gospel, was by far the most natural way, and had the greatest tendency, on the whole, to answer the end of preaching; and supposed that no one, who had talents, equal to the work of the ministry, was incapable of speaking *memoriter*, if he took suitable pains for this

manuscript volume in his left hand, the elbow resting on the cushion or the Bible, his right hand rarely raised but to turn the leaves, and his person almost motionless.—It was not owing to the pictures of fancy, or to any ostentation of learning, or of talents. In his preaching, usually, all was plain, familiar, sententious and practical.

One of the positive causes of his high character, and great success, as a preacher, was the deep and pervading solemnity of his mind. He had, at all times, a solemn consciousness of the presence of God. This was visible in his looks and general demeanour. It obviously had a controlling influence over all his preparations for the desk; and was most manifest in all his public services. Its effect on an audience is immediate, and not to be resisted. "He appeared," says Dr. Hopkins, "with such gravity and solemnity, and his words were so full of ideas, that few speakers have been able to command the attention of an audience as he did."—His knowledge of the bible, evinced in his sermons—in the number of relevant passages, which he brings to enforce every position, in his exact discernment of the true scope of each, in his familiar acquaintance with the drift of the whole scriptures on the subject, and in the logical precision with which he derives his principles from them—is probably unrivalled.—His knowledge of the human heart, and its operations, has scarcely been equalled by that of any uninspired preacher. He derived this knowledge from his familiarity with the testimony of God concerning it, in the Bible; from his thorough acquaintance with his own heart; and from his profound knowledge of Mental philosophy. The effect of it was, to enable him to speak to the *consciousness* of every one who heard him; so that each one was compelled to reflect, in language like that of the woman of Sychar, "Here is a man, who is revealing to me the secrets of my own heart and life: Is not this man from God?"—His knowledge of theology was so exact and universal, and the extensiveness of his views and of his information was so great, that, while he could shed unusual variety and richness of thought over every discourse, he could also bring the most striking and impressive truths, facts and circumstances, to bear upon the point, which he was endeavouring to illustrate or enforce.—His aim, in preparing and delivering his sermons, was *single*. This is so obvious, that no man probably ever suspected him of writing or delivering a sermon, for the sake of display, or reputation. From the first step to the last, he aimed at nothing but the salvation of his

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attainment from his youth. He would have the young preacher write all his sermons, or at least most of them, out, at large; and, instead of reading them to his hearers, take pains to commit them to memory: which though, it would require a great deal of labour at first, yet would soon become easier by use, and help him to speak more correctly and freely, and be of great service to him all his days."

hearers, and at the glory of God as revealed in it. This enabled him to bring all his powers of mind and heart to bear on this one object.—His feelings on this subject were most intense. The love of Christ constrained him; and the strong desire of his soul was, that they for whom Christ died might live for Him who died for them. "His words," says Dr. Hopkins, "often discovered a great degree of inward fervour, without much noise or external emotion, and fell with great weight on the minds of his hearers; and he spake so as to reveal the strong emotions of his own heart, which tended, in the most natural and effectual manner, to move and affect others."—The plan of his sermons is most excellent. In his introduction, which is always an *explanation of the passage*, he exhibits uncommon skill, and the sagacity, with which he discovers, and the power, with which he seizes at once, the whole drift and meaning of the passage in all its bearings, has rarely if ever been equalled. In the body of the discourse, he never attempts an elaborate proof of his doctrine, from revelation and reason; but rather gives an explanation of the doctrine, or places the truth on which he is discoursing, directly before the mind, as a *fact*, and paints it to the imagination of his hearers. In the application, where he usually lays out his strength, he addresses himself with peculiar plainness to the consciences of his hearers, takes up and applies to them minutely all the important ideas contained in the body of the discourse, and appropriates them to persons of different characters and situations in life, by a particular explanation of their duties and their dangers; and lastly, by a solemn, earnest and impressive appeal to every feeling and active principle of our nature. He counsels, exhorts, warns, expostulates, as if he were determined not to suffer his hearers to depart, until they were convinced of their duty, and persuaded to choose and to perform it.—His *graphic* manner of exhibiting truth, is, perhaps, his peculiar excellence. The doctrines of the gospel, in his hands, are not mere abstract propositions, but living realities, distinctly seen by the author's faith, and painted with so much truth, and life, and warmth of colouring, as cannot fail to give his hearers the same strong impression of them, which already exists in his own mind.—With all this, he preached the real truth of God, in its simplicity and purity, keeping nothing back, with so much weight of thought and argument, so much strength of feeling, and such sincerity of purpose, as must enlighten every understanding, convince every conscience, and almost convert every heart.—I enquired of Dr. West, Whether Mr. Edwards was an *eloquent* preacher. He replied, "If you mean, by eloquence, what is usually intended by it in our cities; he had no pretensions to it. He had no studied varieties of the voice, and no strong emphasis. He scarcely gestured, or even moved; and he made no attempt, by the elegance of his style, or the beauty of his pictures, to gratify the taste, and fascinate the imagination. But, if

you mean by eloquence, the power of presenting an important truth before an audience, with overwhelming weight of argument, and with such intenseness of feeling, that the whole soul of the speaker is thrown into every part of the conception and delivery; so that the solemn attention of the whole audience is rivetted, from the beginning to the close, and impressions are left that cannot be effaced; Mr. Edwards was the most eloquent man I ever heard speak."—As the result of the whole, we are led to regard him as, beyond most others, an instructive preacher, a solemn and faithful preacher, an animated and earnest preacher, a most powerful and impressive preacher, in the sense explained, and the only true sense, a singularly eloquent preacher, and, through the blessing of God, one of the most successful preachers since the days of the Apostles. It ought here to be added, that the Sermons of Mr. Edwards have been, to his immediate pupils, and to his followers, the models of a style of preaching, which has been most signally blessed by God to the conversion of sinners, and which should be looked to as a standard, by those, who wish like him to turn many to righteousness, that with him they may shine, as the stars, forever and ever.

"His prayers," says Dr. Hopkins, "were indeed *extempore*. He was the farthest from any appearance of a form, as to his words and manner of expression, of almost any man. He was quite singular and inimitable in this, by any, who have not a spirit of real and undissembled devotion; yet he always expressed himself with decency and propriety. He appeared to have much of the grace and spirit of prayer; to pray with the spirit and with the understanding; and he performed this part of duty much to the acceptance and edification of those who joined with him. He was not wont, in ordinary cases, to be *long* in his prayers: an error which, he observed, was often hurtful to public and social prayer, as it tends rather to damp, than to promote, true devotion."

His practice, not to visit his people in their own houses, except in cases of sickness or affliction, is an example, not of course to be imitated by all. That, on this subject, ministers ought to consult their own talents and circumstances, and visit more or less, according to the degree in which they can thereby promote the great ends of their ministry, cannot be doubted. That *his* time was too precious to the Church at large, to have been devoted, in any considerable degree, to visiting, all will admit. Yet it is highly probable, that, if he had been somewhat less in his study, and seen his people occasionally in the midst of their families, and known more of their circumstances and wants, and entered more into their feelings; his hold on their affections would have been stronger, and more permanent. Certainly this will be true with ministers at large.—In other pastoral duties, in preaching public and private lectures, in extraordinary labours during seasons of attention to religion, and in

conversing with the anxious and enquiring; he was an uncommon example of faithfulness and success. "At such seasons, his study was thronged with persons, who came to lay open their spiritual concerns to him, and seek his advice and direction. He was a peculiarly skillful guide to those, who were under spiritual difficulties; and was therefore sought unto, not only by his own people, but by many at a great distance." For this duty, he was eminently fitted, from his own deep personal experience of religion, from his unwearied study of the word of God, from his having had so much intercourse with those, who were in spiritual troubles, from his uncommon acquaintance with the human heart, with the nature of conversion and with revivals of religion, and from his skill in detecting, and exposing, every thing like enthusiasm and counterfeit religion. How great a blessing was it to a church, to a people, and to every anxious enquirer, to enjoy the counsels and the prayers of such a minister!

But it is the Theological Treatises of Mr. Edwards, especially, by which he is most extensively known, to which he owes his commanding influence, and on which his highest reputation will ultimately depend. It is proper, therefore, before we conclude, to sketch his character as a theologian and controversialist, and to state the actual effects of his writings.

As a theologian, he is distinguished for his *scriptural views* of divine truth. Even the casual reader of his works can scarcely fail to perceive that, with great labour, patience and skill, he derived his principles from an extensive and most accurate observation of the word of God. The number of passages, which he adduces from the scriptures, on every important doctrine, the critical attention he has evidently given them, the labour in arranging them, and the skill and integrity, with which he derives his general conclusions from them, is truly astonishing. We see no intermixture of his own hypotheses; no confidence in his own reason, except as applied to the interpretation of the oracles of God; nor even that disposition to make extended and momentous inferences, which characterizes some of his successors and admirers.

Another characteristic of his theology, is the *extensiveness* of his views. In his theology, as in his mind, there was nothing narrow; no partial, contracted views of a subject: all was simple, great and sublime. His mind was too expanded, to regard the distinctions of sects and churches. He belonged, in his feelings, to no church, but the Church of Christ; he contended for nothing, but the Truth; he aimed at nothing, but to promote holiness and salvation. The effect of his labours so exactly coincides with the effects of the gospel, that no denomination can ever appropriate his name to itself, or claim him as its own.

Viewing Mr. Edwards as a controversialist, the most excellent, if not the most striking, trait in his character, is his *integrity*. Those, who have been most opposed to his conclusions, and have most powerfully felt the force of his arguments, have acknowledged that he is a perfectly *fair* disputant. He saw so certainly the truth of his positions, and had such confidence in his ability to defend them by fair means, that the thought of employing *sophistry* in their defence never occurred to him. But, if he had felt the want of sound arguments, he would not have employed it. His conscience was too enlightened, and his mind too sincere. His aim, in all his investigations, was the discovery and the defence of Truth. He valued his positions, only because they were true; and he gave them up at once, when he found that they were not supported by argument and evidence.

Another trait in his character, as a reasoner, is *originality*, or *invention*. Before his time, the theological writers of each given class or party, had, with scarcely an exception, followed on, one after another, in the same beaten path; and, whenever any one had deviated from it, he had soon lost himself in the mazes of error. Mr. Edwards had a mind too creative, to be thus dependent on others. If the reader will examine carefully his controversial and other theological works, and compare them with those of his predecessors on the same subjects; he will find that his positions are new, that his definitions are new, that his plans are new, that his arguments are new, that his conclusions are new, that his mode of reasoning and his methods of discovering truth are perfectly his own; and that he has done more to render Theology a New Science, than, with perhaps one or two exceptions, all the writers, who have lived, since the days of the Fathers.

Another characteristic of his controversial writings is the *excellent spirit*, which every where pervades them. So strikingly is this true, that we cannot but urge every one, who peruses them, to examine for himself, whether he can discover, in them all, a solitary deviation from christian kindness and sincerity. By such an examination he will discover in them, if I mistake not, a fairness in proposing the real point in dispute, a candour in examining the arguments of his opponents, in stating their objections, and in suggesting others which had escaped them, and a care in avoiding every thing like personality, and the imputation of unworthy motives, rarely paralleled in the annals of controversy. It should here be remembered, that he wrote his Treatise on the Affections, and his several works on Revivals of Religion, in the very heat of a violent contest, which divided and agitated this whole country; that in his Treatises on the Freedom of the Will, on Original Sin, and on Justification, he handles subjects, which unavoidably awaken the most bitter opposition in the human heart, and opposes those, who had boasted of their victories, over what he believed to be the

cause of truth, "with no little glorying and insult;" that his Treatise on the Qualifications for Communion, was written amid all the violence, and abuse, and injury of a furious parochial controversy; and that, in the Answer to Williams, he was called to reply to the most gross personalities, and to the most palpable misrepresentations of his arguments, his principles and his motives.

He has, I know, been charged with sometimes handling his antagonists, with needless severity. But let it be remembered, that his severity is never directed against their personal character, but merely against their principles and arguments; that his wit is only an irresistible exposition of the *absurdity* which he is opposing;* that he stood forth as the champion of truth, and the opponent of error; and that, in this character, it was his duty not merely to prostrate error, but to give it a death blow, that it might never rise again.

But the characteristic of his controversial, and indeed of all his theological, writings, which gives them their chief value and effect, is the *unanswerableness of his arguments*. He not only drives his enemy from the field, but he erects a rampart, so strong and impregnable, that no one afterwards has any courage to assail it; and his companions in arms find the great work of defending the positions, which he has occupied, already done to their hands.

This impossibility of answering his arguments, arises, in the first place, from the *strength* and *conclusiveness* of his reasoning. By first fixing in his own mind, and then exactly defining, the meaning of his terms, by stating his propositions with logical precision, and by clearly discerning and stating the connection between his pre-

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*Few men have possessed a greater fund of genuine wit, than Mr. Edwards. In early life, he found it difficult to restrain it. The clear *reductio ad absurdum*, to which he subjects every scheme and argument of his antagonists, in the Freedom of the Will, is usually a brilliant example of true logical wit. The Answer to Williams abounds with it. I doubt whether the annals of Metaphysics can show a finer specimen of it, than the following; which is the conclusion of his exposure of the metaphysical notion of an *Action*, or *Act*, as defined by Chubb, and his associates;

"So that, according to their notion of an Act, considered with regard to its consequences, these following things are all essential to it; viz. That it should *be* necessary, and yet *not* necessary; that it should be *from* a cause, and yet from *no* cause; that it should *be* the fruit of choice and design, and yet *not* the fruit of choice and design; that it should be *the beginning* of motion or exertion, and yet *consequent on previous* exertion; that it should *be*, *before* it *is;* that it should spring immediately out of *indifference* and *equilibrium*, and yet be the effect of *preponderation;* that it should be *self*-originated, and also have its original from *something else;* that it is what the mind causes *itself* of its own will, and *can* produce or prevent according to its choice or pleasure, and yet what the mind *has no power* to prevent, precluding all previous choice in the affair.

"So that an Act, according to their metaphysical notion of it, is something of which there is no idea; it is nothing but a confusion of the mind,

mises and conclusions, he has given to *metaphysical* reasoning, very much of the exactness and certainty of mathematical demonstration.

Another cause of the unanswerable character of his reasonings, is, that he usually follows several distinct trains of argument, which all terminate in the same conclusion. Each of them is satisfactory; but the union of all, commencing at different points, and arriving at the same identical result, cannot fail to convince the mind, that that result is not to be shaken.

A third cause of this is, that he himself anticipates, and effectually answers, not only all the objections that have been made, but all that apparently can be made, to the points for which he contends. These he places in the strongest light, and examines under every shape, which they can assume, in the hands of an evasive antagonist, and shows that, in every possible form, they are wholly inconclusive.

A fourth cause is his method of treating the opinions of his opponents. It is *the identical method of Euclid.* Assuming them as premises, he with great ingenuity shows, that they lead to palpable absurdity. He demonstrates that his opponents are inconsistent with themselves, as well as with truth and common sense;—and rarely stops, until he has exposed their error to contempt and ridicule.

This unanswerableness of Mr. Edwards' reasonings, in his controversial works, has been most publicly confessed. The Essay on the Will treats of subjects the most contested, within the limits of theology; and, unless it can be answered, prostrates in the dust the scheme of doctrines, for which his antagonists so earnestly con-

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excited by words without any distinct meaning, and is an absolute non-entity; and that in two respects: 1. There is *nothing* in the world that ever was, is, or can be, to answer the *things* which must belong to its description, according to what they suppose to be essential to it. And, 2. There neither is, nor ever was, nor can be, any *notion* or *idea* to answer the *word*, as they use and explain it. For if we should suppose any such notion, it would many ways destroy itself. But it is impossible that any idea or notion should subsist in the mind, whose very nature and essence, which constitutes it, destroys it.—If some learned philosopher, who has been abroad, in giving an account of the curious observations he had made in his travels, should say, "He had been in *Terra del Fuego*, and there had seen an animal, which he calls by a certain name, that begat and brought forth himself, and yet had a sire and dam distinct from himself; that he had an appetite, and was hungry before he had a being; that his master, who led him, and governed him at his pleasure, was always governed by him, and driven by him where he pleased; that when he moved, he always took a step before the first step; that he went with his head first, and yet always went tail foremost; and this, though he had neither head nor tail:" it would be no impudence at all, to tell such a traveller, though a man of profound learning, that he himself had no idea of such an animal as he gave an account of, and never had, nor ever would have."

tend. Yet hitherto, it stands unmoved and unassailed; and the waves of controversy break harmless at its base.* The Treatise on Original Sin, though written chiefly to overthrow the hypothesis of an individual, is perhaps not less conclusive in its reasonings. That he succeeded in that design, as well as in establishing the great principles for which he contends, will not be doubted by any one who examines the controversy; and is said to have been virtually confessed, in a melancholy manner, by Taylor himself. He had indiscreetly boasted, in his larger work, that it never would be answered. The answer was so complete, that it admitted of no reply. His consequent mortification is said to have shortened his days. Whether it was true, or not, that the grasp of his antagonist was literally death; it was at least death to the controversy. The Treatise on the Qualifications for Communion, attacked the most favourite scheme of all the lax religionists of this country, the only plausible scheme, ever yet devised, of establishing a communion between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial. They regarded this attack with indignation, from one end of the country to the other. One solitary combatant appeared in the field; and, being left in a state of irrecoverable prostration, he has hitherto found no one adventurous enough to come to his aid. The Treatise, and Reply, of Mr. Edwards, by the conclusiveness of their reasonings, have so changed the opinion and practice of the clergy, and the churches, of New England, that a mode of admission, once almost universal, now scarcely finds a solitary advocate.

But it may not unnaturally be asked, What are the Changes in Theology, which have been effected by the writings of President Edwards. It gives me peculiar pleasure that I can answer this question, in the words of his son, the late Dr. Edwards, President of Union College, Schenectady.

"IMPROVEMENTS IN THEOLOGY,

"MADE BY PRESIDENT EDWARDS, AND THOSE WHO HAVE FOLLOWED HIS COURSE OF THOUGHT.

"1. The important question, concerning the *Ultimate End of the Creation*, is a question, upon which Mr. Edwards has shed much light. For ages, it had been disputed, whether the end of creation was *the happiness of creatures* themselves, or *the declarative glory of the Creator*. Nor did it appear that the dispute was likely to be brought to an issue. On the one hand, it was urged, that reason declared in favour of the former hypothesis. It was said that, as God is a benevolent being, he doubtless acted under

* Dugald Stewart, alluding to it in conversation, is said, on good authority, to have spoken of it thus:—"Edwards on the Will, a work which never was answered, and which never will be answered."

the influence of his own infinite benevolence in the creation; and that he could not but form creatures for the purpose of making them happy. Many passages of scripture also were quoted in support of this opinion. On the other hand, numerous and very explicit declarations of Scripture were produced to prove that God made all things for his own glory. Mr. Edwards was the first, who clearly showed, that both these were the ultimate end of the creation, that they are only one end, and that they are really one and the same thing. According to him, the declarative glory of God *is* the Creation, taken, not distributively, but collectively, as a system raised to a high degree of happiness. The Creation, thus raised and preserved, is the *Declarative* Glory of God. In other words, it is the exhibition of his *Essential* Glory.

"2. On the great subject of *Liberty and Necessity*, Mr. Edwards made very important improvements. Before him, the *Calvinists*, were nearly driven out of the field, by the *Arminians*, *Pelagians*, *and Socinians*. The Calvinists, it is true, appealed to Scripture, the best of all authority, in support of their peculiar tenets. But how was the Scripture to be understood? They were pressed and embarrassed by the objection,—*That the sense, in which they interpreted the sacred writings, was inconsistent with human liberty, moral agency, accountableness, praise and blame.* It was consequently inconsistent with all command and exhortation, with all reward and punishment. Their interpretation must of course be erroneous, and an entire perversion of Scripture. How absurd, it was urged, that a man, totally dead, should be called upon to arise and perform the duties of the living and sound—that we should need a divine influence to give us a new heart, and yet be commanded to make us a new heart and a right spirit—that a man has no power to come to Christ, and yet be commanded to come to him on pain of damnation! The Calvinists themselves began to be ashamed of their own cause and to give it up, so far at least as relates to Liberty and Necessity. This was true especially of Dr. Watts and Dr. Doddridge, who, in their day, were accounted leaders of the Calvinists. They must needs bow in the house of Rimmon, and admit the *Self-determining Power;* which, once admitted and pursued to its ultimate results, entirely overthrows the doctrines of Regeneration, of our Dependence for renewing and sanctifying grace, of Absolute Decrees, of the Saints' Perseverance, and the whole system of doctrines, usually denominated the *Doctrines of Grace.*—But Mr. Edwards put an end to this seeming triumph of those, who were thus hostile to that system of doctrines. This he accomplished, by pointing out the difference between *Natural* and *Moral*, Necessity and Inability, by showing the absurdity, the manifold contradictions, the inconceivableness, and the impossibility, of a *Self-determining Power*, and by proving that *the essence*

of the Virtue and Vice, existing in the disposition of the heart and the acts of the will, lies not in their *cause*, but in their *nature*. Therefore, though we are *not* the efficient causes of our own acts of will, yet they may be either virtuous or vicious; and also that *Liberty of Contingence*, as it is an exemption from all previous certainty, implies that free actions have no cause, and come into existence by mere chance. But if we admit that any event may come into existence by chance, and without a cause, the existence of the World may be accounted for in this same way; and Atheism is established.—Mr. Edwards and his followers, have further illustrated this subject by showing, that *free action* consists in *volition* itself, and that *liberty* consists in *spontaneity*. Wherever, therefore, there is volition, there is free action; wherever there is spontaneity there is liberty; however, and by whomsoever that liberty and spontaneity are caused. *Beasts*, therefore, according to their measure of intelligence, are as free as *Men*. *Intelligence*, therefore, and not *liberty*, is the only thing wanting, to constitute them moral agents.—The power of self-determination, alone, cannot answer the purpose of them who undertake its defence; for self-determination must be free from all control and previous certainty, as to its operations, otherwise it must be subject to what its advocates denominate a fatal necessity, and therefore must act by contingence and mere chance. But even the defenders of self-determination themselves, are not willing to allow the principle, that our actions, in order to be free, must happen *by chance*.—Thus Mr. Edwards and his followers understand, that the whole controversy concerning liberty and necessity, depends on the explanation of the word *liberty*, or the sense in which that word is used. They find that all the senses in which the word has been used, with respect to the mind and its acts, may be reduced to these two: 1. Either *an entire exemption from previous certainty*, or the certain futurity of the acts which it will perform: or 2. *Spontaneity*.—Those, who use it in the former sense, cannot avoid the consequence, that, in order to act freely, we must act by chance, which is absurd, and what no man will dare to avow. If then Liberty means an exemption from an influence, to which the will is, or can be opposed, every *volition* is free, whatever may be the manner of its coming into existence. If, furthermore, God, by his grace, create in man a clean heart and holy volitions, such volitions being, by the very signification of the term itself, *voluntary*, and in no sense opposed to the divine influence which causes them, they are evidently as free as they could have been, if they had come into existence by mere chance and without cause. We have, of course, no need of being the efficient causes of those acts, which our wills perform, to render them either virtuous or vicious. As to the liberty, then, of self-determination or contingence, it implies, as already observed, that actions, in order to be free, must have no cause; but are brought into existence by

chance. Thus have they illustrated the real and wide difference between *Natural*, and *Moral*, Necessity. They have proved that this difference consists, not *in the degree of previous certainty* that an action will be performed—but in the fact, that *natural necessity* admits an entire *opposition* of the will, while *moral necessity* implies, and, in all cases, secures, the *consent* of the will. It follows that all necessity of the will, and of its acts, is of the *moral* kind; and that *natural* necessity cannot possibly affect the will or any of its exercises. It likewise follows, that if liberty, as applied to a moral agent, mean an exemption from all *previous certainty* that an action will be performed, then no action of man or any other creature can be free; for on this supposition, every action must come to pass without divine prescience, by mere chance, and consequently without a cause.—Now, therefore, the Calvinists find themselves placed upon firm and high ground. They fear not the attacks of their opponents. They face them on the ground of reason, as well as of Scripture. They act not merely on the defensive. Rather they have carried the war into Italy, and to the very gates of Rome.—But all this is peculiar to America; except that a few European writers have adopted, from American authors, the sentiments here stated. Even the famous Assembly of divines had very imperfect views of this subject. This they prove, when they say, "Our first parents, *being left to the freedom of their own will*, fell from the state wherein they were created;"—and "God foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, so as *the contingency* of second causes is not taken away, but rather established."—These divines unquestionably meant, that our first parents, in the instance, at least, of their fall, acted from self-determination, and by mere contingence or chance. But there is no more reason to believe or even suppose this, than there is to suppose it true of every sinner, in every sin which he commits.

"3. Mr. Edwards very happily illustrated and explained *The Nature of True Virtue, or Holiness.*—What is the Nature of True Virtue, or Holiness;—In what does it consist;—and, Whence arises our obligation to be truly virtuous or holy;—are questions which moral writers have agitated in all past ages. Some have placed virtue in *Self-love;*—some in *acting agreeably to the Fitness of things;*—some in *following Conscience*, or *Moral Sense;*—some in *following Truth;*—and some in *acting agreeably to the Will of God.* Those, who place or found virtue in *Fitness*, and those, who found it in *Truth*, do but use one synonymous word for another. For they doubtless mean *moral* fitness, and *moral* truth; these are no other than *virtuous* fitness, and *virtuous* truth. No one would pretend that it is a virtuous action to give a man poison, because it is a *fit* or direct mode of destroying his life. No person will pretend that the crucifying of Christ was virtuous, be-

cause it was *true*, compared with the ancient prophecies.—To found virtue *in acting agreeably to Conscience*, or *Moral Sense*, justifies the persecutions of christians by Saul of Tarsus, as well as a great proportion of heathenish idolatry.—If we found virtue in *the Will of God*, the question arises, Whether the will of God be our rule, because it is in fact what it is, *wise, good and benevolent;* or whether it be our rule, merely *because it is his will*, without any consideration of its nature and tendency: and whether it would be a rule equally binding, as to observance, if it were foolish and malicious.—Mr. Edwards teaches, that virtue consists in *Benevolence*. He proves that every *voluntary action*, which, in its general tendency and ultimate consequence, leads *to happiness*, is virtuous; and that every such action, which has not this tendency, and does not lead to this consequence, is vicious. By happiness, in this case, he does not mean the happiness of *the agent* only, or principally, but happiness *in general*, happiness *on the large scale*. Virtuous or holy benevolence embraces both the agent himself and others—all intelligences, wherever found, who are capable of a rational and moral blessedness. All actions, proceeding from such a principle, he holds to be *fit*, or *agreeable to the fitness of things*—agreeable equally to *reason*, and, *to a well-informed conscience*, or *moral sense*, and to *moral truth;*—and agreeable especially to *the will of God*, who "is Love," or Benevolence.—In this scheme of virtue or holiness, Mr. Edwards appears to have been original. Much indeed had been said, by most moral writers, in favour of benevolence. Many things they had published, which imply, in their consequences, Mr. Edwards' scheme of virtue. But no one before him had traced these consequences to their proper issue. No one had formed a system of virtue, and of morals, built on that foundation.

"4. Mr. Edwards has thrown much light on the enquiry concerning *The Origin of Moral Evil*. This question, comprehending the influence, which the Deity had in the event of moral evil, has always been esteemed most difficult and intricate. That God is *the author of sin*, has been constantly objected to the Calvinists, as the consequence of their principles, by their opponents. To avoid this objection, some have holden that God is the author of the sinful *act*, which the sinner commits, but that the sinner himself is the author of its *sinfulness*. But how we shall abstract the sinfulness of a malicious act from the malicious act itself; and how God can be the author of a malicious *act*, and not be the author of the *malice*, which is the sinfulness of that act; is hard to be conceived. Mr. Edwards rejects, with abhorrence, the idea that God either is, or can be, the agent, or actor, of sin. He illustrates and explains this difficult subject, by showing that God may dispose things in such a manner, that sin will certainly take place in conse-

quence of such a disposal. In maintaining this, he only adheres to his own important doctrine of *moral necessity*. The divine disposal, by which sin certainly comes into existence, is only establishing a certainty of its future existence. If that *certainty*, which is no other than moral necessity, be not inconsistent with human liberty; then surely the *cause* of that certainty, which is no other than *the divine disposal*, cannot be inconsistent with such liberty.

"5. The followers of Mr. Edwards have thrown new and important light upon *The Doctrine of Atonement*. It has been commonly represented, that the atonement which Christ made was *the payment of a debt*, due from his people. By this payment, they were purchased from slavery and condemnation. Hence arose this question,—If the sinner's *debt* be paid, how does it appear that there is any *pardon* or *grace* in his deliverance?—The followers of Mr. Edwards have proved, that the atonement does not consist in the payment of a debt, properly so called. It consists rather in doing that, which, for the purpose of establishing the authority of the divine law, and of supporting in due tone the divine government, is equivalent to the punishment of the sinner according to the letter of the law. Now, therefore, God, without the prostration of his authority and government, can pardon and save those who believe. As what was done to support the divine government, was not done *by the sinner*, so it does not at all diminish the free grace of his pardon and salvation.*

"6. With respect to *The Imputation of Adam's Sin*, and *The Imputation of Christ's Righteousness*, they have made similar improvements.—The common doctrine had been, that *Adam's* sin is so *transferred* to his posterity, that it properly becomes *their* sin. The righteousness *of Christ*, likewise, is so *transferred* or *made over* to the believer, that it properly becomes *his* righteousness. To the believer it is reckoned in the divine account.—On this the question arises, How can the righteousness or good conduct of one person be the righteousness or good conduct of another. If in truth, it cannot be the conduct of that other; how can God, who is Omniscient, and cannot mistake, reckon, judge or think, it to be the conduct of that other?—The followers of Mr. Edwards find relief from this difficulty, by proving that *to impute righteousness*, is in the language of Scripture *to justify;* and that, *to impute the righteousness of Christ*, is to justify *on account of* Christ's righteousness. The *imputation* of righteousness can, therefore, be

*The three Sermons of Dr. Edwards, on the Atonement, are the foundation of all that has hitherto appeared, in the explanation of these long-contested and obscure, but now established, points.

no *transfer* of righteousness. They are *the beneficial consequences* of righteousness, which are transferred. Not therefore *the righteousness* of Christ *itself*, but its beneficial consequences and advantages, are transferred to the believer.—In the same manner they reason with respect to the imputation of *Adam's Sin*. The baleful consequences of Adam's sin, which came upon *himself*, came also upon *his posterity*. These consequences were, that, after his first transgression, God left him *to a habitual disposition to sin*, to *a series of actual transgressions*, and to *a liableness to the curse of the law, denounced against such transgression*.—The same consequences took place with regard to Adam's *posterity*. By divine constitution, they, as descending from Adam, become like himself, the subjects of a habitual disposition to sin. This disposition is commonly called *original depravity*. Under its influence they sin, as soon as, in a moral point of view, they act at all. This depravity, this disposition to sin, leads them naturally to a series of actual transgressions, and exposes them to the whole curse of the law.—On this subject Two Questions have been much agitated in the christian world :—1. Do the posterity of Adam, unless saved by Christ, suffer final damnation on account of Adam's sin?—and, if this be asserted, how can it be reconciled with justice?—2. How shall we reconcile it with justice, that Adam's posterity should be doomed, in consequence of his sin, to come into the world, with a habitual disposition themselves to sin?—On the former of these questions, the common doctrine has been, that Adam's posterity, unless saved by Christ, are damned on account of Adam's sin, and that this is just, because his sin is imputed or transferred to them. By imputation, *his* sin becomes *their* sin. When the justice of such a transfer is demanded, it is said that the constitution, which God has established, makes the transfer just. To this it may be replied, that in the same way it may be proved to be just, to damn a man without any sin at all, either personal or imputed. We need only resolve it into a sovereign constitution of God. From this difficulty the followers of Mr. Edwards relieve themselves, by holding that, though Adam was so constituted the federal head of his posterity, that in consequence of his sin they all sin or become sinners, yet they are damned on account of *their own personal sin merely*, and not on account of *Adam's sin*, as though they were individually guilty of his identical transgression. This leads us to the second question stated above:—viz. How shall we reconcile it with perfect justice, that Adam's posterity, should, by a divine constitution be depraved and sinful, or become sinners, in consequence of Adam's apostacy?—But this question involves no difficulty, beside that, which attends the doctrine of Divine Decrees. And this is satisfactory; because for God to decree that an event shall take place, is, in other words, the same thing as, if he make a constitution, under the operation of which that event shall take

place. If God has decreed whatever comes to pass, he decreed the fall of Adam. It is obvious that, in equal consistency with justice, he may decree any other sin. Consequently he may decree that every man shall sin; and this too, as soon as he shall become capable of moral action. Now if God could, consistently with justice, establish, decree, or make a constitution, according to which this depravity, this sinfulness of disposition should exist, *without* any respect to Adam's sin, he might evidently, with the same justice, decree that it should take place *in consequence* of Adam's sin. If God might consistently with justice decree, that the Jews should crucify Christ, without the treachery of Judas preceding, he might with the same justice decree, that they should do the same evil deed, in consequence of that treachery.—Thus the whole difficulty, attending the connection between Adam and his posterity, is resolved into the doctrine of the divine decrees; and the followers of Mr. Edwards feel themselves placed upon strong ground—ground upon which they are willing, at any time, to meet their opponents.—They conceive, furthermore, that, by resolving several complicated difficulties into one simple vindicable principle, a very considerable improvement is made in theology. Since the discovery and elucidation of the distinction, between natural and moral necessity, and inability; and since the effectual confutation of that doctrine, which founds moral liberty on self-determination; they do not feel themselves pressed with the objections, which are made to divine and absolute decrees.

"7. With respect to *The State of the Unregenerate*, *The Use of Means*, and *The Exhortations, which ought to be addressed to the Impenitent*, the disciples of Mr. Edwards, founding themselves on the great principles of Moral Agency established in the Freedom of the Will, have since his day made considerable improvement in Theology.—This improvement was chiefly occasioned by the writing of Robert Sandeman, a Scotchman, which were published after the death of Mr. Edwards. Sandeman, in the most striking colours, pointed out the inconsistency of the *popular preachers*, as he called them; by whom he meant Calvinistic divines in general. He proved them inconsistent, in teaching that the unregenerate are, by total depravity, "dead in trespasses and sins,"—and yet supposing that such sinners do often attain those sincere desires, make those sincere resolutions, and offer those sincere prayers, which are well pleasing in the sight of God, and which are the sure presages of renewing grace and salvation. He argued, that, if the unregenerate be dead in sin, then all that they do must be sin; and that sin can never be pleasing and acceptable to God. Hence he taught, not only that all the exercises and strivings of the unregenerate are abominable in the Divine view, but that there is no more likelihood, in consequence of their

strictest attendance on the means of grace, that they will become partakers of salvation, than there would be in the total neglect of those means. These sentiments were entirely new. As soon as they were published, they gave a prodigious shock to all serious men, both clergy and laity. The addresses to the unregenerate, which had hitherto consisted chiefly in exhortations to attend on the outward means of grace, and to form such resolutions, and put forth such desires, as all supposed consistent with unregeneracy, were examined. It appearing that such exhortations were addresses to no real spiritual good; many ministers refrained from all exhortations to the unregenerate. The perplexing enquiry with such sinners consequently was—"*What then have we to do? All we do is sin. To sin is certainly wrong. We ought therefore to remain still, doing nothing, until God bestow upon us renewing grace.* In this state of things, Dr. Hopkins took up the subject. He inquired particularly into the exhortations delivered by the inspired writers. He published several pieces on *The character of the Unregenerate;* on *Using the Means of Grace;* and on *The Exhortations, which ought to be addressed to the Unregenerate.* He clearly showed that, although they are dead in depravity and sin, yet, as this lays them under a mere *Moral Inability* to the exercise and practice of true holiness,—and as such exercise and practice are their unquestionable duty,—to *this* duty they are to be exhorted. To this duty only, and to those things which imply it, the inspired writers constantly exhort the unregenerate. Every thing short of this duty is sin. Nevertheless, "as faith cometh by hearing," those, who "hear," and attend on the means of grace, even in their unregeneracy, and from natural principles, are more likely than others to become the subjects of Divine grace. The scriptures sufficiently prove, that this is the constitution, which Christ has established. It likewise accords perfectly with experience and observation, both in apostolic and subsequent ages.

"8. Mr. Edwards greatly illustrated *The Nature of Experimental Religion.* He pointed out, more clearly than had been done before, the distinguishing marks of genuine christian experience, and those religious affections and exercises, which are peculiar to the true christian. The accounts of christian affection and experience, which had before been given, both by American and European writers, were general, indiscriminate and confused. They seldom, if ever, distinguished the exercises of *self-love, natural conscience,* and *other natural principles of the human mind under conviction of divine truth,* from *those of the new nature, given in regeneration.* In other words, they seldom distinguished the exercises of the sinner under the law work, and the joys afterwards often derived from a groundless persuasion of his forgiveness, from those sincere and evangelical affections, which are peculiar to the real convert.

They did not show *how far* the unregenerate sinner can proceed in religious exercises, and yet fall short of saving grace. But this whole subject, and the necessary distinctions with respect to it, are set in a striking light by Mr. Edwards, in his Treatise concerning Religious Affections.

"9. *That our religious affections must be disinterested*, was another branch of the improvements made by Mr. Edwards. The word *disinterested*—is, indeed, capable of such a sense, as affords a ground of argument against disinterested affections; and scarcely perhaps is an instance of its use to be found, in which it does not admit of an equivocation. It seems to be a mere equivocation to say, that disinterested affection is an impossibility; and that, if we are not interested in favour of religion, we are indifferent with respect to it, and do not love it at all. But who ever thought that, when a person professes a disinterested regard for another, he has no regard for him at all.* The plain meaning is, that his regard for him is *direct* and benevolent, *not selfish*, nor arising from selfish motives. In this sense, Mr. Edwards maintained, that our religious affections, if genuine, are disinterested; that our love to God arises chiefly—not from the motive that God has bestowed, or is about to bestow, on us, favours, whether temporal or eternal, but—from his own infinite excellence and glory. The same explanation applies to the love, which every truly pious person feels for the Lord Jesus Christ, for every truth of divine revelation, and for the whole scheme of the Gospel. Very different from this is the representation, given by most theological writers, before Mr. Edwards. The motives presented by them, to persuade men to love and serve God, to come unto Christ, to repent of their sins, and to embrace and practice religion, are chiefly of the selfish kind. There is, in their works, no careful and exact discrimination upon this subject.

"10. He has thrown great light on the important doctrine of *Regeneration*. Most writers before him, treat this subject very loosely. They do indeed describe a variety of awakenings and convictions, fears and distresses, comforts and joys, as implied in it; and they call the whole, *Regeneration*. They represent the man before Regeneration as dead, and no more capable of spiritual action, than a man naturally deadis capable of performing those deeds, which require natural life and strength. From their description, a person is led to conceive, that the former is as excusable, in his omission of those holy exercises, which constitute the christian character and life, as the latter is, in the neglect of those labours, which cannot be performed without natural life. From their account, no

* The whole difficulty is removed by reflecting that *disinterested* is the converse of *selfish;* and *uninterested*, the converse of *interested*.

one can determine *in what* the change, effected by regeneration, consists. They do not show the enquirer, whether every awakened and convinced sinner, who afterwards has lively gratitude and joy, is regenerated; or whether a gracious change of heart implies joys of a peculiar kind: Neither, if the renewed have joys peculiar to themselves, do the teachers, now referred to, describe that peculiarity; nor do they tell from what motives the joys, that are evidence of regeneration, arise. They represent the whole man, his understanding, and his sensitive faculties, as renewed, no less than his heart and affections. According to them generally, this change is effected by *light*. As to this indeed they are not perfectly agreed. Some of them hold, that the change is produced, by the bare light and motives exhibited in the gospel. Others pretend, that a man is persuaded to become a christian, as he is persuaded to become a friend to republican government. Yet others there are, who hold that regeneration is caused, by a supernatural and divine light immediately communicated. Their representation of this seems to imply, and their readers understand it as implying, an immediate and new revelation. But according to Mr. Edwards, and those who adopt his views of the subject, regeneration consists in *the communication of a new spiritual sense or taste*. In other words, a new heart is given. This communication is made, this work is accomplished, by the Spirit of God. It is their opinion, that *the intellect*, and *the sensitive faculties*, are not the *immediate* subject of any change in regeneration. They believe, however, that, in consequence of the change which the renewed heart experiences, and of its reconciliation to God, light breaks in upon the understanding. The subject of regeneration sees, therefore, the glory of God's character, and the glory of all divine truth. This may be an illustration. A man becomes cordially reconciled to his neighbour, against whom he had previously felt a strong enmity. He now sees the real excellencies of his neighbour's character, to which he was blinded before by enmity and prejudice. These new views of his neighbour, and these different feelings towards him, are the *consequence* of the change: its *evidence*, but not *the change itself*.—At the same time, Mr. Edwards and others believe that, in saving experience, the sensitive faculties are brought under due regulation by the new heart or holy temper. None of the *awakenings*, *fears*, and *convictions*, which precede the new heart, are, according to this scheme, any part of Regeneration; though they are, in some sense, a preparation for it, as all doctrinal knowledge is. The sinner, before regeneration, is allowed to be totally dead to the exercises and duties of the spiritual life. He is nevertheless accounted a moral agent. He is therefore entirely blameable in his impenitence, his unbelief, and his alienation from God. He is therefore, with perfect propriety, exhorted to repent, to become reconciled to God in Christ, and to arise from his spiritual

death, that "Christ may give him light."—According to this system, regeneration is produced, neither by moral suasion, i.e. by the arguments and motives of the Gospel, nor by any supernatural, spiritual light; but by the immediate agency of the Holy Spirit. Yet the light and knowledge of the Gospel are, by Divine constitution, usually necessary to regeneration, as the blowing of the ram's horns was necessary to the falling of the walls of Jerico; and the moving of the stone, from the mouth of the sepulchre, was necessary to the raising of Lazarus."

Thus it appears, that Mr. Edwards taught us in his writings, in a manner so clear, that mankind have hitherto been satisfied with the instruction, Why God created this material and spiritual Universe;—What is the nature of that Government which he exercises over Minds, and how it is consistent with their perfect freedom;—What is the Nature of that Virtue, which they must possess, if they are to secure his approbation;—What is the Nature, the Source, the Extent, and the Evidences of that Depravity, which characterizes Man, as a fallen being;—What is the Series of Events, by which his Redemption is accomplished;—What are the Qualifications for that Church, to which the redeemed belong;—What are the Grounds, on which they are justified;—What are the Nature and Evidences of that Religion, which is imparted to them by the Spirit of grace;—What are the Nature and Effects of that Revival of religion, which accompanies an effusion of his divine influences on a people;—And what are the Inducements to United and Extraordinary Prayer, that such effusions may be abundantly enjoyed by the Church of God.*—By what is thus said, we do not intend, that all his reasonings are solid, or all his opinions sound and scriptural; but we know of no writer, since the days of the Apostles, who has better comprehended the Word of God; who has more fully unfolded the nature and design of the revelation of his mind, which it contains; who has more ably explained and defended the great doctrines, which it teaches, who has more clearly illustrated the religion which it requires; who has done more for the purification and enlargement of that church which it establishes; or who, in consequence of his unfoldings of divine truth, will find, when the work of every man is weighed in the balances of eternity, a larger number to be, his hope, and joy, and crown of rejoicing in that day."—And when we remember, in addition to all this, that we can probably select no individual, of all who have lived in that long period, who has manifested a more ardent or elevated piety towards God, a warmer or more expanded benevolence towards Man, or greater

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* For a Catalogue of the works of Mr. Edwards, published previous to this edition, see Appendix I.

purity, or disinterestedness, or integrity of character—one, who gave the concentrated strength of all his powers, more absolutely, to the one end of glorifying God in the salvation of Man;—and then reflect, that at the age of *fifty-four*, in the highest vigour of all his faculties, in the fulness of his usefulness, when he was just entering on the most important station of his life, he yielded to the stroke of death; we look towards his grave, in mute astonishment, unable to penetrate those clouds and darkness, which hover around it. One of his weeping friends* thus explained this most surprizing dispensation:—"He was pouring in a flood of light upon mankind, which their eyes, as yet, were too feeble to bear."—If this was not the reason; we can only say—"Even so, Father! for so it seemed good in thy sight."

* Dr. Finley.

FAREWELL SERMON.

A Farewell Sermon, preached at the first Precinct in Northampton, after the people's public rejection of their minister, and renouncing their relation to him as Pastor of the Church there, on June 22, 1750; *Occasioned by difference of sentiments, concerning the requisite Qualifications of members of the Church, in complete standing;* By JONATHAN EDWARDS, A. M.

Acts xx. 18. Ye know, from the first day that I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you, at all seasons.

Ver. 20. And how I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you: but have showed you, and have taught you publicly, and from house to house.

Ver. 26, 27. Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the Counsel of God.

Gal. iv. 15, 16. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? For I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth.

Boston: Printed and Sold by *S. Kneeland*, over against the Prison in Queen-Street. 1751.

PREFACE.

IT is not unlikely, that some of the readers of the following Sermon may be inquisitive, concerning the circumstances of the difference between me and the people of *Northampton*, that issued in that separation between me and them, which occasioned the preaching of this Farewell Sermon. There is, by no means, room here for a full account of that matter. But yet it seems to be proper, and even necessary, here, to correct some gross misrepresentations, which have been abundantly, and, it is to be feared, by some affectedly and industriously, made, of that difference: such as, That I insisted on persons being assured of their being in a state of salvation, in order to my admitting them into the Church; that I required a particular relation of the method and order of a person's inward experience, and of the time and

manner of his conversion, as the test of his fitness for Christian communion; yea, that I have undertaken to set up a pure church, and to make an exact and certain distinction between saints and hypocrites, by a pretended infallible discerning the state of men's souls; that in these things I had fallen in with those wild people, who have lately appeared in New England, called *Separatists;* and that I myself was become a grand *Separatist;* that I arrogated all the power of judging of the Qualifications of candidates for Communion, wholly to myself, and insisted on acting by my sole authority, in the admission of members into the Church, etc.

In opposition to these slanderous representations, I shall, at present, only give my reader an account of some things, which I laid before the Council, that separated between me and my people, in order to their having a just and full account of my principles, relating to the affair in controversy.

Long before the sitting of the Council, my people had sent to the Rev. Mr. Clark of Salem Village, desiring him to write in opposition to my principles. Which gave me occasion to write to Mr. Clark, that he might have true information what my principles were. And in the time of the sitting of the Council, I did, for their information, make a public declaration of my principles, before them and the Church, in the meeting house, of the same import with that in my letter to Mr. Clark, and very much in the same words. And then, afterwards, sent in to the Council, in writing, an extract of that letter, containing the information I had given to Mr. Clark, in the very words of my letter to him, that the Council might read and consider it at their leisure, and have a more certain and more satisfactory knowledge what my principles were. The extract which I sent in to them, was in the following words:

"I am often, and I do not know but pretty generally, in the country, represented as of a new and odd opinion, with respect to the terms of Christian communion, and as being for introducing a peculiar way of my own. Whereas, I do not perceive that I differ at all from the scheme of Dr. Watts, in his book, entitled, *The rational foundation of a Christian Church, and the terms of Christian Communion;* which he says, *is the common sentiment and practice of all reformed churches.* I had not seen this book of Dr. Watts', when I published what I have written on the subject; but yet, I think my sentiments, as I have expressed them, are as exactly agreeable to what he lays down, as if I had been his pupil. Nor do I at all go beyond what Dr. Doddridge plainly shows to be his sentiments, in his *Rise and Progress of Religion,* and his *Sermons on Regeneration,* and his Paraphrase and Notes on the New Testament. Nor indeed, Sir, when I consider the sentiments you have expressed in your letters to Major Pomroy and Mr. Billing, can I perceive, but that they come exactly to the same thing which I maintain. You suppose, the Sacraments are not converting ordinances: but that, *as seals of the Covenant, they presuppose conversion, especially in the adult; and that it is visible saintship, or in other words, a credible profession of faith and repentance, a solemn consent to the Gospel covenant, joined with a*

good conversation, and competent measure of Christian knowledge, is what gives a Gospel right to all sacred ordinances, but that it is necessary to those that come to these ordinances, and in those that profess a consent in the Gospel covenant, that they be sincere in their profession, or at least should think themselves so.—The great thing which I have scrupled in the established method of this Church's proceeding, and which I dare no longer go on in, is their publicly assenting to the form of words, rehearsed on occasion of their admission to the communion, without pretending thereby to mean any such thing, as a hearty consent to the terms of the Gospel covenant, or to mean any such faith or repentance as belong to the covenant of grace, and are the grand conditions of that covenant; It being, at the same time that the words are used, their known and established principle, which they openly profess and proceed upon, that men may and ought to use these words, and mean no such thing, but something else of a nature far inferior; which I think they have no distinct determinate notion of; but something consistent with their knowing that they do not choose God as their chief good, but love the world more than him, and that they do not give themselves up entirely to God, but make reserves; and in short, knowing that they do not heartily consent to the Gospel covenant, but live still under the reigning power of the love of the world, and enmity to God and Christ. So that the words of their public profession, according to their openly established use, cease to be of the nature of any profession of Gospel faith and repentance, or any proper compliance with the covenant: for it is their profession, that the words, as used, mean no such thing. The words used, under these circumstances, do at least fail of being a *credible* profession of these things.—I can conceive of no such virtue in a certain set of words, that it is proper, merely on the making of these sounds, to admit persons to Christian Sacraments, without any regard to any pretended meaning of those sounds: nor can I think, that any institution of Christ has established any such terms of admission into the Christian Church.—It does not belong to the controversy between me and my people, how particular or large the profession should be, that is required. I should not choose to be confined to exact limits as to that matter: but, rather than contend, I should content myself with a few words, briefly expressing the cardinal virtues or acts, implied in a hearty compliance with the covenant, made (as should appear by enquiry into the person's doctrinal knowledge) understandingly; if there were an external conversation agreeable thereto: yea, I should think, that such a person, solemnly making such a profession, had a right to be received as the object of a public charity, however he himself might scruple his own conversion, on account of his not remembering the time, not knowing the method of his conversion, or finding so much remaining sin, etc. And, (if his own scruples did not hinder his coming to the Lord's Table,) I should think the minister or church had no right to debar such a professor, though he should say he did not think himself converted. For I call that a profession of godliness, which is a profession of the great things wherein godliness consists, and not a profession of his own opinion of his good estate.

"*Northampton, May* 7, 1750."

Thus far my letter to Mr. Clark.

The Council having heard that I had made certain draughts of the Covenant, or Forms of a public Profession of Religion, which I stood ready to accept of, from the candidates for Church Communion, they, for their further information, sent for them. Accordingly I sent them four distinct draughts or forms, which I had drawn up about a twelvemonth before, as what I stood ready to accept of, (any one of them) rather than contend, and break with my people.

The two shortest of these forms are here inserted, for the satisfaction of the reader. They are as follows :

"I hope I do truly find a heart to give up myself wholly to God, according to the tenor of that covenant of grace, which was sealed in my baptism ; and to walk in a way of that obedience to all the commandments of God, which the covenant of grace requires, as long as I live."

Another,

"I hope I truly find in my heart a willingness to comply with all the commandments of God, which require me to give up myself wholly to him, and to serve him with my body and my spirit. And do accordingly now promise to walk in a way of obedience to all the commandments of God, as long as I live."

Such kind of professions as these I stood ready to accept, rather than contend and break with my people. Not but that I think it much more convenient, that ordinarily the public profession of religion, that is made by Christians, should be much fuller and more particular. And that, (as I hinted in my letter to Mr. Clark,) I should not choose to be tied up to any certain form of words, but to have liberty to vary the expressions of a public profession, the more exactly to suit the sentiments and experience of the professor, that it might be a more just and free expression of what each one finds in his heart.

And, moreover, it must be noted, that I ever insisted on it, that it belonged to me as a Pastor, before a profession was accepted, to have full liberty to instruct the candidate in the meaning of the terms of it, and in the nature of the things proposed to be professed ; and to enquire into his doctrinal understanding of these things, according to my best discretion ; and to caution the person as I should think needful, against rashness in making such a profession, or doing it mainly for the credit of himself or his family, or from any secular views whatsoever, and to put him on serious self-examination, and searching his own heart, and prayer to God to search and enlighten him, that he may not be hypocritical and deceived in the profession he makes ; withal pointing forth to him the many ways in which professors are liable to be deceived.

Nor do I think it improper for a minister, in such a case, to enquire and know of the candidate what can be remembered of the circumstances of his Christian experience ; as this may tend much to illustrate his profession, and give a minister great advantage for proper

instructions: though a particular knowledge and remembrance of the time and method of the first conversion to God, is not made the test of a person's sincerity, nor insisted on as necessary in order to his being received into full charity. Not that I think it at all improper or unprofitable, that in some special cases a declaration of the particular circumstances of a person's first awakening, and the manner of his convictions, illuminations and comforts, should be publicly exhibited before the whole congregation, on occasion of his admission into the Church; though this be not demanded as necessary to admission. I ever declared against insisting on a relation of experiences, in this sense, (viz. a relation of the particular time and steps of the operation of the Spirit, in first conversion,) as the term of communion: yet, if, by a relation of experiences, be meant a declaration of experience of the great things *wrought*, wherein true grace and the essential acts and habits of holiness consist; in this sense, I think an account of a person's experiences necessary, in order to his admission into full Communion in the Church. But that in whatever enquiries are made, or whatever account is given, neither minister nor church are to set up themselves as searchers of hearts, but are to accept the serious solemn profession of the well-instructed professor, of a good life, as best able to determine what he finds in his own heart.

These things may serve in some measure to set right those of my readers, who have been misled in their apprehensions of the state of the controversy, between me and my people, by the forementioned misrepresentations.

FAREWELL SERMON.

II. CORINTHIANS, I. 14.

As also ye have acknowledged us in part, that we are your rejoicing, even as ye also are ours, in the day of the Lord Jesus.

The Apostle, in the preceding part of the chapter, declares what great troubles he met with, in the course of his ministry. In the text, and two foregoing verses, he declares what were his comforts and supports, under the troubles he met with. There are four things in particular.

1. That he had approved himself to his own conscience. v. 12. *For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world, and more abundantly to you wards.*

2. Another thing he speaks of as matter of comfort, is, that as he had approved himself to his own conscience, so he had also to the consciences of his hearers, the Corinthians to whom he now wrote, and that they should approve of him at the day of judgment.

3. The hope he had of seeing the blessed fruit of his labours and sufferings in the ministry, in their happiness and glory in that great day of accounts.

4. That in his ministry among the Corinthians, he had approved himself to his Judge, who would approve and reward his faithfulness in that day.

These three last particulars are signified in my text and the preceding verse; and indeed all the four are implied in the text: It is implied, that the Corinthians had acknowledged him as their spiritual father, and as one that had been faithful among them, and as the means of their future joy and glory at the day of Judgment, and one whom they should then see, and have a joyful meeting with as such. It is implied, that the apostle expected, at that time, to have a joyful meeting with *them*, before the Judge, and, with joy, to behold their glory, as the fruit of his labours; and so they would be *his rejoicing*. It is implied also, that he then expected to be approved of the great Judge, when he and they should meet together before Him; and that he would then acknowledge his fidelity, and that this had been the means of their glory; and that thus he would, as it were, give them to him as his *crown of rejoicing*. But this the Apostle could not hope for, unless he had the testimony of his own conscience in his favour. And therefore the words do imply, in the strongest manner, that he had approved himself to his own conscience.

There is one thing implied in each of these particulars, and in every part of the text, which is that point I shall make the subject of my present discourse, viz:

Doctrine. Ministers, and the people that have been under their care, must meet one another, before Christ's tribunal, at the day of judgment.

Ministers, and the people that have been under their care, must be parted in this world, how well soever they have been united: If they are not separated before, they must be parted by death: And they may be separated while life is continued. We live in a world of change, where nothing is certain or stable; and where a little time, a few revolutions of the sun, brings to pass strange things, surprising alterations, in particular persons, in families, in towns and churches, in countries and nations. It often happens, that those, who seem most united, in a little time are most disunited, and at the greatest distance. Thus ministers and people, between whom there has been the greatest mutual regard and strictest union, may not only differ in their judgments, and be alienated in affection; But one may rend from the other, and all relation between them be dissolved; the minister may be removed to a distant place, and they may never have any more to do, one with another, in this world. But if it be so, there is one meeting more that they must have, and that is in the last great day of accounts.

Here I would shew,

I. In what manner, ministers and the people which have been under their care, shall meet one another at the day of judgment.

II. For what purposes.

III. For what reasons God has so ordered it, that ministers and their people shall then meet together in such a manner, and for such purposes.

I. I would shew, in some particulars, in what manner ministers and

the people which have been under their care, shall meet one another at the day of judgment. Concerning this, I would observe two things in general.

1. That they shall not then meet merely as all mankind must then meet, but there will be something peculiar in the manner of their meeting.

2. That their meeting together, at that time, shall be very different from what used to be in the house of God in this world.

1. They shall not meet, at that day, merely as all the world must then meet together. I would observe a difference in two things.

(1.) As to a clear actual view, and distinct knowledge and notice of each other.

Although the whole world will be then present, all mankind of all generations gathered in one vast assembly, with all of the angelic nature, both elect and fallen angels; yet we need not suppose, that every one will have a distinct and particular knowledge of each individual of the whole assembled multitude, which will undoubtedly consist of many millions of millions. Though it is probable that men's capacities will be much greater than in their present state, yet they will not be infinite: Though their understanding and comprehension will be vastly extended, yet men will not be deified. There will probably be a very enlarged view, that particular persons will have of the various parts and members of that vast assembly, and so of the proceedings of that great day: but yet it must needs be, that according to the nature of finite minds, some persons and some things, at that day, shall fall more under the notice of particular persons than others; and this, (as we may well suppose,) according as they shall have a nearer concern with some than others, in the transactions of the day. There will be special reason, why those who have had special concerns together, in this world, in their state of probation, and whose mutual affairs will be then to be tried and judged, should especially be set in one another's view. Thus we may suppose, that rulers and subjects, earthly judges and those whom they have judged, neighbours who have had mutual converse, dealings and contests, heads of families and their children and servants, shall then meet, and in a peculiar distinction be set together. And especially will it be thus with ministers and their people. It is evident, by the text, that these shall be in each others' view, shall distinctly know each other, and shall have particular notice one of another at that time.

(2.) They shall meet together, as having special concern, one with another, in the great transactions of that day.

Although they shall meet the whole world at that time, yet they will not have any immediate and particular concern with all. Yea, the far greater part of those who shall then be gathered together, will be such as they have had no intercourse with in their state of probation, and so will have no mutual concerns to be judged of. But as to ministers, and the people that have been under their care, they will be such as have had much immediate concern one with another, in matters of the greatest moment, that ever mankind have to do one with another in. Therefore they especially must meet, and be brought together before

the Judge, as having special concern one with another in the design and business of that great day of accounts.

Thus their meeting, as to the manner of it, will be diverse from the meeting of mankind in general.

2. Their meeting, at the day of Judgment, will be very diverse from their meetings one with another in this world.

Ministers and their people, while their relation continues, often meet together in this world: They are wont to meet from sabbath to sabbath, and at other times, for the public worship of God, and administration of ordinances, and the solemn services of God's house: And beside these meetings they have also occasion to meet for the determining and managing their ecclesiastical affairs, for the exercise of church discipline, and the settling and adjusting those things which concern the purity and good order of public administrations. But their meeting at the day of Judgment will be exceeding diverse, in its manner and circumstances, from any such meetings and interviews as they have, one with another, in the present state. I would observe how, in a few particulars.

(1.) Now they meet together in a preparatory mutable state, but then in an unchangeable state.

Now, sinners in the congregation meet their minister in a state wherein they are capable of a saving change, capable of being turned, through God's blessing on the ministrations and labours of their pastor, from the power of Satan unto God, and being brought out of a state of guilt, condemation and wrath, to a state of peace and favour with God, to the enjoyment of the privileges of his children, and a title to their eternal inheritance. And saints now meet their ministers with great remains of corruption, and sometimes under great spiritual difficulties and affliction: And therefore are yet the proper subjects of means of a happy alteration of their state, consisting in a greater freedom from these things; which they have reason to hope for in the way of an attendance on ordinances; and of which God is pleased commonly to make his ministers the instruments. And ministers and their people now meet in order to the bringing to pass such happy changes; they are the great benefits sought in their solemn meetings in this world.

But when they shall meet together at the day of judgment, it will be far otherwise. They will not then meet in order to the use of means for the bringing to effect any such changes; for they will all meet in an unchangeable state. Sinners will be in an unchangable state: They who then shall be under the guilt and power of sin, and have the wrath of God abiding on them, shall be beyond all remedy or possibility of change, and shall meet their ministers without any hopes of relief or remedy, or getting any good by their means. And as for the saints, they will be already perfectly delivered from all their before remaining corruption, temptation and calamities, of every kind, and set forever out of their reach; and no deliverance, no happy alteration will remain to be accomplished in the way of the use of means of grace, under the administration of ministers. It will then be pronounced, *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy*

still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still.

(2.) Then they shall meet together in a state of clear, certain and infallible light.

Ministers are set as guides and teachers, and are represented in Scripture as lights set up in the churches; and in the present state meet their people, from time to time, in order to instruct and enlighten them, to correct their mistakes, and to be a voice behind them, when they turn aside to the right hand or the left, saying, *This is the way, walk ye in it;* to evince and confirm the truth by exhibiting the proper evidences of it, and to refute errors and corrupt opinions, to convince the erroneous and establish the doubting. But when Christ shall come to Judgment, every error and false opinion shall be detected: all deceit and delusion shall vanish away before the light of that day, as the darkness of the night vanishes at the appearance of the rising sun; and every doctrine of the word of God shall then appear in full evidence, and none shall remain unconvinced; all shall know the truth with the greatest certainty, and there shall be no mistakes to rectify.

Now ministers and their people may disagree in their judgments concerning some matters of religion, and may sometimes meet to confer together concerning those things wherein they differ, and to hear the reasons that may be offered on one side and the other; and all may be ineffectual, as to any conviction of the truth; they may meet and part again, no more agreed than before; and that side which was in the wrong, may remain so still: Sometimes the meetings of ministers with their people, in such a case of disagreeing sentiments, are attended with unhappy debate and controversy, managed with much prejudice, and want of candour; not tending to light and conviction, but rather to confirm and increase darkness, and establish opposition to the truth, and alienation of affection one from another. But when they shall hereafter meet together, at the day of Judgment, before the tribunal of the great Judge, the mind and will of Christ will be made known; and there shall no longer be any debate, or difference of opinions; the evidence of the truth shall appear beyond all dispute, and all controversies shall be finally and forever decided.

Now ministers meet their people, in order to enlighten and awaken the consciences of sinners; setting before them the great evil and danger of sin, the strictness of God's law, their own wickedness of heart, and practice, the great guilt they are under, the wrath that abides upon them, and their impotence, blindness, poverty and helpless and undone condition: But all is often in vain; they remain still, notwithstanding all their ministers can say, stupid and unawakened, and their consciences unconvinced. But it will not be so at their last meeting at the day of Judgment; sinners, when they shall meet their Judge, will not meet him with a stupid conscience: they will then be fully convinced of the truth of those things, which they formerly heard from him, concerning the greatness and terrible majesty of God, his holiness and hatred of sin, and his awful justice in punishing it, the strictness of his law, and the dreadfulness and truth of his threatenings, and their own unspeakable guilt and misery; and they shall never more be insensible of

these things: the eyes of conscience will now be fully enlightened, and never shall be blinded again: the mouth of conscience shall now be opened, and never shall be shut any more.

Now ministers meet with their people, in public and private, in order to enlighten them concerning the state of their souls; to open and apply the rules of God's word to them, in order to their searching their own hearts, and discerning the state that they are in. But now, ministers have no infallible discerning the state of the souls of their people; and the most skilful of them are liable to mistakes, and often are mistaken in things of this nature; nor are the people able certainly to know the state of their minister, or one another's state; very often, those pass among them for saints, and it may be eminent saints, that are grand hypocrites; and on the other hand, those are sometimes censured, or hardly received into their charity, that are indeed some of God's jewels. And nothing is more common, than for men to be mistaken concerning their own state: Many that are abominable to God, and the children of his wrath, think highly of themselves, as his precious saints and dear children. Yea, there is reason to think, that often some, that are most bold in their confidence of their safe and happy state, and think themselves not only true saints, but the most eminent saints in the congregation, are, in a peculiar manner, a smoke in God's nose. And thus it undoubtedly often is, in those congregations where the word of God is most faithfully dispensed; notwithstanding all that ministers can say in their clearest explications, and most searching applications of the doctrines and rules of God's word to the souls of their hearers, in their meetings one with another. But, in the day of Judgment, they shall have another sort of meeting; then the secrets of every heart shall be made manifest, and every man's state shall be perfectly known. I Cor. iv. 5. *Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come; who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the heart: And then shall every man have praise of God.* Then none shall be deceived concerning his own state, nor shall be any more in doubt about it. There shall be an eternal end to all the self-conceit and vain hopes of deluded hypocrites, and all the doubts and fears of sincere christians. And then shall all know the state of one another's souls: the people shall know whether their minister has been sincere and faithful, and the minister shall know the state of every one of their people, and to whom the word and ordinances of God have been a savour of life unto life, and to whom a savour of death unto death.

Now in this present state, it often happens that, when ministers and people meet together, to debate and manage their ecclesiastical affairs, especially in a state of controversy, they are ready to judge and censure one another, with regard to each other's views and designs, and the principles and ends that each is influenced by; and are greatly mistaken in their judgment, and wrong one another in their censures: but at that future meeting, things will be set in a true and perfect light, and the principles and aims, that every one has acted from, shall be certainly known; and there will be an end to all errors of this kind, and all unrighteous censures.

(3.) In this world, ministers and their people often meet together,

to hear of, and wait upon, an unseen Lord; but at the day of Judgment, they shall meet in his most immediate and visible presence.

Ministers, who now often meet their people, to preach to them the King eternal, immortal and invisible, to convince them that there is a God, and declare to them what manner of being he is, and to convince them that he governs, and will judge, the world, and that there is a future state of rewards and punishments, and to preach to them a Christ in heaven, at the right hand of God, in an unseen world, shall then meet their people in the most immediate sensible presence of this great God, Saviour and Judge, appearing in the most plain, visible and open manner, with great glory, with all his holy angels, before them and the whole world. They shall not meet them to hear about an absent Christ, an unseen Lord, and future Judge; but to appear before that Judge, and as being set together in the presence of that supreme Lord, in his immense glory and awful majesty, whom they have heard of so often, in their meetings together on earth.

(4.) The meeting, at the last day, of ministers and the people that have been under their care, will not be attended, by any one, with a careless heedless heart.

With such a heart are their meetings often attended in this world, by many persons, having little regard to him whom they pretend unitedly to adore, in the solemn duties of his public worship, taking little heed to their own thoughts or the frame of their minds, not attending to the business they are engaged in, nor considering the end for which they are come together: but the meeting, at that great day, will be very different; there will not be one careless heart, no sleeping, no wandering of mind, from the great concern of the meeting, no inattentiveness to the business of the day, no regardlessness of the presence they are in, or of those great things which they shall hear from Christ at that meeting, or that they formerly heard from him, and of him, by their ministers, in their meetings in a state of trial, or which they shall now hear their ministers declaring concerning them, before their Judge.

Having observed these things, concerning the manner and circumstances of this future meeting of ministers and the people that have been under their care, before the tribunal of Christ, at the day of Judgment, I now proceed,

II. To observe, to what purposes they shall then meet.

1. To give an account before the great Judge, of their behaviour one to another, in the relation they stood to each other in this world.

Ministers are sent forth, by Christ, to their people on his business, are his servants and messengers; and when they have finished their service, they must return to their master, to give him an account of what they have done, and of the entertainment they have had in performing their ministry. Thus we find, in Luke xiv. 16—21, that when the servant, who was sent forth to call the guests to the great supper, had done his errand, and finished his appointed service, he returned to his master, and gave him an account of what he had done, and of the entertainment he had received. And when the master, being angry, sent his servant to others, he returns again, and gives his master an account of his conduct and success. So we read, in Hebrews, xiv. 17,

of ministers and rulers in the house of God, *That watch for souls, as those that must give account.* And we see by the forementioned Luke xiv. that ministers must give an account to their master, not only of their own behaviour in the discharge of their office, but also of their people's reception of them, and of the treatment they have met with among them.

And therefore, as they will be called to give an account of both, they shall give an account at the great day of accounts, in the presence of their people; they and their people being both present before their Judge.

Faithful ministers will then give an account with joy, concerning those who have received them well, and made a good improvement of their ministry; and these will be given them, at that day, as their crown of rejoicing. And at the same time they will give an account of the ill-treatment, of such as have not well received them and their messages from Christ: they will meet these, not as they used to do in this world, to counsel and warn them, but to bear witness against them, and as their judges, and assessors with Christ, to condemn them. And on the other hand, the people will at that day rise up in judgment against wicked and unfaithful ministers, who have sought their own temporal interest, more than the good of the souls of their flock.

2. At that time ministers and the people who have been under their care, shall meet before Christ, that he may judge between them, as to any controversies which have subsisted between them in this world.

So it very often comes to pass in this evil world, that great differences and controversies arise between ministers and the people that are under their pastoral care. Though they are under the greatest obligations to live in peace, above persons in almost any relation whatever; and although contests and dissensions, between persons so related, are the most unhappy and terrible in their consequences, on many accounts, of any sort of contentions: yet how frequent have such contentions been? Sometimes a people contest with their ministers about their doctrine, sometimes about their administrations and conduct, and sometimes about their maintenance; and sometimes such contests continue a long time; and sometimes they are decided in this world, according to the prevailing interest of one party or the other, rather than by the word of God, and the reason of things; and sometimes such controversies never have any proper determination in this world.

But at the day of judgment there will be a full, perfect and everlasting, decision of them: the infallible Judge, the infinite Fountain of light, truth and justice, will judge between the contending parties, and will declare what is the truth, who is in the right, and what is agreeable to his mind and will. And, in order hereto, the parties must stand together before Him at the last day; which will be the great day of finishing and determining all controversies, rectifying all mistakes, and abolishing all unrighteous judgments, errors and confusions, which have before subsisted in the world of mankind.

3. Ministers and the people that have been under their care, must meet together at that time, to receive an eternal sentence and retribution from the Judge, in the presence of each other, according to

their behaviour in the relation they stood in to one another in the present state.

The Judge will not only declare justice, but he will do justice between ministers and their people. He will declare what is right between them, approving him that has been just and faithful, and condemning the unjust; and perfect truth and equity shall take place in the sentence which He passes, in the rewards He bestows, and the punishments which He inflicts. There shall be a glorious reward to faithful ministers. To those who have been successful; Dan. xii. 3. *And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever:* And also to those who have been faithful, and yet not successful; Isai. xlix. 4. *Then I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought; yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my reward with my God.* And those, who have well received and entertained them, shall be gloriously rewarded; Matth. x. 40. *He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me. He that receiveth a prophet, in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward.* Such people, and their faithful ministers, shall be each other's crown of rejoicing: 1 Thess. ii. 19, 20. *For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye, in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy.* And in the text, *We are your rejoicing, as ye also are ours, in the day of the Lord Jesus.* But they, that evil intreat Christ's faithful ministers, especially in that wherein they are faithful, shall be severely punished; Matth. x. 14, 15. *And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet. Verily, I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the sinners of Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of Judgment, than for that city.* Deut. xxxiii. 8—11. *And of Levi he said, Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be with thy holy one.—They shall teach Jacob thy judgments, and Israel thy law. Bless, Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands: smite through the loins of them that rise up against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again.* On the other hand, those ministers who are found to have been unfaithful, shall have a most terrible punishment. See Ezekiel xxxiii. 6. Matth. xxiii. 1—33.

Thus justice shall be administered, at the great day, to ministers and their people: and to that end they shall meet together, that they may not only receive justice to themselves, but see justice done to the other party: for this is the end of that great day, to *reveal*, or declare *the righteous judgment of God;* Rom. ii. 5. Ministers shall have justice done them, and they shall see justice done to their people: and the people shall receive justice themselves from their Judge, and shall see justice done to their minister. And so all things will be adjusted and settled forever between them; every one being sentenced and recompensed according to his works; either in receiving and wearing a crown of eternal joy and glory, or in suffering everlasting shame and pain.

I come now to the next thing proposed, viz.

III. To give some reasons, why we may suppose God has so ordered it that ministers, and the people that have been under their care, shall meet together at the day of judgment, in such a manner and for such purposes.

There are two things which I would now observe.

1. The mutual concerns of ministers and their people are of the greatest importance.

The Scripture declares, that God will bring *every work* into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil. It is fit that all the concerns, and all the behaviour of mankind, both public and private, should be brought at last before God's tribunal, and finally determined by an infallible Judge: but it is especially requisite, that it should be thus, as to affairs of very great importance.

Now the mutual concerns of a christian minister, and his church and congregation, are of the vastest importance; in many respects, of much greater moment than the temporal concerns of the greatest earthly monarchs, and their kingdoms and empires. It is of vast consequence how ministers discharge their office, and conduct themselves towards their people in the work of the ministry, and in affairs appertaining to it. It is also a matter of vast importance how a people receive and entertain a faithful minister of Christ, and what improvement they make of his ministry. These things have a more immediate and direct respect to the great and last end for which man was made, and the eternal welfare of mankind, than any of the temporal concerns of men, whether public or private. And therefore it is especially fit, that these affairs should be brought into Judgment, and openly determined and settled, in truth and righteousness; and that, to this end, ministers and their people should meet together, before the omniscient and infallible Judge.

2. The mutual concerns of ministers and their people have a special relation to the main things, appertaining to the day of Judgment.

They have a special relation to that great and divine person, who will then appear as Judge. Ministers are his messengers, sent forth by Him; and in their office and administrations among their people, represent his person, stand in his stead, as those that are sent to declare his mind, to do his work, and to speak and act in his name: and therefore it is especially fit that they should return to him, to give an account of their work and success. The king is judge of *all* his subjects, they are all accountable to him: but it is more especially requisite that the *king's ministers*, who are especially intrusted with the administrations of his kingdom, and that are sent forth on some special negotiation, should return to him, to give an account of themselves, and their discharge of their trust, and the reception they have met with.

Ministers are not only messengers of the person who at the last day will appear as judge, but the errand they are sent upon, and the affairs they have committed to them as his ministers, do most immediately concern his honour, and the interest of his kingdom: the work they are sent upon, is to promote the designs of his administration and go-

vernment; and therefore their business with their people, has a near relation to the day of judgment; for the great end of that day is completely to settle and establish the affairs of his kingdom, to adjust all things that pertain to it, that every thing that is opposite to the interests of his kingdom may be removed, and that every thing which contributes to the completeness and glory of it, may be perfected and confirmed, that this great king may receive his due honour and glory.

Again, the mutual concerns of ministers and their people, have a direct relation to the concerns of the day of judgment, as the business of ministers with their people, is to promote the eternal salvation of the souls of men, and their escape from eternal damnation; and the day of judgment is the day appointed for that end, openly to decide and settle men's eternal state, to fix some in a state of eternal salvation, and to bring their salvation to its utmost consummation, and to fix others in a state of everlasting damnation and most perfect misery. The mutual concerns of ministers and people, have a most direct relation to the day of judgment, as the very design of the work of the ministry is the people's *preparation for that day:* ministers are sent to warn them of the approach of that day, to forewarn them of the dreadful sentence then to be pronounced on the wicked, and declare to them the blessed sentence then to be pronounced on the righteous, and to use means with them, that they may escape the wrath, which is then to come on the ungodly, and obtain the reward then to be bestowed on the saints.

And, as the mutual concerns of ministers and their people have so near and direct a relation to that day, it is especially fit, that those concerns should be brought *into that day*, and there settled and issued; and that, in order to this, ministers and their people should meet and appear together before the great Judge, *at that day.*

APPLICATION.

The improvement I would make of the things which have been observed, is to lead the people here present, who have been under my pastoral care, to some reflections, and to give them some advice, suitable to our present circumstances; relating to what has been lately done, in order to our being separated, as to the relation we have heretofore stood in one to another; but expecting to meet each other before the great tribunal at the day of judgment.

The deep and serious consideration of that our future most solemn meeting, is certainly most suitable at such a time as this; there having so lately been that done, which, in all probability, will (as to the relation we have heretofore stood in) be followed with an everlasting separation.

How often have we met together in the house of God, in this relation? How often have I spoken to you, instructed, counselled, warned, directed and fed you, and administered ordinances among you, as the people which were committed to my care, and whose precious souls I had the charge of? But in all probability, this never will be again.

The prophet Jeremiah, (chap. xxv. 3.) puts the people in mind how long he had laboured among them in the work of the ministry; *From the thirteenth year of Josiah, the son of Amon, king of Judah, even unto this day, (that is, the three and twentieth year,) the word of the Lord came unto me, and I have spoken unto you, rising early and speaking.* I am not about to compare myself with the prophet Jeremiah; but in this respect I can say as he did, that *I have spoken the word of God to you, unto the three and twentieth year, rising early and speaking.* It was three and twenty years, the 15th day of last February, since I have laboured in the work of the ministry, in the relation of a pastor to this church and congregation. And though my strength has been weakness, having always laboured under great infirmity of body, beside my insufficiency for so great a charge, in other respects, yet I have not spared my feeble strength, but have exerted it for the good of your souls. I can appeal to you, as the apostle does to his hearers, Gal. iv. 13. *Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the Gospel unto you.* I have spent the prime of my life and strength, in labours for your eternal welfare. You are my witnesses, that what strength I have had I have not neglected in idleness, nor laid out in prosecuting worldly schemes, and managing temporal affairs, for the advancement of my outward estate, and aggrandizing myself and family; but have given myself to the work of the ministry, labouring in it night and day, rising early and applying myself to this great business to which Christ appointed me. I have found the work of the ministry among you to be a great work indeed, a work of exceeding care, labour and difficulty: many have been the heavy burdens that I have borne in it, which my strength has been very unequal to. GOD called me to bear these burdens, and I bless his name, that he has so supported me as to keep me from sinking under them, and that his power herein has been manifested in my weakness; so that although I have often been troubled on every side, yet I have not been distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; cast down, but not destroyed.

But now I have reason to think, my work is finished which I had to do as your minister: you have publicly rejected me, and my opportunities cease.

How highly therefore does it now become us, to consider of that time when we must meet one another before the chief Shepherd? When I must give an account of my stewardship, of the service I have done *for*, and the reception and treatment I have had *among*, the people he sent me to: and you must give an account of your own conduct towards me, and the improvement you have made of these *three and twenty years* of my ministry. For then both you and I must appear together, and we both must give an account, in order to an infallible, righteous and eternal, sentence to be passed upon us, by him who will judge us, with respect to all that we have said or done in our meetings here, all our conduct one towards another, in the house of God and elsewhere, on sabbath-days and on other days; who will try our hearts, and manifest our thoughts, and the principles and frames of our minds, will judge us with respect to all the controversies which have subsisted between us, with the strictest impartiality, and will examine our treatment of each other in those controversies: there is

nothing covered, that shall not be revealed, nor hid, which shall not be known; all will be examined in the searching, penetrating light of God's omniscience and glory, and by him whose eyes are as a flame of fire; and truth and right shall be made plainly to appear, being stripped of every veil; and all error, falsehood, unrighteousness and injury, shall be laid open, stripped of every disguise; every specious pretence, every cavil, and all false reasoning, shall vanish in a moment, as not being able to bear the light of that day. And then our hearts will be turned inside out, and the secrets of them will be made more plainly to appear than our outward actions do now. Then it shall appear what the ends are, which we have aimed at, what have been the governing principles which we have acted from, and what have been the dispositions, we have exercised in our ecclesiastical disputes and contests. Then it will appear, whether I acted uprightly, and from a truly conscientious careful, regard to my duty to my great Lord and master, in some former ecclesiastical controversies, which have been attended with exceeding unhappy circumstances, and consequences: it will appear, whether there was any just cause for the resentment which was manifested on those occasions. And then our late grand controversy, concerning the Qualifications necessary for admission to the privileges of members, in complete standing, in the Visible Church of Christ, will be examined and judged, in all its parts and circumstances, and the whole set forth in a clear, certain and perfect light. Then it will appear, whether the doctrine, which I have preached and published, concerning this matter, be Christ's own doctrine, whether he will not own it as one of the precious truths which have proceeded from his own mouth, and vindicate and honour, as such, before the whole universe. Then it will appear, what was meant by *the man that comes without the wedding garment;* for that is the day spoken of, Matt. xxii. 13. wherein such an one *shall be bound hand and foot, and cast into outer darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.* And then it will appear, whether, in declaring this doctrine, and acting agreeably to it, and in my general conduct in this affair, I have been influenced from any regard to my own temporal interest, or honour, or any desire to appear wiser than others; or have acted from any sinister, secular views whatsoever; and whether what I have done has not been from a careful, strict and tender regard to the will of my Lord and Master, and because I dare not offend him, being satisfied what his will was, after a long, diligent, impartial and prayerful, enquiry; having this constantly in view and prospect, to engage me to great solicitude, not rashly to determine truth to be on this side of the question, where I am now persuaded it is, that such a determination would not be for my temporal interest, but every way against it, bringing a long series of extreme difficulties, and plunging me into an abyss of trouble and sorrow. And then it will appear, whether my people have done their duty to their pastor, with respect to this matter; whether they have shown a right temper and spirit on this occasion; whether they have done me justice in hearing, attending to, and considering, what I had to say in evidence of what I believed and taught, as part of the counsel of God; whether I have been treated with that impartiality, candour and regard, which the just Judge esteemed due;

and whether, in the many steps which have been taken, and the many things that have been said and done, in the course of this controversy, righteousness and charity and christian decorum have been maintained; or, if otherwise, to how great a degree these things have been violated. Then every step of the conduct of each of us, in this affair, from first to last, and the spirit we have exercised in all, shall be examined and manifested, and our own consciences will speak plain and loud, and each of us shall be convinced, and the world shall know; and never shall there be any more mistake, misrepresentation or misapprehension of the affair, to eternity.

This controversy is now probably brought to an issue, between you and me, as to this world; it has issued in the event of the week before last; but it must have another decision at that great day, which certainly will come, when you and I shall meet together before the great judgment seat: and therefore I leave it to that time, and shall say no more about it at present.

But I would now proceed to address myself particularly to several sorts of persons.

I. To those who are professors of godliness among us.

I would now call you to a serious consideration of that great day, wherein you must meet him, who has heretofore been your pastor, before the Judge, whose eyes are as a flame of fire.

I have endeavoured, according to my best ability, to search the word of God, with regard to the distinguishing notes of true piety, those by which persons might best discover their state, and most surely and clearly judge of themselves. And those rules and marks, I have from time to time, applied to you, in the preaching of the word, to the utmost of my skill, and in the most plain and searching manner, that I have been able; in order to the detecting the deceived hypocrite, and establishing the hopes and comforts of the sincere. And yet it is to be feared, that after all that I have done, I now leave some of you in a deceived deluded state; for it is not to be supposed, that among several hundred professors, none are deceived.

Henceforward, I am like to have no more opportunity to take the care and charge of your souls, to examine and search them. But still I intreat you to remember and consider the rules which I have often laid down to you, during my ministry, with a solemn regard to the future day, when you and I must meet together before our Judge; when the uses of examination you have heard from me, must be rehearsed again before you, and those rules of trial must be tried, and it will appear, whether they have been good or not; and it will also appear, whether you have impartially heard them, and tried yourselves by them; and the Judge himself, who is infallible, will try both you and me: and after this, none will be deceived concerning the state of their souls.

I have often put you in mind, that whatever your pretences to experiences, discoveries, comforts, and joys, have been; at that day, every one will be judged according to his works: and then you will find it so.

May you have a minister of greater knowledge of the word of God, and better acquaintance with soul cases, and of greater skill in apply-

ing himself to souls, whose discourses may be more searching and convincing; that such of you as have held fast deceit under my preaching, may have your eyes opened by his; that you may be undeceived before that great day.

What means and helps for instruction and self-examination, you may hereafter have, is uncertain; but one thing is certain, that the time is short; your opportunity for rectifying mistakes in so important a concern, will soon come to an end. We live in a world of great changes. There is now a great change come to pass; you have withdrawn yourselves from my ministry, under which you have continued for so many years: but the time is coming, and will soon come, when you will pass out of time into eternity; and so will pass from under all means of grace whatsoever.

The greater part of you who are professors of godliness, have, (to use the phrase of the apostle,) *acknowledged me in part.* You have heretofore acknowledged me to be your spiritual father, the instrument of the greatest good to you, that ever is, or can be, obtained, by any of the children of men. Consider of that day, when you and I shall meet before our Judge, when it shall be examined, whether you have had from me the treatment which is due to spiritual children, and whether you have treated me, as you ought to have treated a spiritual father.—As the relation of a natural parent brings great obligations on children, in the sight of God; so much more, in many respects, does the relation of a spiritual father, bring great obligations on such, whose conversion and eternal salvation they suppose God has made them the instruments of; 1 Cor. iv. 15. *For though you have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus, I have begotten you through the gospel.*

II. Now I am taking my leave of this people, I would apply myself to such among them as I leave in a christless, graceless condition; and would call on such, seriously to consider of that solemn day, when they and I must meet before the Judge of the world.

My parting with you, is in some respects, in a peculiar manner, a melancholy parting; in as much as I leave you in the most melancholy circumstances, because I leave you in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity, having the wrath of God abiding on you, and remaining under condemnation to everlasting misery and destruction. Seeing I must leave you, it would have been a comfortable and happy circumstance of our parting, if I had left you in Christ, safe and blessed in that sure refuge and glorious rest of the saints.—But it is otherwise. I leave you far off, aliens and strangers, wretched subjects and captives of sin and satan, and prisoners of vindictive justice; without Christ, and without God in the world.

Your consciences bear me witness, that while I had opportunity, I have not ceased to warn you, and set before you your danger. I have studied to represent the misery and necessity of your circumstances, in the clearest manner possible. I have tried all ways, that I could think of, tending to awaken your consciences, and make you sensible of the necessity of your improving your time, and being speedy in fleeing from the wrath to come, and thorough in the use of means for your escape and safety. I have diligently endeavoured to find out, and use, the most powerful motives, to persuade you to take care for your own welfare

and salvation. I have not only endeavoured to awaken you, that you might be moved with fear, but I have used my utmost endeavours to win you: I have sought out acceptable words, that if possible, I might prevail upon you to forsake sin, and turn to God, and accept of Christ as your Saviour and Lord. I have spent my strength very much, in these things. But yet, with regard to you whom I am now speaking to, I have not been successful: but have this day reason to complain in those words, Jer. vi. 29. *The bellows are burnt, the lead is consumed of the fire, the founder melteth in vain, for the wicked are not plucked away.* It is to be feared, that all my labours, as to many of you, have served to no other purpose but to harden you; and that the word which I have preached, instead of being a savour of life unto life, has been a savour of death unto death. Though I shall not have any account to give for the future, of such as have openly and resolutely renounced my ministry, as of a betrustment committed to me: yet remember you must give account for yourselves, of your care of your own souls, and your improvement of all means past and future, through your whole lives. God only knows what will become of your poor perishing souls, what means you may hereafter enjoy, or what disadvantages and temptations you may be under. May God in mercy grant, that however all past means have been unsuccessful, you may have future means, which may have a new effect; and that the word of God, as it shall be hereafter dispensed to you, may prove as the fire and the hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces. However, let me now at parting, exhort and beseech you, not wholly to forget the warnings you have had while under my ministry. When you and I shall meet at the day of judgment, then you will remember them: the sight of me your former minister, on that occasion, will soon revive them in your memory; and that in a very affecting manner. O do not let that be the first time that they are so revived.

You and I are now parting one from another as to this world; let us labour that we may not be parted, after our meeting at the last day. If I have been your faithful pastor, (which will that day appear, whether I have or no,) then I shall be acquitted, and shall ascend with Christ. O do your part, that in such a case, it may not be so, that you should be forced eternally to part from me, and all that have been faithful in Christ Jesus. This is a sorrowful parting, that now is between you and me; but that would be a more sorrowful parting to you than this. This you may perhaps bear without being much affected with it, if you are not glad of it; but such a parting, in that day, will most deeply, sensibly and dreadfully, affect you.

III. I would address myself to those who are under some awakenings.

Blessed be God, that there are some such, and that (although I have reason to fear I leave multitudes, in this large congregation, in a christless state,) yet I do not leave them all in total stupidity and carelessness, about their souls. Some of you, that I have reason to hope are under some awakenings, have acquainted me with your circumstances; which has a tendency to cause me, now I am leaving you, to take my leave of you with peculiar concern for you. What will be the issue of your present exercise of mind, I know not: but it will be known at

that day, when you and I shall meet before the judgment seat of Christ. Therefore now be much in consideration of that day.

Now I am parting with this flock, I would once more press upon you the counsels I have heretofore given, to take heed of being slighty in so great a concern, to be thorough and in good earnest in the affair, and to beware of backsliding, to hold on and hold out to the end. And cry mightily to God, that these great changes, that pass over this church and congregation, do not prove your overthrow. There is great temptation in them; and the devil will undoubtedly seek to make his advantage of them, if possible, to cause your present convictions and endeavours to be abortive. You had need to double your diligence, and watch and pray, lest you be overcome by temptation.

Whoever may hereafter stand related to you, as your spiritual guide, my desire and prayer is, that the great Shepherd of the sheep would have a special respect to you, and be your guide, (for there is none teacheth like him,) and that he who is the infinite Fountain of light, would *open your eyes, and turn you from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that you may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them that are sanctified, through faith that is in Christ;* that so, in that great day, when I shall meet you again, before your Judge and mine, we may meet in joyful and glorious circumstances, never to be separated any more.

IV. I would apply myself to the young people of the congregation. Since I have been settled in the work of the ministry, in this place, I have ever had a peculiar concern for the souls of the young people, and a desire that religion might flourish among them; and have especially exerted myself in order to it; because I knew the special opportunity they had beyond others, and that ordinarily those, whom God intended mercy for, were brought to fear and love him in their youth. And it has ever appeared to me a peculiarly amiable thing to see young people walking in the ways of virtue and christian piety, having their hearts purified and sweetened with a principle of divine love. And it has appeared a thing exceeding beautiful, and what would be much to the adorning and happiness of the town, if the young people could be persuaded, when they meet together, to converse as christians, and as the children of God; avoiding impurity, levity, and extravagance; keeping strictly to the rules of virtue, and conversing together of the things of God, and Christ and heaven. This is what I have longed for: and it has been exceedingly grievous to me, when I have heard of vice, vanity and disorder, among our youth. And so far as I know my heart, it was from hence that I formerly led this church to some measures, for the suppressing of vice among our young people, which gave so great offence, and by which I became so obnoxious. I have sought the good and not the hurt of our young people. I have desired their truest honour and happiness, and not their reproach; knowing that true virtue and religion tended, not only to the glory and felicity of young people in another world, but their greatest peace and prosperity, and highest dignity and honour in this world, and above all things to sweeten and render pleasant and delightful even the days of youth.

But whether I have loved you and sought your good more or less, yet God in his providence, now calling me to part with you, commit-

ting your souls to him who once committed the pastoral care of them to me, nothing remains, but only (as I am now taking my leave of you) earnestly to beseech you, from love to yourselves, if you have none to me, not to despise and forget the warnings and counsels I have so often given you; remembering the day when you and I must meet again before the great Judge of quick and dead; when it will appear whether the things I have taught you were true, whether the counsels I have given you were good, and whether I truly sought your good, and whether you have well improved my endeavours.

I have, from time to time, earnestly warned you against frolicking (as it is called,) and some other liberties commonly taken by young people in the land. And whatever some may say, in justification of such liberties and customs, and may laugh at warnings against them, I now leave you my parting testimony against such things; not doubting but God will approve and confirm it, in that day when we shall meet before Him.

V. I would apply myself to the children of the congregation, the lambs of this flock, who have been so long under my care.

I have just now said, that I have had a peculiar concern for the young people: and in so saying, I did not intend to exclude you. You are in youth, and in the most early youth: and therefore I have been sensible, that if those that were young had a precious opportunity for their souls' good, you who are very young had, in many respects, a peculiarly precious opportunity. And accordingly I have not neglected you: I have endeavoured to do the part of a faithful shepherd, in feeding the lambs as well as the sheep. Christ did once commit the care of your souls to me as your minister; and you know, dear children, how I have instructed you, and warned you from time to time: you know how I have often called you together for that end: and some of you, sometimes, have seemed to be affected with what I have said to you. But I am afraid it has had no saving effect, as to many of you; but that you remain still in an unconverted condition, without any real saving work wrought in your souls, convincing you thoroughly of your sin and misery, causing you to see the great evil of sin, and to mourn for it, and hate it above all things; and giving you a sense of the excellency of the Lord Jesus Christ, bringing you, with all your hearts, to cleave to Him as your Saviour; weaning your hearts from the world; and causing you to love God above all, and to delight in holiness more than in all the pleasant things of this earth: and so that I now leave you in a miserable condition, having no interest in Christ, and so under the awful displeasure and anger of God, and in danger of going down to the pit of eternal misery.

But now I must bid you farewell: I must leave you in the hands of God. I can do no more for you than to pray for you. Only I desire you not to forget, but often think of the counsels and warnings I have given you, and the endeavours I have used, that your souls might be saved from everlasting destruction.

Dear children, I leave you in an evil world, that is full of snares and temptations. God only knows what will become of you. This the Scripture has told us, that there are but few saved: and we

have abundant confirmation of it from what we see. This we see, that children die as well as others: multitudes die before they grow up; and of those that grow up, comparatively few ever give good evidence of saving conversion to God. I pray God to pity you, and take care of you, and provide for you the best means for the good of your souls; and that God himself would undertake for you, to be your heavenly Father, and the mighty Redeemer of your immortal souls. Do not neglect to pray for yourselves: take heed you be not of the number of those, who cast off fear, and restrain prayer before God. Constantly pray to God in secret; and often remember that great day, when you must appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and meet your minister there, who has so often counselled and warned you.

I conclude with a few words of advice to all in general, in some particulars, which are of great importance in order to the future welfare and prosperity of this church and congregation.

1. One thing that greatly concerns you, as you would be an happy people, is the maintaining of *family order*.

We have had great disputes how the church ought to be regulated; and indeed the subject of these disputes was of great importance: but the due regulation of your families is of no less, and in some respects, of much greater importance. Every christian family ought to be, as it were, a little church, consecrated to Christ, and wholly influenced and governed by his rules. And family education and order are some of the chief of the means of grace. If these fail, all other means are like to prove ineffectual. If these are duly maintained, all the means of grace will be like to prosper and be successful.

Let me now, therefore, once more, before I finally cease to speak to this congregation, repeat and earnestly press the counsel, which I have often urged on heads of families here, while I was their pastor, to great painfulness, in teaching, warning and directing their children; bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; beginning early, where there is yet opportunity; and maintaining a constant diligence in labours of this kind: remembering that, as you would not have all your instructions and counsels ineffectual, there must be government as well as instructions, which must be maintained with an even hand, and steady resolution; as a guard to the religion and morals of the family, and the support of its good order. Take heed that it be not with any of you, as it was with Eli of old, who reproved his children, but restrained them not; and that by this means you do not bring the like curse on your families, as he did on his.

And let children obey their parents, and yield to their instructions, and submit to their orders, as they would inherit a blessing, and not a curse. For we have reason to think, from many things in the word of God, that nothing has a greater tendency to bring a curse on persons, in this world, and on all their temporal concerns, than an undutiful, unsubmissive, disorderly behaviour in children towards their parents.

2. As you would seek the future prosperity of this society, it is of vast importance that you should avoid *contention*.

A contentious people will be a miserable people. The contentions, which have been among you, since I first became your pastor, have

been one of the greatest burdens I have laboured under, in the course of my ministry: not only the contentions you have had with me, but those you have had one with another, about your lands, and other concerns: because I knew that contention, heat of spirit, evil speaking, and things of the like nature, were directly contrary to the spirit of christianity, and did, in a peculiar manner, tend to drive away God's spirit from a people, and to render all means of grace ineffectual, as well as to destroy a people's outward comfort and welfare.

Let me, therefore, earnestly exhort you, as you would seek your own future good, hereafter to watch against a contentious spirit. *If you would see good days, seek peace and ensue it*, 1 Pet. iii. 10, 11. Let the contention, which has lately been about the terms of christian communion, as it has been the greatest of your contentions, so be the last of them. I would, now I am preaching my Farewell Sermon, say to you, as the apostle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xiii. 11, *Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect: be of one mind: live in peace: and the God of love and peace shall be with you.*

And here I would particularly advise those, that have adhered to me in the late controversy, to watch over their spirits, and avoid all bitterness towards others. Your temptations are, in some respects, the greatest: because what has been lately done is grievous to you. But, however wrong you may think others have done, maintain, with great diligence and watchfulness, a christian meekness and sedateness of spirit: and labour, in this respect, to excel others who are of the contrary part: and this will be the best victory: for *he that rules his spirit, is better than he that takes a city.* Therefore let nothing be done through strife or vainglory: indulge no revengeful spirit in any wise; but watch and pray against it: and by all means in your power, seek the prosperity of this town: and never think you behave yourselves as becomes christians, but when you sincerely, sensibly and fervently, love all men, of whatever party or opinion, and whether friendly or unkind, just or injurious, to you, or your friends, or to the cause and kingdom of Christ.

3. Another thing, that vastly concerns the future prosperity of the town, is, that you should watch against the encroachments of Error; and particularly *Arminianism*, and doctrines of like tendency.

You were many of you, as I well remember, much alarmed, with the apprehension of the danger of the prevailing of these corrupt principles, near sixteen years ago. But the danger then was small, in comparison of what appears now: these doctrines, at this day, are much more prevalent, than they were then: the progress they have made in the land, within this seven years, seems to have been vastly greater, than at any time in the like space before: and they are still prevailing, and creeping into almost all parts of the land, threatening the utter ruin of the credit of those doctrines, which are the peculiar glory of the gospel, and the interests of vital piety. And I have of late perceived some things among yourselves, that show that you are far from being out of danger, but on the contrary remarkably exposed. The elder people may perhaps think themselves sufficiently fortified against infection: but it is fit that all should beware of self-confidence and carnal security, and should remember those needful warnings of sacred writ, *Be not high minded but fear*, and *let him that stands,*

take heed lest he fall. But let the case of the elder people be as it will, the rising generations are doubtless greatly exposed. These principles are exceedingly taking with corrupt nature, and are what young people, at least such as have not their hearts established with grace, are easily led away with.

And if these principles should greatly prevail in this town, as they very lately have done in another large town I could name, formerly greatly noted for religion, and so for a long time, it will threaten the spiritual and eternal ruin of this people, in the present and future generations. Therefore you have need of the greatest and most diligent care and watchfulness with respect to this matter.

4. Another thing which I would advise to, that you may hereafter be a prosperous people, is, that you would give yourselves much to prayer.

God is the fountain of all blessing and prosperity, and he will be sought to for his blessing. I would therefore advise you, not only to be constant in secret and family prayer, and in the public worship of God in his house, but also often to assemble yourselves in private praying societies. I would advise all such, as are grieved for the afflictions of Joseph, and sensibly affected with the calamities of this town, of whatever opinion they be, with relation to the subject of our late controversy, often to meet together for prayer, and cry to God for his mercy to themselves, and mercy to this town, and mercy to Zion, and to the people of God in general through the world.

5. The last article of advice, I would give, (which doubtless does greatly concern your prosperity,) is, that you would take great care with regard to the settlement of a minister, to see to it who or what manner of person he is, whom you settle: and particularly in these two respects.

(1.) That he be a man of thoroughly sound principles, in the scheme of doctrine which he maintains.

This you will stand in the greatest need of, especially at such a day of corruption as this is. And, in order to obtain such an one, you had need to exercise extraordinary care and prudence. I know the danger. I know the manner of many young gentlemen of corrupt principles, their ways of concealing themselves, the fair specious disguises they are wont to put on, by which they deceive others, to maintain their own credit, and get themselves into others' confidence and improvement, and secure and establish their own interest, until they see a convenient opportunity to begin, more openly, to broach and propagate their corrupt tenets.

(2.) Labour to obtain a man, who has an established character, as a person of serious religion and fervent piety.

It is of vast importance that those, who are settled in this work, should be men of true piety, at all times, and in all places; but more especially at some times and in some towns and churches. And this present time, which is a time wherein religion is in danger, by so many corruptions in doctrine and practice, is in a peculiar manner, a day wherein such ministers are necessary. Nothing else but sincere piety of heart is at all to be depended on, at such a time as this, as a security to a young man, just coming into the world, from the prevailing infection, to

thoroughly to engage him, in proper and successful endeavours, to withstand and oppose the torrent of error and prejudice, against the high, mysterious, evangelical doctrines of the religion of Jesus Christ, and their genuine effects in true experimental religion. And this place is a place, that does peculiarly need such a minister, for reasons obvious to all.

If you should happen to settle a minister, who knows nothing, truly, of Christ, and the way of salvation by him, nothing experimentally of the nature of vital religion; alas, how will you be exposed as sheep without a shepherd. Here is need of one in this place, who shall be eminently fit to stand in the gap, and make up the hedge, and who shall be as,the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof. You need one, that shall stand as a champion, in the cause of truth andgodliness.

Having briefly mentioned these important articles of advice, nothing remains, but that I take my leave of you, and bid you all farewell, wishing and praying for your prosperity. I would now commend your immortal souls to HIM, who formerly committed them to me; expecting the day, when I must meet you again before him, who is the Judge of quick and dead. I desire that I may never forget this people, who have been so long my special charge, and that I may never cease fervently to pray for your prosperity. May God bless you with a faithful pastor, one that is well acquainted with his mind and will, thoroughly warning sinners, wisely and skilfully searching professors, and conducting you in the way to eternal blessedness. May you have truly a burning and shining light set up in this candlestick; and may you not only for a season, but during his life, and that a long life, be willing to rejoice in his light.

And let me be remembered, in the prayers of all God's people, that are of a calm spirit, and are peaceable and faithful in Israel, of whatever opinion they may be, with respect to terms of Church Communion.

And let us all remember, and never forget, our future, solemn meeting, on that Great day of the Lord; the day of infallible and of the unalterable sentence. AMEN.

APPENDIX.

A.

(See p. 10.)

I HAVE not been able to ascertain the names of any of the children of Richard Edwards, by his first marriage, except the eldest. Among those by the second marriage were John, Hannah, and Daniel.

The Hon. DANIEL EDWARDS, the youngest son, was born in the year 1700. He entered Yale College in 1716, the same year with his nephew, Jonathan Edwards, and was his classmate and roommate, and afterwards his fellow-tutor in that seminary. He was distinguished for his acquisitions as a scholar, and for his talents as an instructor. He chose the law as his profession, and early rose to eminence. In 1723, he married a Miss Sarah Hooker, by whom he had five children, two sons and three daughters; all of whom died in infancy, except *Sarah*, who married Mr. George Lord, and died in October, 1764, as did her husband in October 1765, leaving one son.

The following sketch of the life and character of Mr. Edwards, who died at New-Haven, September 6, 1765, in the 65th year of his age, and was there buried, is taken from the Sermon of the Rev. Edward Dorr, Pastor of the first church in Hartford, occasioned by his death.

"God has seen fit to take away one, who for many years has been an honour and an ornament to this church and congregation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a great blessing to it. His place is now vacant among us, and we shall see his face no more. I shall not attempt to give his character at large; as he was born and brought up among you, and spent the greater part of his life in this place, you all know that he was a gentleman of great worth and usefulness. Nature had furnished him with distinguished natural powers. He had a liberal education, and but few among us ever made a greater proficiency in useful learning, than he did. He was early called to public improvement, as a tutor in the college, where his name is remembered with honour to this day. Since he left the college, he has generally been employed in important stations, in the service of the government, and in all has so conducted, as to obtain the approbation of the public. For many years, he was a member of the Council, Judge of Probate for the District of Hartford, and one of the judges of the Superior Court. In all these important trusts, he shone with honour. He was an able councillor, an upright judge, and a faithful magistrate; a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that did well. In all the public affa rs, which he sustained, neither his ability nor integrity has ever been impeached. If we view him in private life, his character was very

amiable. From his youth up, he hath been unblemished. He was a good neighbour, a kind and faithful friend, a person of strict truth and honesty, not easily carried away by slight impressions, but uniform, steady and even, in his principles and conduct. He has been for many years a professor of our holy religion; and you are all witnesses, that he was a devout and constant attendant on the worship and ordinances of God, and exhibited in his life and conversation an excellent pattern of uniform, constant and steady, obedience to the laws of the gospel. As he lived, so he died, calm, composed, and resigned to God. Death, the king of terrors, was no terror to him. His conscience was unreproaching, and he received the final summons without surprise, relying on the merits of a glorious Redeemer; and through him expecting a triumphant entrance into the joys of his Lord. While he lived, he bore a principal part in all public affairs among us. He was a real friend to all mankind, to this town, to this church and society in particular, and constantly sought its best interests. We shall feel the loss of him, wherever we turn our eyes; especially in this stormy day, when able and faithful men are so much needed. The Colony, the Council, and the Supreme Court will feel the loss. We in this church and society, especially, must sensibly feel the stroke, as there was no man, on whose kind counsel and friendly advice, we could more safely rely than his. A great and good man is taken away from us; and he has been taken away in an evil day, a day of perplexity and trouble. God grant, that a double portion of his excellent spirit may rest on some of us, and that this heavy breach may be sanctified to us all for good! Oh, let us follow that good example, which he has left us, and study peace as he did. And let us earnestly pray the great Lord of the Universe, with whom is the residue of the Spirit, that he would raise up worthy men to fill his place, in the government, and among ourselves."

B.

(See p. 10.)

I have before me, while writing, a closely written manuscript of ninety-six pages, foolscap 8vo. by the Rev. Timothy Edwards of East-Windsor, and eldest son of Richard Edwards, Esquire, headed, "Some things written for my own use and comfort, concerning the life, and death, of my very dear and ever honoured father, Mr. Richard Edwards, late of Hartford, who died April 20, 1718, on the Sabbath in the forenoon, being the ninth day of his sickness, and the 71st year of his age, he being then very near seventy one years old, having been born in May 1647."

The following brief abstract of this account will not be uninteresting to those, who respect the memory of departed piety and worth; especially, as it is an accurate moral picture of the man, who moulded the character of the father and instructor of President Edwards. As far as is consistent with brevity, the language of the original is exactly preserved.

He was naturally, of a strong healthy constitution, well-formed and comely, and of uncommon vigour, activity, and nimbleness of body—characteristics, for which he was distinguished until the close of life. He had a clear voice and ready utterance, and expressed himself not only with ease and propriety, but with uncommon energy and effect. He was naturally cheerful, sprightly, and sweet-tempered, of a ready wit, had a mind well stored with knowledge, particularly the knowledge of history and theology, and in conversation was uncommonly pleasant and entertaining. He

was sober and considerate, a man of great courage, resolution and perseverance; had a clear and strong understanding, a sound judgment, and a quick, sharp insight into men and things; and was capable of almost any kind of business. He was in the full sense of the phrase *a man of business*, distinguished for his wisdom and forecast; had uncommon prudence and discretion in the management of his own affairs, and was extensively consulted in matters of weight and difficulty, by others.

Though natively quick and warm when provoked or affronted, he had acquired the self government, which became him as a man and a christian; though firm and inflexible in the discharge of his duty, he was yet easy to be intreated. He was candid and charitable in his estimate of the conduct of others, kind and affectionate in his feelings, liberal and generous in the use of his property, obliging in his disposition, willing to devote his time and services to the good of his fellow-men, readily forgiving injuries on the slightest acknowledgment, but yielding nothing to pride and haughtiness of spirit. He was uniformily courteous, affable, and easy of access; free and familiar with his children and servants, and with the poorest and humblest of his neighbours; and at the same time tender-hearted and compassionate, easily melting into tears, while witnessing either examples of kindness and generosity, or scenes of affliction and sorrow, and doing what lay in his power to relieve the wants and distresses of others. He had a manly ingenous spirit, was accustomed to deal very faithfully and thoroughly with his fellow men about their faults and miscarriages, and did not fear, on any proper occasion, to tell any man plainly what he saw amiss in his conduct.

He was a sincere and faithful friend, never disappointing those who trusted in him; and it was no difficult matter for any honest man, however humble his circumstances, in a just cause, especially if he was oppressed and unable to defend himself, to secure his friendship. "Such confidence," says the writer, "have I in my father's faithfulness, that, under God, I could venture my estate, my good name, and even my life, in the hands of such a friend. In all his dealings with his fellow-men he was eminently just, honest, and upright. Though his business was very extensive and continued through a long life, and though I had the best opportunity of knowing his concerns, I never knew him attempt to wrong any individual, or do any thing, which discovered the least shadow of deceit or dishonesty. On the contrary, he abhorred all base underhand management, scorned and hated all that was little, unfair and unworthy, and in freedom from dissimulation, hypocrisy, and any design to do wrong, was among those who excel."

In all the various relations of his life, his character was truly estimable. He was hospitable and courteous to strangers, and charitable to the poor, and was ever ready to sympathize with the afflicted, to plead the cause of the widow and the fatherless, and to help those, who wanted both friends and money to help themselves. He was an affectionate, tender, careful husband, one of the best of fathers to his children, a just and kind master, esteemed and beloved by his neighbours, a good and punctual paymaster, and of a credit always unimpeached. He was not only faithful, in managing the concerns of others; but equitable, in his demands for services rendered, often indeed rendering them for nothing; just and moderate in his profits, gentle and accommodating towards his debtors, often bearing with them, year after year, if they were poor and honest. He was also merciful to his beast.

He had an excellent spirit of government---having wisdom to govern not only himself, but others---so that he was both feared, and loved, by his children, and servants, and all who were under his control. "I cannot say

that he discovered no infirmities, but they were much outweighed by his virtues."

In the existence and constant presence of God, he appeared not only to believe, but to delight. The fear of God seemed habitually before his eyes, so that nothing probably would have tempted him to do that, which he really thought would offend him. Twice every day, he worshipped God in his house, by reading the Scriptures and prayer. Other religious books were read in their season in the family, and that to an extent rarely surpassed. His conversation with, and his letters to, his children were full of religious instruction. He laid great stress on the promises of God to the righteous, and his threatenings to the wicked; fully expecting and looking for the accomplishment of both. He habitually and attentively observed the dispensations of Providence; ever acknowledging with thankfulness his goodness to him and his; and regarding every affliction as an immediate chastisement from God, so that he heard the voice of the rod and him that appointed it. Rarely does any christian express so solemnizing and heart-affecting a sense, of the great and awful dispensations of Providence, towards individuals, or towards the world at large.

"He hated vice and wickedness, wherever he saw it, and abhorred to justify or make light of sin, whether committed by strangers, or by his own near relatives: always discovering in this respect a just, conscientious, impartial spirit, and appearing to frown upon it even more in his children, than in others.

"In prayer, he seemed to draw very near to God, with peculiar solemnity and reverence, with exalted views of his greatness and goodness, and with a supreme regard to his glory. He appeared to cherish an admiring sense of the wisdom, the power and the goodness, of God, in contemplating the works of creation and providence, and the riches of his grace as unfolded in the work of redemption. The truth of God, he studied and understood, as well as loved and obeyed.

"Few men administer christian admonition and reproof, with so much faithfulness, discretion and solemnity, or with so much success; and few receive it with more humility, meekness and self-application. His feelings on religious subjects were at once strong and tender: often discovering themselves at public worship, in family prayer, and in religious reading and conversation.

"He took peculiar care, that his family sanctified the Sabbath, and appeared himself conscientiously to keep it holy. On the morning of every sacramental Sabbath, he regularly spent a long time alone, in religious retirement. He was abundant, in his religious instructions and admonitions to his family, on every proper occasion, and regularly every Sabbath afternoon in enforcing the sermons of the day, and the instructions of the book which was then read. "From my own observation of other religious families, with which I have been familiarly acquainted, I have reason to believe that few children, even of christian parents, are as much counselled and instructed." He loved and honoured the faithful ministers of Christ, for their work's sake; and was a sincere and hearty friend to his own minister;* actively and zealously exciting others to help and befriend him, and resolutely and successfully opposing and bearing down those, who arrayed themselves against him.

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*The Rev. Timothy Woodbridge. This gentleman was the minister of Hartford from 1685 to 1732: he was highly respected for his talents and worth. An interesting sketch of his character is given by the Rev. Timothy Edwards, in his Election Sermon, preached in 1732.

" In his religion, he was far from being ostentatious; and the applause of men he regarded as nothing, in comparison with that testimony of a good conscience, which would enable him to appeal to the heart-searching God, for the sincerity and uprightness of his conduct. He appeared to love the real disciples of Christ, for their piety; disregarding the distinctions of sect and party, and receiving all his brethren, who were received by Christ.

Though possessed of property, he realized, in an unusual degree, the vanity of worldly good, and placed but a slight dependence on riches, honours, or pleasures, as the means of permanent happiness. "Surely," says his son, "this world was not my father's god; his chief good was something better and nobler, than this present life can afford." He appeared habitually sensible of the frailty of his nature, and of the nearness of his own death, often conversing on death and the judgment, in a truly devout and edifying manner, and frequently observing, near the close of life, "I carry my life in my hand every day; I am daily looking and waiting, until my change come." Few christians, indeed, seem more conversant with their own death, more careful to prepare for it, or more ready to meet it.

In the government of God, he seemed habitually to rejoice. His sense of the evil of sin was peculiarly deep; he was patient and submissive under sufferings, was willing to suffer for Christ's sake, and was free from the fear of death. He appeared to be truly humbled under a sense of his own sins, to mourn over sin, and to wage a constant warfare against it, to love the way of salvation revealed in the gospel, to cherish a sacred regard to the glory of God, and the interests of religion, and to entertain exalted views of the character and glory of Christ. "Though he never," says his son, "gave me an account of his conversion at large; yet on various occasions, in conversation, he has alluded to the great change then wrought in his views and affections, with regard to temporal and spiritual objects, particularly to worldly good, the warfare with sin, the hope of reconciliation to God, and a title to eternal life." He appeared eminently to trust in God, to cherish a deep sense of his dependence, and to lead a life of faith. "Though I have now been in the ministry," he adds, "nearly four and twenty years, and, during that period, have often had much private conversation with many of the truly pious, I do not remember that I have met with any, who seemed more truly to lead such a life, than my dear father; and to such a life he habitually advised and directed his children, both in his conversation and in his letters. Writing to me on an important subject, he says,—'I leave you, in this, and all your affairs, to the direction 'and guidance of the Fountain of wisdom and goodness, who, I doubt not, 'will guide you into the best and safest course, if you trust in him, and by 'faith commit your ways to him. Make the glory of God your main end, 'and depend on him by a lively faith in his promise; for He is faithful who 'hath promised, that they who wait on him shall not want any good thing— 'that is, any that is really good for them.'——In a letter addressed to me, when I was with the army at Albany,* then on an expedition to Canada, he thus writes—'I have nothing new to write to you, but merely to revive 'what I have said formerly, that, since God, in his all-wise providence, has 'called you to this present service, you put your whole trust in *him*, to 'carry you through it, who never fails any who put their trust in him. 'You may expect to meet with difficulties, but still God is all-sufficient— 'the same God in all places, and in all conditions;—therefore commit

* In August 1711.

yourself wholly to his merciful providence, who is a faithful God to all 'his people, in all their ways. So I leave you to the blessing, guidance, 'and keeping, of a gracious and faithful God and Father.'—I have cause to say, "Blessed be God, that once I had a father, thus disposed to counsel his children!"

In all affairs of weight and difficulty, he appeared, in an unusual degree, to commit himself to God, to wait on him for direction and for help, to leave the event in his hands, and then to be at peace. "He has sometimes told me," says his son, "that, when his mind has been much agitated, in consequence of some great trouble and perplexity, in which he could see no means of help or relief, so that he could get no rest for a great part of the night, it has been his customary course, to cast it entirely on God, and leave it in his hands; and then, said he, I can at once go to sleep."

"God was his great refuge in times of trouble, and I have good reason to believe that the declaration in Deut. xxxiii. 27, *The Eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath thee are the everlasting arms*—might be applied to him with truth. In the time of health, he trusted in God, and strongly relied on his providential care and goodness, to provide for himself and his family. This was peculiarly observable in seasons of affliction and distress. In sickness, he stayed himself on God, and looked to the Lord Jesus Christ, to carry him safely through, however it might issue. In the very dreadful mortality in Hartford, about seven years since,* when great numbers of the inhabitants died, he was dangerously sick of the distemper; and when the crisis was passed, he gave us the following account of his reflexions during the first night of his sickness: 'When I was first taken ill, I 'concluded that I had the prevailing fever, and was strongly impressed with 'the belief that I should die of it. During the former part of the night, I 'felt considerable uneasiness and anxiety respecting it, but in the latter 'part of it, the disquiet of my mind passed away, and I was willing to leave 'myself with God. I found myself not so much concerned about the issue 'of my sickness: but thought I was satisfied, that it should be as he pleas-'ed.'—This, during his whole sickness, gave him inward peace and rest in God, and comfortably freed him from the terrors of death."

"The language of his last Will, written near the close of life, strongly exhibits the good man, who trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is:—'I, Richard Edwards of Hartford, being weak in body, yet through 'God's goodness, my understanding and memory remaining good, being 'sensible of my own mortality, and not knowing how suddenly the Lord 'may put a period to this short life, do therefore make this my last will and 'testament. And first, I commit my soul into the bosom of my most mer-'ciful God and Father, and ever blessed Redeemer, Jesus Christ, hoping 'for eternal life and salvation through the merits, mediation and intercession of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and my body to the earth, to 'be buried, nothing doubting but that it shall be raised again, and reunited 'to my soul, by the mighty power of God, at the last day, and so rest in 'hopes of a glorious resurrection, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

"The piety and evangelical excellence, which had characterized his life, were even more conspicuous in his last sickness, and at his death.—Towards one whom he regarded as having greatly injured him, he expressed feelings of kindness and good-will; and while he declared, that in the review of his conduct towards him, he had peace of conscience, that he could safely die upon what he had done in it, and that under the approach

* In 1711.

of death, he felt no trouble lying upon his mind, with reference to it, yet he declared he could truly say, he heartily wished him the best good. He took great care that no wrong should be done through mistake, with respect to what had been due, or was still due to him from others. To one of his neighbours, who came and, whispering in his ear, asked his forgiveness, he readily and promptly replied, "I forgive you, I forgive you," and this so kindly and heartily, that the man was melted into tears. He repeatedly charged his children, on no consideration, to take advantage of the law against any, who had mortgaged their lands or estates to him, and whose mortgages were out and their debts unpaid.

"When his children came around his bed, weeping at the apprehension of his approaching death, and their incalculable loss, he said to them,' This 'time I have long expected, this scene I have looked for, and now it is 'come.' As some of us, who lived at a distance, came into his sick chamber for the first time, he said, 'I can but look upon you, my children, I 'can't speak to you; I have a great deal to say, but I can't say it; God 'now denies me that liberty.' When I first saw him, (April 16th,) he expressed a hope, that he should meet me with joy, at the right hand of Christ, in the great day. Something being said to him, with reference to death, he replied, 'Death, indeed, is terrible to nature, but I hope God will 'strengthen me, and carry me through it, and help me to submit to his 'will; I lie at the feet of God.'—While he was praying to God by himself, he was overheard to say,—'Lord, I come to thee with my naked soul; I 'desire to bow under thy chastising hand, and hope it is a good chastise-'ment.' As we sat weeping by his bed-side, April 16th, he said to us,—'Come, children, moderate your grief, for such things must be, and the 'will of God is best; I freely submit myself to the will of God, whether in 'life or death, to do with me as he pleases.'—He said to me, on the 17th, —'Though I seem to be better to-day, yet I am of the opinion that this 'sickness will be my last; and I am very willing that the will of God 'should be done:'—And on the following day,—'I have been of the opi-'nion, all along, that this sickness will be my death, and I have not yet seen 'cause to alter my mind, I am very willing that God's will should be done, 'I am not at all anxious about it; I rely on the Lord Jesus Christ; I have 'chosen him for my Saviour and mighty Redeemer.'—On my observing, 'This must be a great support, Sir, to your mind;'—he replied,—'It is so.' As I was sitting by him, on the 17th, I heard him say,—'O my poor, frail, 'mortal body, methinks, sometimes, I could be glad to slip away from thee!' In the midst of most severe pain, he expressed himself very desirous, that God would enable him to bear his afflicting hand, and quietly submit to his will, even to the end, and that he might not, at any time, by impatience, be left to sin against him, and for this he desired our prayers, that God would, in this respect, strengthen him more and more; and in a very humble manner, when he had scarce strength to speak, he thus, in a short ejaculation, prayed to God, 'O Lord, increase thy grace, and strengthen thy servant's 'faith!'—During his whole sickness, he appeared to be almost always praying to God; far more so than is commonly witnessed on the death-bed of the christian.

He solemnly exhorted and charged his son John, to carry on the worship of God in his family, after his death. To one of his daughters, he said, as she stood weeping over him, "I must say to you, as Mr. Whiting said to his daughter Sybil, Through wet and dry, through thick and thin, keep steady for that port." On the 18th, as his good friend Mr. Austin, and myself, sat by him, and we observed him troubled with hiccoughs, one of us remarked, that the hiccoughs were very distressing, and he replied, "God must take his own way, and use his own means, and I desire to submit to

his holy will, and hope I can do it freely." He expressed to me his conviction, that it was better for him to depart and be with Christ, than to continue with his family. On my reminding him, that he had many friends, he replied,—"I know that I have many friends, but there is one friend that is better than all;" and when one of us spoke of making his bed easy, he replied,—"The favour of Jesus Christ will make my bed easy; the bosom of Jesus Christ is the best resting-place, for a man in my condition,"—To one of my sisters, he said, "Weep for yourself, my child, as I have wept for myself, I have laid hold upon the Rock of ages, I hope my anchor is within the veil:"—and to another, as she observed him in very great pain,—"The passage may prove rough, but the shore is safe, and the bottom will bear me."—In reply to a remark of mine, he said,—"I trust in the Lord Jesus Christ, and have ventured my soul upon him for eternity, and I desire to do so more and more."—On the night of the 18th, when his distemper was most violent, he expressed his full conviction, that he had chosen God for his portion, and that he would grant him a favourable issue.

He expressed high and honourable thoughts of God in the midst of his greatest distress. On Wednesday, observing his uncommon patience and resignation under extreme suffering, I was led to remark, that to submit quietly and patiently to the will of God, when sorely afflicted by him, was one of the hardest lessons a christian had to learn. His reply was striking and affecting:—'Alas! there is no room, nor cause to complain of God, 'for he is infinitely good, yea goodness itself, and the fountain of it. I 'should be very ungrateful indeed, if I should complain of him who has 'been so good to me all my days.'

"On Saturday, the 19th of April, and the last day but one of his life, when he lay rattling in his throat, much oppressed for want of breath, and in great pain, so that he seemed to me to be in the very pangs and agonies of death, he expressed some fear that he might lie long in that condition, and so endure great pain and misery before he died, and therefore seemed to desire that God would mercifully shorten the time of his sufferings, by taking him quickly out of the world. Mrs. Talcot said to him, 'But you 'are willing to wait God's time:'—to which he replied,—'O yes, O yes.' At a time when he appeared to be fast sinking, Major Talcot informed him, that he was ready to think death was upon him, he was so very low, and I added,—'I hope that God will never leave you nor forsake you:'—with great readiness, and with an air of much inward satisfaction, he replied,—'I don't fear it, I don't fear it.'—When he was hardly able to speak, he told me, in answer to a question, that—'his hope of eternal life, through 'the infinite mercy of God in Jesus Christ, was still firm; that he trusted 'all would be well with him in a short time, and that then he should think 'of his present afflictions and sufferings with pleasure.'—In the former part of the night, he told us that he was comforted with the hope of going to heaven. On my asking him, if he did not wish to recover, he replied:—'To recover, No; I am better as I am, I have no desire to go back, I have left myself with God.'—In the latter part of the night, having lain down for a little sleep, I was called up, as he appeared to be dying. I asked him if his hope of salvation continued, he said—'Yes.'—I asked him whether he still had good thoughts of God, and he replied—'Yes, Yes.'—In the morning of the Sabbath, a few hours before his death, I went to him and told him I would make one more prayer with him, if he thought he could attend; he was only able to say—'Yes,'—and at the same time nodded his head; and, when it was concluded, gave me the same sign, that he had been able to understand and unite with me. In the prayer, I spoke of him as dying; and expressing my hope to him afterwards, that he was going to keep sabbath with saints and angels in heaven, and enquiring whether he

had that hope to sustain him, he gave me the customary sign that such was the fact.—

"In this manner he lived and died, glorifying God both in his life and in his death, and leaving behind him that good name, which is better than precious ointment."

C.

(See p. 11.)

The Rev. John Warham, originally one of the ministers of Exeter in England, had four children, all daughters. He died, April 1, 1670. "He was distinguished for piety and the strictest morals; yet, at times, was subject to great gloominess and religious melancholy. Such were his doubts and fears, at some times, that when he administered the Lord's Supper to his brethren, he did not participate with them, fearing that the seals of the covenant did not belong to him. It is said he was the first minister in New England who used *Notes* in preaching; yet he was applauded by his hearers, as one of the most animated and energetic preachers of the day. He was considered as one of the principal fathers and pillars of the churches of Connecticut."—*Trumbull's Hist. Conn. I.* 467.

D.

(See p. 11.)

Mrs. Mather had three children by her first husband, Eunice, Warham and Eliakim. Eunice married Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, who, with his son, (then a child, afterwards the Rev. Stephen Williams, D. D. of Long Meadow,) was carried into captivity, by the Indians, in 1704.

E.

(See p. 11.)

The following are the children of Mr. and Mrs. Stoddard:

I. Mary, born Jan. 9, 1671; married Rev. Stephen Mix of Weathersfield. They had six children; Mary, Rebeckah, Christian, Esther, and Elisha.

II. Esther, born 1672; married Rev. Timothy Edwards. *For an account of their children, see Appendix, G.*

III. Samuel, died in infancy.

IV. Anthony, died in infancy.

V. Aaron, died in infancy.

VI. Christian, born Aug. 22, 1676; married Rev. William Williams of Hatfield. They had four children: 1. Solomon, 2. Israel, 3. Elizabeth, 4. Dorothy.

VII. Anthony, born Aug. 9, 1678; A. B. of Harvard, 1697; the minister of Woodbury in Connecticut; died Sept. 6, 1760.

VIII. Sarah, born April 1, 1680; married Rev. Samuel Whitman of Farmington, Connecticut. They had five children: 1. Sarah, who married Rev. John Trumbull of Westbury, and was the mother of the

Hon. John Trumbull, the poet: 2. Elizabeth, wife of Rev. Thomas Strong of New Marlborough; 3. Elnathan, minister of Hartford, Connecticut; 4. Solomon; 5. Samuel.

IX. John, born Feb. 17, 1682; A. B. of Harvard 1701; married Prudence Chester of Wethersfield. He was usually known as Col. Stoddard of Northampton. They had six children: 1. Mary, born Nov. 12, 1732, and married Hon. John Worthington, LL. D. of Springfield, and died having no issue; 2. Prudence, married Ezekiel Williams, Esq. of Wethersfield; 3. Solomon; 4. Esther; 5. Israel; 6. Hannah.

X. Israel, born April 10, 1684; died in a prison in France.

XI. Rebeckah, born in 1686; married Joseph Hawley of Northampton. They had two children; 1. Joseph, A. B. of Yale, 1742, a distinguished lawyer and statesman; 2. Elisha, killed at the battle of Lake George, Sept. 4, 1755.

XII. Hannah, born April 21, 1688; married Rev. William Williams of Weston, Mass. They had nine children: 1. William; 2. Elizabeth, married Rev. Joseph Crocker of Ipswich; 3. Anne; 4. Lucy, married Rev, Joseph Buckminster of Rutland; 6. Mercy; 7. Esther; 8. Solomon; 9. Hannah.

F.

(See p. 11.)

The following is a list of the publications of the Rev. Mr. Stoddard.

The Trial of Assurance, - - - -	1696
The Doctrine of instituted Churches, - -	1700
The Necessity of acknowledging offences, - -	1701
The Danger of Degeneracy, - - -	1702
Election Sermon, - - - - -	1703
A Sermon on the Lord's Supper, Ex. xii. 47, 48, -	1707
A Sermon at the Ordination of the Rev. Joseph Willard of Swampfield, - - - - -	1708
The Inexcusableness of neglecting the worship of God,	1708
The Falseness of the Hopes of many Professors, -	1708
An Appeal to the Learned on the Lord's Supper, -	1709
A Plea for Tythes: Divine Teachings render persons blessed,	1712
A Guide to Christ. - - - - -	1714
Three Sermons: The Virtue of Christ's Blood; Natural men under the Government of Self-love; The Gospel the means of Conversion; and a fourth, to Stir up young men and maidens. - - - - - -	1717
Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. Thomas Cheney, -	1718
Treatise concerning Conversion, - - -	1719
Answer to cases of Conscience, - - -	1722
Inquiry whether God is not angry with the country, -	1723
Safety of appearing in the righteousness of Christ, -	

G.

(See p. 12.)

The following are the children of Timothy and Esther Edwards.

I. Esther, born in 1695; married Rev. Samuel Hopkins of West Spring-

field. They had several children: Hannah, married, in 1740, to Hon. John Worthington, LL. D. of Springfield. They had two sons who died in infancy; and four daughters: *Mary*, who married Hon. Jonathan Bliss, Chief Justice of the Province of New Brunswick; *Hannah*, who married Hon. Thomas Dwight of Springfield; *Frances*, who married Hon. Fisher Ames, LL. D.; and *Sophia*, who married John Williams, Esq. of Weathersfield.

II. Elizabeth, born 1697; married Col. Jabez Huntington of Windham. They had four daughters: 1. Jerusha, married Dr. Clark of Lebanon; 2. Sarah, married Hezekiah Wetmore of Middletown, and had two children; and after his death, married Samuel Beers of Stratford, and had three children: Lucy, married to George Smith of Smith Town, L. Island; Sarah Anne, married David Burr, Esq. of Fairfield; and William Pitt Beers, Esq. of Albany, who married Anne, daughter of Hon. Jonathan Sturges of Fairfield: 3. Elizabeth, married Rev. Abraham Davenport of Stamford, and had two children; Hon. John Davenport, M. C. and Hon. James Davenport, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut.

III. Anne, born in 1699, married John Ellworth, Esq. of East Windsor, and died in 1793, aged 99. They had four children: 1. John, born Aug. 24, 1735, and had five children; 2. Solomon, born April 3, 1737, and had twelve children; 3. Frederick; 4. Anne, who married Mr. John Stoughton of East Windsor, and had six children.

IV. Mary, born in 1701, and died single, Sept. 17, 1776, in the 76th year of her age.

V. Jonathan, the subject of the present Memoir. *For his children, see appendix, K.*

VI. Eunice, born in 1706, married in Oct. 1729, Rev. Simon Backus of Newington, who went as chaplain of the Connecticut troops to Louisburg, in 1745, and died there in 1746. They had seven children; 1. Unknown; 2. Eunice, born in 1732, died unmarried, aged 75. 3. Elizabeth, born in 1734, married David Bissell of East Windsor. They had two children. 4. Esther, married Benjamin Ely of West Springfield, and had fourteen children. 5. Rev. Simon Backus, A. B. of Yale, in 1759, married Rachel Moseley of East Haddam, and had nine children. 6. Jerusha, married Mr. Smith Bailey, and had four children. 7. Mary, died unmarried.

VII. Abigail, born in 1708; married William Metcalf, Esq. of Lebanon, and A. B. of Harvard College. She died in 1754. They had five children: 1. Abigail, married Moses Bliss, Esq. of Springfield, and had eight children—Hon. *George* Bliss, *Moses*, *William Metcalf*, *Lucy* married Dr. Hezekiah Clark of Lebanon, *Abigail* married Hon. William Ely of Springfield, *Frances* married Rev. William Rowland of Windsor, *Emily*, and *Harriet*; 2. William, and 3. Eliphalet, who died young; 4. Lucy, who married Mr. John Huntington of East Haddam, and had seven children; 5. Eliphalet, born Dec. 6, 1748, married Mary West of Lebanon, and has had ten children.

VIII. Jerusha, born in 1710, and died Dec. 22, 1729, aged about 19 1-2 years.

IX. Hannah, born in 1712, and married Seth Wetmore, Esq. of Middletown, Conn. They had two children: 1. Oliver Wetmore, Esq. married Sarah Brewster, and had four children—Rev. *Oliver* Wetmore, *Sarah*, *Hannah*, and *Clarissa*. 2. Lucy, married Chauncey Whittlesey, Esq. of Middletown, and had four children, *Lucy*, *Hannah*, *Elizabeth* and *Chauncey*.

X. Lucy, born in 1715, and died unmarried in East Windsor, Aug. 21, 1736, aged 21.

XI. Martha, born in 1716, married Rev. Moses Tuthill, of Granville, Mass. and died in Feb. 1794, aged 77. They had four children, all daughters.

H.

(See page 39.)

"THE MIND."

TITLE. The Natural History of the Mental World, or of the Internal World: being a Particular Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Mind, with respect to both its Faculties—the Understanding and the Will—and its various Instincts, and Active and Passive Powers.

INTRODUCTION. Concerning the two worlds—the External and the Internal: the External, the subject of Natural Philosophy; the Internal, our own Minds. How the Knowledge of the latter, is, in many respects, the most important. Of what great use, the true knowledge of this is; and of what dangerous consequence errours, here, are, more than in the other.

Subjects to be handled in the Treatise on the Mind.

1. Concerning the difference between Pleasure and Pain, and Ideas, or the vast difference between the Understanding and the Will.

2. Concerning Prejudices; the influence of Prejudice to cloud the mind. The various sorts of prejudices in particular, and how they come to cloud the mind; particularly Prejudices of Interest—the true reason why they cloud the judgment.—Prejudices of Education and Custom. Their universal influence on wise, and learned, and rational, as well as other men; demonstrated from fact and experience—of their insensible influence, how it is insensible on great men.—How difficultly a people are got out of their old customs. In husbandry, how difficult to persuade that a new way is better.—Another prejudice, is the general cry, and fashion, and vogue, of an age. Its exceeding strong influence, like a strong stream, that carries all that way. This influence on great men. Prejudices of People, in favour of individual great men, to the contempt of others.—Again, the voice of men in power, riches, or honourable place.—How some Churches would laugh at their ceremonies, if they were without them.—How a man's being rich, or in high place, gives great weight to his words.—How much more weighty a man's sayings are, after he becomes a Bishop, than before—another prejudice is from ridicule, or an high strong overbearing contemptuous style.

3. Either after, or before, this, to have a dissertation, concerning the exceeding vanity, blindness and weakness of the mind of man.—What poor fallible creatures men are. How every man is insensible of his own; thinks himself best.—Concerning the Pride of men; how ready to think they shall be great men, and to promise themselves great things.

4. How some men have Strong Reason, but not Good Judgment.

5. Concerning Certainty and Assurance. How many things, that are demonstrations in themselves, are not demonstrations to men, and yet are strong arguments; no more demonstrations than a boy may have, that a cube of two inches may be cut into eight cubes of one inch, for want of proper clearness, and full comprehension of the ideas. How assurance is capable of infinite degrees.—How none have such a degree, but that it

might be heightened—even of that, that two and two make four. It may be increased by a stronger sight, or a greater clearness of ideas. Minds of clearer and stronger sight, may be more assured of it, than those of more obscure vision. There may be beings of a thousand times stronger sight than we are. How God's sight only, is infinitely clear and strong. That, which is demonstration at one time, may be only probable reasoning at another, by reason of different degrees of clearness and comprehension. It is almost impossible, that a long demonstration should beget so great assurance, as a short one; because many ideas cannot be so clearly comprehended at one time, as a few. A very long demonstration may beget assurance, by a particular examination of each link of the chain, and so by recollection, that we were very careful and assured in the time of it; but this is less immediate, and less clear.

6. Why it is proper for Orators and Preachers to move the Passions—needful to show earnestness, etc. how this tends to convince the judgment, and many other ways is good and absolutely necessary.

7. Of the nature of the Affections or Passions—how only strong and lively exercises of the Will, together with the effect on the Animal nature.

8. In treating of Human Nature, treat first of Being in general, and show what is in Human Nature, necessarily existing from the nature of Entity. And then, concerning Perceiving or Intelligent Beings, in particular, and show what arises from the nature of such. And then Animal Nature, and what from that.

9. Concerning Enthusiasm, Inspiration, Grace, etc.

10. Concerning a two-fold ground of Assurance of the Judgment—a reducing things to an Identity or Contradiction, as in Mathematical demonstrations,—and by a natural, invincible inclination to a connection, as when we see any Effect to conclude a Cause—an opposition to believe a thing can begin to be without a Cause. This is not the same with the other, and cannot be reduced to a contradiction.

11. Difference between Natural Appetites and Rational Desires.

12. Whether any difference between the Will and Inclination. Imperate acts of the Will, nothing but the prevailing Inclination, concerning what should be done that moment. So hath God ordained that the motions of the Body should follow that.

13. Concerning the Influence which Nearness, or Remoteness, of Time has in Determining the Will, and the Reason of it.

14. Concerning Speculative Understanding, and Sense of Heart. Whether any difference between the Sense of the Heart, and the Will or Inclination. How the Scriptures are ignorant of the Philosophic distinction of the Understanding, and the Will; and how the Sense of the Heart is there called *Knowledge*, or *Understanding*.

15. Of what nature are Ideas of what is Internal or Spiritual. How they are the same thing over again.

16. Concerning Liberty, wherein it consists.

17. Concerning the prime and proper foundation of Blame.

18. How far men may be to blame for their Judgments; or for Believing, or Not Believing, this or that.

19. Concerning great Prejudices from the ambiguous and equivocal use of Words—such as Liberty, Force, Power, etc. How from this many things seem to be, and are called, Natural Notions, that are not so.

20. Concerning Beauty and Deformity, Love and Hatred, the nature of Excellency or Virtue, etc.

21. Whether or no Self-Love, be the ground of all Love.

22. Concerning the Corruption of Man's Nature. How it comes to be corrupt. What is the positive cause of corruption.

23. How greatly things lose their influence on the mind, through persons being used to them; as Miracles, and the Evidence of the Being of God, which we daily behold. The greatest Demonstrations—most plain and direct Proofs. Use makes things fail of their influence on the Understanding, so on the Will and Affections—things most satisfying and convincing—things otherwise most moving.

24. Consider of what nature is that inward sensation, that a man has when he Almost thinks of a thing—a name or the like—when we say it is *at our tongue's end*.

25. Concerning Moral Sense: what moral Sense is Natural.

26. How Natural men have a Taste of, and Delight in, that External Beauty, that is a resemblance to Love.

27. Sensitive Appetites: How far they consist in some Present Pain, attended with the idea of Ease, habitually connected, or associated, with the idea of such an object—Whether the sight of Food excites the appetite of one who is hungry, any other way.

By what means persons come to long after a particular thing; either from an idea of Pleasure, or the Removal of Pain, associated.

Not immediately after the Thing itself, but only the pleasure, or the removal of pain.

28. Judgment. Wherein an Act of the judgment consists, or an Assent to a thing as true, or a Dissent from it as false. Show it to be different from mere Perception, such as is in the mere presence of an idea in the mind; and so not the Perception of the Agreement and Disagreement of Ideas.

29. Sensation. How far all acts of the mind are from Sensation. All ideas begin from thence; and there never can be any idea, thought, or act of the mind, unless the mind first received some ideas from Sensation, or some other way equivalent, wherein the mind is wholly passive in receiving them.

30. Separate State. How far the Soul, in a Separate State, must depend on Sensation, or some way of passively receiving ideas equivalent to Sensation, in order to conversing with other minds, to the knowing of any occurrence, to beholding any of the works of God, and to its farther improvement in knowledge.

31. Sensation. Whether all ideas, wherein the mind is merely passive, and which are received immediately without any dependence on Reflexion, are not ideas of Sensation, or External ideas. Whether there be any difference between these? Whether it be possible for the Soul of man, in this manner, to be originally, and without dependence on Reflexion, capable of receiving any other ideas than those of sensation, or something equivalent, and so some external idea? And whether the first ideas of the Angels, must not be of some such kind?

32. Angels. Separate Spirits. How far the Angels and Separate Spirits, being in some respects *in place*, in the Third Heaven, where the body of Christ is; their removing from place to place; their coming down from Heaven, then ascending to Heaven; their being with Christ at the Day of Judgment; their seeing bodies; their beholding the Creation of the Material Universe; their having, in their ministry, to do with the bodies of men, with the body of Christ, and other material things; and their seeing God's works of Providence, relating to the Material Universe;—how far these things necessarily imply, that they have some kind of Sensations like ours; and, Whether these things do not show that, by some laws or other, they are united to, some kind of Matter?

33. Concerning the great Weakness and Fallibility of the Human Mind, in its present state.

34. Concerning Beauty.

35. How the Affections will suggest words, and expressions, and thoughts, and make eloquent.

36. The manifest analogy between the Nature of the Human Soul and the Nature of other things. How Laws of nature take place alike. How it is Laws, that constitute all permanent being, in created things, both corporeal and spiritual.

37. Wherein there is an agreement between Men and Beasts. How many things, in Men, are like instincts in Brutes.

38. Whether the mind perceives more than One object, at a time.

39. How far the mind may perceive, without adverting to what it perceived; as in the winking of the eyelids, and many other like things.

40. How far there may be Acts of the Will, without our adverting to it; as in walking, the act of the will for each individual step, and the like.

41. The agreement between Objects of Sight, and Objects of Feeling; or Visible Magnitude and Figure, and Tangible Magnitude and Figure, as to Number and Proportion.

42. How far Imagination is unavoidable, in all Thinking; and Why?

43. Connection of Ideas. Concerning the Laws by which Ideas follow each other, or call up one another, in which one thing comes into the mind after another, in the course of our thinking. How far this is owing to the Association of ideas; and how far, to any Relation of Cause and Effect, or any other Relation. And whether the whole may not be reduced to these following: *Association of Ideas; Resemblance of some kind;* and that *Natural Disposition* in us, when we see any thing begin to be, to suppose it owing to a Cause.—Observe how these laws, by which one idea suggests and brings in another, are a kind of mutual attraction of ideas.—Concerning the importance, and necessity, of this mutual attraction and adhesion of ideas—how rarely our minds would serve us, if it were not for this. How the mind would be without ideas, except as suggested by the Senses. How far Reasoning, Contemplation, etc. depend on this.

44. How far the Love of Happiness, is the same with the Faculty of the Will? It is not distinct from the mere Capacity of enjoying and suffering, and the Faculty of the Will is no other.

45. Whether it be possible for a man to love any thing better than himself; and in what sense it is so.

46. Example. To enquire, What are the true reasons of so strong an inclination, in mankind, to follow Example. How great its influence over men, in their opinions, their judgment, their taste, and the whole man. How by this means, at certain times, a particular thing will come to be in great vogue, and men's passions will all. as it were, be moved at once, as the trees in the wood, by the same wind, or as things floating with the tide, the same way. Men follow one another like a flock of sheep. How sometimes the vogue lasts an age, at other times, but a short time; and the reason of this difference.

47. In what respects men may be, and often are, ignorant of their own hearts; and how this comes to pass.

48. Concerning the Soul's Union with the Body, its Laws, and Consequences.

49. One section, particularly to show wherein Men differ from Beasts.

50. In how many respects the very Being of Created things depends on Laws, or stated methods, fixed by God, of events following one another.

51. Whether all the Immediate Objects of the mind, are properly called Ideas; and what inconvenience and confusion arises from giving every Subjective Thought that name. What prejudices and mistakes it leads to.

52. In what respects Ideas, or thoughts, and judgments, may be said to be *Innate*, and in what respects not.

53. Whether there could have ever been any such thing as Thought, without External Ideas, immediately impressed by God, either according to some law, or otherwise. Whether any Spirit, or Angel, could have any Thought, if it had not been for this. Here particularly explain what I mean by *External Ideas*.

54. How words came to have such a mighty influence on thought and judgment, by virtue of the Association of Ideas, or from Ideas being habitually tied to words.

55. How far, through Habit, men move their bodies without thought or consciousness.

56. Whether Beauty, (Natural and Moral,) and the pleasure that arises from it, in ourselves or others, be not the only object of the Will; or whether Truth be not also the object of the Will.*

THE MIND.

[12.] BEING. It seems strange sometimes to me, that there should be Being from all Eternity; and I am ready to say, What need was there that any thing should be? I should then ask myself, Whether it seems strange that there should be either Something, or Nothing? If so, it is not strange that there should BE; for that necessity of there being Something, or Nothing, implies it.

[26.] CAUSE is that, after or upon the existence of which, or the existence of it after such a manner, the existence of another thing follows.

[27.] EXISTENCE. If we had only the sense of Seeing, we should not be as ready to conclude the visible world to have been an existence independent of perception, as we do; because the ideas we have by the sense of Feeling, are as much mere ideas, as those we have by the sense of Seeing. But we know, that the things that are objects of this sense, all that the mind views by Seeing, are merely mental Existences; because all these things, with all their modes, do exist in a looking-glass, where all will acknowledge, they exist only mentally.

IT IS now agreed upon by every knowing philosopher, that Colours are not really in the things, no more than Pain is in a needle: but strictly no where else but in the mind. But yet I think that Colour may have an existence out of the mind, with equal reason as any thing in Body has any existence out of the mind, beside the very substance of the body itself, which is nothing but the Divine power, or rather the Constant Exertion of it. For what idea is that, which we call by the name of Body? I find Colour has the chief share in it. 'Tis nothing but Colour, and Figure, which is the termination of this Colour, together with some powers, such as the power of resisting, and motion, &c. that wholly makes up what we call Body. And if that, which we principally mean by the thing itself, cannot be said to be in the thing itself, I think nothing can be. If Colour exists not out of the mind, then nothing belonging to Body, exists out of the mind but Resistance, which is Solidity, and the termination of this Resistance, with its relations, which is Figure, and the communication of this Resistance, from space to to space, which is Motion; though the lat-

* The preceding articles were set down from time to time at the close of the work, in two series; the first, ending with No.

ter are nothing but modes of the former. Therefore, there is nothing out of the mind but Resistance. And not that neither, when nothing is actually resisted. Then, there is nothing but the Power of Resistance. And as Resistance is nothing else but the actual exertion of God's power, so the Power can be nothing else, but the constant Law or Method of that actual exertion. And how is there any Resistance, except it be in some mind, in idea? What is it that is resisted? It is not Colour. And what else is it? It is ridiculous to say, that Resistance is resisted. That, does not tell us at all what is to be resisted. There must be something resisted before there can be Resistance; but to say Resistance is resisted, is ridiculously to suppose Resistance, before there is any thing to be resisted. Let us suppose two globes only existing, and no mind. There is nothing there, *ex confesso*, but Resistance. That is, there is such a Law, that the space within the limits of a globular figure shall resist. Therefore, there is nothing there but a power, or an establishment. And if there be any Resistance really out of the mind, one power and establishment must resist another establishment and law of Resistance, which is exceedingly ridiculous. But yet it cannot be otherwise, if any way out of the mind. But now it is easy to conceive of Resistance, as a mode of an idea. It is easy to conceive of such a power, or constant manner of stopping or resisting a colour. The idea may be resisted, it may move, and stop and rebound; but how a mere power, which is nothing real, can move and stop, is inconceivable, and it is impossible to say a word about it without contradiction. The world is therefore an ideal one; and the Law of creating, and the succession,of these ideas is constant and regular.

[28.] *Coroll.* 1. How impossible is it, that the world should exist from Eternity, without a Mind.

[30.] *Coroll.* 2. Since it is so, and that absolute Nothing is such a dreadful contradiction; hence we learn the necessity of the Eternal Existence of an All-comprehending Mind; and that it is the complication of all contradictions to deny such a mind.

[34.] When we say that the World, i. e. the material Universe, exists no where but in the mind, we have got to such a degree of strictness and abstraction, that we must be exceedingly careful, that we do not confound and lose ourselves by misapprehension. That is impossible, that it should be meant, that all the world is contained in the narrow compass of a few inches of space, in little ideas in the place of the brain; for that would be a contradiction; for we are to remember that the human body, and the brain itself, exist only mentally, in the same sense that other things do; and so that, which we call *place*, is an idea too. Therefore things are truly in those places; for what we mean, when we say so, is only, that this mode of our idea of place appertains to such an idea. We would not therefore be understood to deny, that things are where they seem to be. For the principles we lay down, if they are narrowly looked into, do not infer that. Nor will it be found, that they at all make void Natural Philosophy, or the science of the Causes or Reasons of corporeal changes; For to find out the reasons of things, in Natural Philosephy, is only to find out the proportion of God's acting. And the case is the same, as to such proportions, whether we suppose the World, only mental, in our sense, or no.

Though we suppose, that the existence of the whole material Universe is absolutely dependent on Idea, yet we may speak in the old way, and as properly, and truly as ever. God, in the beginning, created such a certain

number of Atoms, of such a determinate bulk and figure, which they yet maintain and always will, and gave them such a motion, of such a direction, and of such a degree of velocity; from whence arise all the Natural changes in the Universe, forever, in a continued series. Yet, perhaps all this does not exist any where perfectly, but in the Divine Mind. But then, if it be enquired, What exists in the Divine Mind; and how these things exist there? I answer, There is his determination, his care, and his design, that Ideas shall be united forever, just so, and in such a manner, as is agreeable to such a series. For instance, all the ideas that ever were, or ever shall be to all eternity, in any created mind, are answerable to the existence of such a peculiar Atom in the beginning of the Creation, of such a determinate figure and size, and have such a motion given it: That is, they are all such, as Infinite Wisdom sees would follow, according to the series of nature, from such an Atom, so moved. That is, all ideal changes of creatures are just so, as if just such a particular Atom had actually all along existed even in some finite mind, and never had been out of that mind, and had, in that mind, caused these effects, which are exactly according to nature, that is, according to the nature of other matter, that is actually perceived by the mind. God supposes its existence; that is, he causes all changes to arise, as if all these things had actually existed in such a series, in some created mind, and as if created minds had comprehended all things perfectly. And, although created minds do not; yet, the Divine Mind doth; and he orders all things according to his mind, and his ideas. And these hidden things do not only exist in the Divine idea, but in a sense in created idea; for that exists in created idea, which necessarily supposes it. If a ball of lead were supposed to be let fall from the clouds, and no eye saw it, 'till it got within ten rods of the ground, and then its motion and celerity was perfectly discerned in its exact proportion; if it were not for the imperfection and slowness of our minds, the perfect idea of the rest of the motion would immediately, and of itself arise in the mind, as well as that which is there. So, were our thoughts comprehensive and perfect enough, our view of the present state of the world, would excite in us a perfect idea of all past changes.

And we need not perplex our minds with a thousand questions and doubts that will seem to arise: as, To what purpose is this way of exciting ideas; and, What advantage is there in observing such a series. I answer, It is just all one, as to any benefit or advantage, any end that we can suppose was proposed by the Creator, as if the Material Universe were existent in the same manner as is vulgarly thought. For the corporeal world is to no advantage but to the spiritual; and it is exactly the same advantage this way as the other, for it is all one, as to any thing excited in the mind.

[51.] It is hardly proper to say, that the dependence of ideas of sensation, upon the organs of the body, is only the dependence of some of our ideas upon others. For the organs of our bodies, are not our ideas, in a proper sense, though their existence be only mental. Yet there is no necessity of their existing actually in our minds, but they exist mentally, in the same manner as has been explained. *See Appendix, p.* 669, *No.* 34. The dependence of our ideas upon the organs, is the dependence of our ideas on our bodies, after the manner there explained, mentally existing. And if it be enquired, To what purpose is this way of exciting ideas? I answer, To exactly the same purpose as can be supposed, if our organs are actually existing, in the manner vulgarly conceived, as to any manner of benefit, or end, that can be mentioned.

It is not proper at all, nor doth it express the thing we would, to say

that bodies do not exist without the mind. For the scheme will not allow the mind to be supposed determined to any place, in such a manner as to make that proper; for *Place itself* is mental, and *Within* and *Without*, are mere mental conceptions. Therefore, that way of expressing, will lead us into a thousand difficulties and perplexities. But when I say, the Material Universe exists only in the mind, I mean, that it is absolutely dependent on the conception of the mind for its existence, and does not exist as Spirits do, whose existence does not consist in, nor in dependence on, the conception of other minds. We must be exceedingly careful, lest we confound ourselves in these by mere imagination. It is from hence I expect the greatest opposition. It will appear a ridiculous thing, I suppose, that the material world exists no where, but in the soul of man, confined within his skull; but we must again remember what sort of existence the head and brain have.—The soul, in a sense, has its seat in the brain; and so, in a sense, the visible world is existent out of the mind, for it certainly, in the most proper sense, exists out of the brain.

[36.] THINGS, as to God, exist from all Eternity, alike; that is, the idea is always the same, and after the same mode. The existence of things, therefore, that are not actually in created minds, consists only in Power, or in the Determination of God, that such and such ideas shall be raised in created minds, upon such conditions.

[40.] SINCE all material existence is only idea, this question may be asked, In what sense may those things be said to exist, which are supposed, and ye are in no actual idea of any Created minds? I answer, they exist only in Uncreated idea. But how do they exist, otherwise than they did from all Eternity, for they always were in Uncreated idea and Divine appointment. I answer, They did exist from all Eternity in Uncreated idea, as did every thing else, and as they do at present, but not in Created idea. But it may be asked, How do those things exist, which have an actual existence, but of which no created mind is conscious?—For instance, the Furniture of this room, when we are absent, and the room is shut up, and no created mind perceives it; How do these things exist?—I answer, There has been in times past such a course and succession of existences, that these things must be supposed to make the series complete, according to Divine appointment, of the order of things. And there will be innumerable things consequential, which will be out of joint, out of their constituted series, without the supposition of these. For, upon supposition of these things, are infinite numbers of things otherwise than they would be, if these were not by God thus supposed. Yea, the whole Universe would be otherwise: such an influence have these things, by their attraction and otherwise. Yea, there must be an universal attraction, in the whole system of things, from the beginning of the world to the end; and, to speak more strictly and metaphysically, we must say, in the whole system and series of ideas in all Created minds; so that these things must necessarily be put in, to make complete the system of the ideal world. That is, they must be supposed, if the train of ideas be, in the order and course, settled by the Supreme mind. So that we may answer in short, That the existence of these things is in God's supposing of them, in order to the rendering complete the series of things, (to speak more strictly, *the series of ideas*,) according to his own settled order, and that harmony of things, which he has appointed.—The supposition of God, which we speak of, is nothing else but God's acting, in the course and series of his exciting ideas, as if they, (the things supposed,) were in actual idea.

But you may object, But there are many things so infinitely small, that

their influence is altogether insensible; so that, whether they are supposed or not, there will no alteration be made in the series of Ideas. Answer, But though the influence is so small, that *we* do not perceive, yet, who knows how penetrating other spirits may be, to perceive the minutest alterations. And whether the alterations be sensible, or not, at present, yet the effect of the least influence will be sensible, in time. For instance, Let there be supposed to be a Leaden Globe, of a mile in diameter, to be moving in a right line, with the swiftness of a cannon ball, in the Infinite Void, and let it pass by a very small Atom, supposed to be at rest. This Atom will somewhat retard this Leaden Globe in its motion, though at first, and perhaps for many ages, the difference is altogether insensible. But let it be never so little, in time it will become very sensible. For if the motion is made so much slower, that in a million of years it shall have moved one inch less than it would have done otherwise, in a million million it will have moved a million inches less. So now the least Atom, by its existence or motion, causes an alteration, more or less, in every other Atom in the Universe; so the alteration in time will become very sensible; so the whole Universe, in time, will become all over different from what it would otherwise have been. For if every other Atom is supposed to be either retarded, or accelerated, or diverted; every Atom, however small for the present, will cause great alterations, as we have shown already, of Retardation. The case is the same as to Acceleration; and so as to Diversion, or varying the direction of the motion. For let the course of the body be never so little changed, this course, in time, may carry it to a place immensely distant from what the other would have carried it to, as is evident enough. And the case is the same still, if the motion that was before was never so slow is wholly stopped; the difference, in time, will be immense; for this slow motion would have carried it to an immense distance, if it were continued.

But the Objector will say, I acknowledge it would be thus, if the bodies, in which these insensible alterations are made, were free, and alone, in an Infinite Void, but I do not know but the case may be far otherwise, when an insensible alteration is made in a body, that is among innumerable others, and subject to infinite jumbles among them.—*Answer.* The case is the same, whether the bodies be alone in a Void, or in a System of other bodies; for the influence of this insensible alteration continues as steadily forever, through all its various interchanges and collisions with other bodies, as it would if it were alone in an Infinite Void: so that in time, a particle of matter, that shall be on this side of the Universe, might have been on the other. The existence and motion of every Atom, has influence, more or less. on the motion of all other bodies in the Universe, great or small, as is most demonstrable from the Laws of Gravity and Motion. An alteration, more or less, as to motion, is made on every Fixed Star, and on all its Planets, Primary and Secondary. Let the alteration made in the Fixed Stars, be never so small, yet in time it will make an infinite alteration, from what otherwise would have been. Let the Fixed Stars be supposed, for instance, before to have been in perfect rest; let them now be all set in motion, and this motion be never so small, yet. continued forever, where will it carry those most immense bodies, with their Systems. Let a little alteration be made in the motion of the Planets, either Retardation or Acceleration; this, in time, will make a difference of many millions of Revolutions: and how great a difference will that make in the floating bodies of the Universe.

Coroll. By this we may answer a more difficult question, viz. If material existence be only mental, then our bodies and organs are ideas only; and then in what sense is it true, that the Mind receives ideas by the Or-

gans of Sense; seeing that the Organs of Sense, themselves, exist no where but in the Mind?—*Answer.* Seeing our Organs, themselves, are ideas; the connection, that our ideas have with such and such a mode of our Organs, is no other than God's constitution, that some of our ideas shall be connected with others, according to such a settled Law and Order, so that some ideas shall follow from others as their cause.—But how can this be, seeing that ideas most commonly arise from Organs, when we have no idea of the mode of our Organs, or the manner of external objects being applied to them? I answer, Our Organs, and the motions in them and to them, exist in the manner explained above.

"PLATO, in his "Subterranean Cave," so famously known, and so elegantly described by him, supposes men tied with their backs towards the Light, placed at a great distance from them, so that they could not turn about their heads to it neither, and therefore could see nothing but the shadows of certain substances behind them, projected from it; which shadows they concluded to be the only substance and realities. And when they heard the sounds made by those bodies, that were betwixt the Light and them, or their reverberated echoes, they imputed them to those shadows which they saw. All this is a description of the state of those men, who take Body to be the only Real and Substantial Thing in the world, and to do all that is done in it; and therefore often impute Sense, Reason and Understanding, to nothing but Blood and Brains in us."

Cudworth's Intellectual System.

[9.] SPACE. Space, as has been already observed, is a necessary being, if it may be called a being; and yet we have also shown, that all existence is mental, that the existence of all exterior things is ideal. Therefore it is a necessary being, only as it is a necessary idea, so far as it is a simple idea, that is necessarily connected with other simple exterior ideas, and is, as it were, their common substance or subject. It is in the same manner a necessary being, as any thing external is a being.

Coroll. It is hence easy to see in what sense that is true, that has been held by some, That, when there is nothing between any two bodies, they unavoidably must touch.

[13.] THE real and necessary existence of Space, and its Infinity, even beyond the Universe, depend upon a like reasoning as the Extension of Spirits, and to the supposition of the reality of the existence of a Successive Duration, before the Universe: even the impossibility of removing the idea out of the mind. If it be asked, If there be Limits of the Creation, whether or no it be not possible that an Intelligent being shall be removed beyond the limits; and then whether or no there would not be distance between that Intelligent being and the limits of the Universe, in the same manner, and as properly as there is between Intelligent beings and the parts of the Universe, within its limits; I answer, I cannot tell what the Law of Nature, or the Constitution of God, would be in this case.

Coroll. There is, therefore, no difficulty in answering such questions as these, What cause was there why the Universe was placed in such a part of Space? and, Why was the Universe created at such a Time? for, if there be no Space beyond the Universe, it was impossible that it should be created in another place; and if there was no Time before, it was impossible it should be created at another time.

THE idea we have of Space, and what we call by that name, is only

Coloured Space, and is entirely taken out of the mind, if Colour be taken away. And so all that we call Extension, Motion and Figure, is gone, if Colour is gone. As to any idea of Space, Extension, Distance, or Motion, that a man born blind might form, it would be nothing like what we call by those names. All that he could have would be only certain sensations or feelings, that in themselves would be no more like what we intend by Space, Motion, etc. than the pain we have by the scratch of a pin, or than the ideas of taste and smell. And as to the idea of Motion, that such an one could have, it could be only a diversification of those successions in a certain way, by succession as to time. And then there would be an agreement of these successions of sensations, with some ideas we have by sight, as to number and proportions; but yet the ideas, after all, nothing akin to that idea we now give this name to.--And, as it is very plain, Colour is only in the mind, and nothing like it can be out of all mind. Hence it is manifest, there can be nothing like those things we call by the name of Bodies, out of the mind, unless it be in some other mind or minds.

And, indeed the secret lies here: That, which truly is the Substance of all Bodies, is *the infinitely exact, and precise, and perfectly stable Idea, in God's mind, together with his stable Will, that the same shall gradually be communicated to us, and to other minds, according to certain fixed and exact established Methods and Laws:* or in somewhat different language, *the infinitely exact and precise Divine Idea, together with an answerable, perfectly exact, precise and stable Will, with respect to correspondent communications to Created Minds, and effects on their minds.*

[61.] SUBSTANCE.* It is intuitively certain, that, if Solidity be removed from Body, nothing is left but empty space. Now, in all things whatsoever, that, which cannot be removed without removing the whole thing, that thing which is removed is the thing itself, except it be mere circumstance and manner of existence, such as Time and Place; which are in the general necessary, because it implies a contradiction to existence itself, to suppose that it exists at no time and in no place, and therefore in order to remove time and place in the general, we must remove the thing itself: So if we remove Figure and Bulk and Texture, in the general; which may be reduced to that necessary circumstance of Place.

If, therefore, it implies a contradiction to suppose that Body, or any thing appertaining to Body, beside Space, exists, when Solidity is removed; it must be, either because Body is nothing but Solidity and Space, or else, that Solidity is such a mere circumstance and relation of existence, which the thing cannot be without, because whatever exists must exist in some circumstances or other, as at some time or some place. But we know, and every one perceives, it to be a contradiction to suppose, that Body or Matter exists without Solidity, for all the notion we have of Empty Space, is Space without Solidity, and all the notion we have of Full Space, is Space Resisting.

The reason is plain; for if it implies a contradiction to suppose Solidity absent, and the thing existing, it must be because Solidity is that thing, and so it is a contradiction to say the thing is absent from itself; or because it is such a mode, or circumstance, or relation, of the existence, as it is a contradiction to suppose existence at all without it, such as Time and Place. to which both Figure and Texture are reduced. For nothing can be conceived of, so necessarily in an existence, that it is a contradiction to sup-

*This article, and the numbers following, viz. 62, 63, etc. are inserted in the manuscript distinctly from the rest, and were written probably at a somewhat later period of life.

pose it without it, but the Existence itself, and those general Circumstances or Relations of existence, which the very supposition of existence itself implies.

Again, Solidity or Impenetrability is as much Action, or the immediate result of Action, as Gravity. Gravity by all will be confessed to be immediately from some active influence. Being a continual tendency in bodies to move, and being that, which will set them in motion though before at perfect rest, it must be the effect of something acting on that body. And it is as clear and evident, that action is as requisite to stop a body, that is already in motion, as in order to set bodies a moving, that are at perfect rest. Now we see continually, that there is a stopping of all motion, at the limits of such and such parts of Space, only this stoppage is modified and diversified according to certain Laws; for we get the idea and apprehension of Solidity, only and entirely, from the observation we make of that ceasing of motion, at the limits of some parts of Space, that already is, and that beginning of motion, that till now was not, ccording to a certain constant manner.

And why is it not every whit as reasonable, that we should attribute this action or effect, to the influence of some Agent, as that other action or effect which we call Gravity; which is likewise derived from our observation of the beginning and ceasing of motion, according to a certain method? In either case, there is nothing observed, but the beginning, increasing, directing, diminishing and ceasing of motion. And why is it not as reasonable to seek a reason, beside that general one, that it is something; which is no reason at all? I say, Why is it not as reasonable to seek a reason or cause of these actions, as well in one as in the other case? We do not think it sufficient to say, It is the nature of the unknown substance, in the one case; and why should we think it a sufficient explication of the same actions or effects, in the other. By Substance, I suppose it is confessed, we mean only Something; because of Abstract Substance we have no idea, that is more particular than only existence in general. Now why is it not as reasonable, when we see something suspended in the air, set to move with violence towards the Earth, to rest in attributing of it to the nature of the something that is there; as when we see that motion, when it comes to such limits, all on a sudden cease, for this is all that we observe in falling bodies. Their falling is the action we call Gravity: their stopping upon the surface of the Earth, the action whence we gain the idea of Solidity. It was before agreed on all hands, that there is something there, that supports that resistance. It must be granted now, that that Something is a Being, that acts there, as much as that Being, that causes bodies to descend towards the centre. Here is something in these parts of space, that of itself produces effects, without previously being acted upon; for that Being that lays an arrest on bodies in motion, and immediately stops them when they come to such limits and bounds, certainly does as much, as that Being that sets a body in motion, that before was at rest. Now this Being, acting altogether of itself, producing new effects, that are perfectly arbitrary, and that are no way necessary of themselves; must be Intelligent and Voluntary. There is no reason, in the nature of the thing itself, why a body, when set in motion, should stop at such limits, more than at any other. It must therefore be some arbitrary, active and voluntary, Being, that determines it. If there were but one body in the Universe, that always in time past had been at rest, and should now, without any alteration, be set in motion; we might certainly conclude, that some voluntary Being set it in motion, because it can certainly be demonstrated, that it can be for no other reason. So with just the same reason, in the same manner, we may conclude, if the body had hitherto been in motion, and is at a certain point of space

now stopped. And would it not be every whit as reasonable to conclude, it must be from such an Agent, as if, in certain portions of space, we observed bodies to be attracted a certain way, and so at once to be set into motion, or accelerated in motion. And it is not at all the less remarkable, because we receive the ideas of light and colours from those spaces; for we know that light and colours are not there, and are made entirely by such a resistance, together with attraction, that is antecedent to these qualities, and would be a necessary effect of a mere resistance of space without other substance.

The whole of what we any way observe, whereby we get the idea of Solidity, or Solid Body, are certain parts of Space, from whence we receive the ideas of light and colours; and certain sensations by the sense of feeling; and we observe that the places, whence we receive these sensations, are not constantly the same, but are successively different, and this light and colours are communicated from one part of space to another. And we observe that these parts of Space, from whence we receive these sensations, resist and stop other bodies, which we observe communicated successively through the parts of Space adjacent; and that those that there were before at rest, or existing constantly in one and the same part of Space, after this exist successively in different parts of Space, and these observations are according to certain stated rules. I appeal to any one that takes notice and asks himself; whether this be not all, that ever he experienced in the world, whereby he got these ideas; and that this is all that we have or can have any idea of, in relation to bodies. All that we observe of Solidity is, that certain parts of Space, from whence we receive the ideas of light and colours, and a few other sensations, do likewise resist any thing coming within them. It therefore follows, that if we suppose there be any thing else, than what we thus observe, it is but only by way of Inference.

I know that it is nothing but the Imagination will oppose me in this: I will therefore endeavour to help the Imagination thus. Suppose that we received none of the sensible qualities of light, colours, etc. from the resisting parts of Space, (we will suppose it possible for resistance to be without them,) and they were, to appearance, clear and pure; and all that we could possibly observe, was only and merely Resistance; we simply observed that Motion was resisted and stopped, here and there, in particular parts of Infinite Space. Should we not then think it less unreasonable to suppose, that such effects should be produced by some Agent, present in those parts of Space, though Invisible. If we, when walking upon the face of the Earth, were stopped at certain limits, and could not possibly enter into such a part of Space, nor make any body enter into it; and we could observe no other difference, no way, nor at any time, between that and other parts of clear space; should we not be ready to say, What is it stops us; What is it hinders all entrance into that place?

The reason, why it is so exceedingly natural to men, to suppose that there is some Latent *Substance*, or Something that is altogether hid, that upholds the properties of bodies, is, because all see at first sight, that the properties of bodies are such as need some Cause, that shall every moment have influence to their continuance, as well as a Cause of their first existence. All therefore agree, that there is Something that is there, and upholds these properties. And it is most true, there undoubtedly is; but men are wont to content themselves in saying merely, that it is Something; but that Something is He, "by whom all things consist."

[25.] The distribution of the objects of our thoughts, into Substances and Modes, may be proper; if, by Substance, we understand, a complexion of such ideas, which we conceive of as subsisting together, and by themselves;

and, by Modes, those simple ideas which cannot be by themselves, or subsist in our mind alone.

[38.] BODY INFINITE? If we dispute, whether Body is capable of being Infinite; let us in the first place put the question, Whether motion can be infinite; that is, Whether there can be a motion infinitely swift. I suppose that every one will see, that, if a body moved with infinite swiftness, it would be in every part of the distance passed through exactly at once, and therefore it could not be said to move from one part of it to another. Infinite motion is therefore a contradiction. Supposing therefore a Body were infinitely great, it could doubtless be moved by Infinite Power, and turned round some point or axis. But if that were possible, it is evident that some part of that Infinite Body would move with Infinite Swiftness; which we have seen is a contradiction. Body therefore cannot be infinite.

[21.] MATTER. THOUGHT. It has been a question with some, Whether or no it was not possible with God, to the other properties or powers of Matter to add that of Thought; whether he could not, if he had pleased, have added Thinking, and the power of Perception, to those other properties of Solidity, Mobility and Gravitation. The question is not here, Whether the Matter that now is, without the addition of any new primary property, could not be so contrived and modelled, so attenuated, wrought and moved, as to produce thought; but, whether any Lump of matter, a solid Atom, for instance, is not capable of receiving, by the Almighty Power of God, in addition to the rest of its powers, a new power of thought.

Here, if the question be, Whether or no God cannot cause the faculty of thinking to be so added to any parcel of matter, so as to be in the same place, (if thought can be in place,) and that inseparably, where that matter is, so that by a fixed law, that thought should be where that matter is, and only there, being always bound to solid extension, mobility and gravity; I do not deny it. But that seems to me quite a different thing from the question, Whether Matter can think; or, Whether God can make Matter think; and is not worth the disputing. For if Thought be in the same place where Matter is, yet, if there be no manner of communication, or dependence, between that and any thing that is material; that is, any of that collection of properties that we call Matter; if none of those properties of Solidity, Extension, etc. wherein Materiality consists;—which are Matter, or at least whereby Matter is Matter;—have any manner of influence towards the exerting of Thought; and if that Thought be no way dependent on Solidity or Mobility, and they no way help the matter, but Thought could be as well without those properties; then Thought is not properly in Matter, though it be in the same place. All the properties, that are properly said to be in Matter, depend on the other properties of Matter, so that they cannot be without them. Thus Figure is in Matter: it depends on Solidity and Extension; and so doth Motion; so doth Gravity; and Extension itself depends on Solidity, in that it is the extension of the Solidity; and Solidity on Extension, for nothing can be solid except it be extended. These ideas have a dependence on one another; but there is no manner of connexion between the ideas of Perception and Solidity, or Motion, or Gravity. They are simple ideas, of which we can have a perfect view: and we know there is no dependence Nor can there be any dependence, for the ideas in their own nature are independent and alienc one to another. All the others either include the rest, or are included in them: and, except the property of Thought be included in the properties of Matter, I think it cannot properly be said, that Matter has Thought, or, if it can, I see not a possibility of Matter, in any other sense, having Thought.—If Thought's being so fixed to Matter, as to be in the same place where Matter is, be for Thought to be *in Matter;* Thought not only can be in Mat-

ter, but actually is, as much as Thought can be, *in place*. It is so connected with the Bodies of men, or, at least, with some parts of their bodies, and will be forever after the Resurrection.

[65.] MOTION. If Motion be only mental, it seems to follow that there is no difference between Real and Apparent motion, or that Motion is nothing else but the change of position between bodies; and then of two bodies that have their position changed, Motion may with equal reason be ascribed to either of them, and the Sun may as properly be said to move as the Earth. And then returns this difficulty. If it be so, how comes it to pass that the Laws of Centrifugal Force are observed to take place, with respect to the Earth, considered as moving round the Sun, but not with respect to the Sun, considered as moving round the Earth?—I answer, It would be impossible it should be so, and the Laws of gravitation be observed. The Earth cannot be kept at a distance from a body, so strongly attracting it as the Sun, any other way than by such a motion as is supposed. That body therefore must be reputed to move, that can be supposed so to do, according to the Laws of Nature universally observed in other things. It is upon them that God impresses that Centrifugal Force.

N. B. This answers the objection that might be raised from what Newton says of Absolute, and Relative, Motion, and that distinguishing property of absolute Circular Motion, that there was a Centrifugal Force in the body moved; for God causes a Centrifugal Force in that body, that can be supposed to move circularly, consistently with the Laws of Motion, in that and in all other things, on which it has a near, or a remote, dependence, and which must be supposed to move in order to the observance of those Laws in the Universe. For instance, when a bushel, with water in it, is violently whirled round, before the water takes the impression, there is a continual change of position between the water and the parts of the bushel; but yet that must not be supposed to move as fast as that position is altered; because if we follow it, it will not hold out consistent with the Laws of motion in the Universe, for if the Water moves, then the bushel does not move; and if the Bushel does not move, then the Earth moves round the bushel, every time that seems to turn round; but there can be no such alteration in the motion of the Earth created naturally, or in observance of the Laws of Nature.

[2.] PLACE OF MINDS. Our common way of conceiving of what is Spiritual, is very gross, and shadowy and corporeal, with dimensions and figure, etc. though it be supposed to be very clear, so that we can see through it. If we would get a right notion of what is Spiritual, we must think of Thought, or Inclination, or Delight. How large is that thing in the Mind which they call Thought? Is Love square, or round? Is the surface of Hatred rough, or smooth? Is Joy an inch, or a foot, in diameter? These are Spiritual things; and why should we then form such a ridiculous idea of Spirits, as to think them so long, so thick, or so wide; or to think there is a necessity of their being square, or round, or some other certain figure?

Therefore Spirits cannot be *in place*, in such a sense, that all, within the given limits, shall be where the Spirit is, and all without such a circumscription, where he is not; but in this sense only, that all created Spirits have clearer and more strongly impressed ideas of things, in one place than in another, or can produce effects here, and not there; and as this place alters, so Spirits move. In Spirits united to bodies, the Spirit more strongly perceives things where the body is, and can there immediately produce effects; and in this sense the soul can be sid to be *in the same place* where the body is. And this law is, that we call *the Union between*

soul and body. So the soul may be said to be *in the brain;* because ideas, that come by the body, immediately ensue, only on alterations that are made there; and the soul most immediately produces effects no where else.

No doubt that all Finite Spirits, united to bodies or not, are thus *in place;* that is, that they perceive, or passively receive, ideas, only of created things, that are in some particular place at a given time. At least a Finite Spirit cannot thus be in all places at a time, equally. And doubtless the change of the place, where they perceive most strongly and produce effects immediately, is regular and successive; which is the motion of Spirits.

[31.] From what is said above, we learn, that the seat of the Soul, is not *in the Brain*, any otherwise, than as to its immediate operations, and the immediate operation of things on it. The Soul may also be said to be *in the Heart*, or the Affections, for its immediate operations are there also. Hence we learn the propriety of the Scriptures calling the soul, *the Heart*, when considered with respect to the Will and the Affections.

We seem to think in our heads, because most of the ideas, of which our thoughts are constituted, or about which they are conversant, come by the sensories that are in the head, especially the sight and hearing, or those ideas of Reflexion, that arise from hence; and partly because we feel the effects of thought and study in our head.

[35.] Seeing the Brain exists only mentally, I therefore acknowledge, that I speak improperly, when I say, *the Soul is in the Brain, only as to its operations.* For, to speak yet more strictly and abstractly, 'tis nothing but the connection of the operations of the Soul with these, and those modes of its own ideas, or those mental acts of the Deity; seeing the Brain exists only in idea. But we have got so far beyond those things for which language was chiefly contrived, that, unless we use extreme caution, we cannot speak, except we speak exceeding unintelligibly, without literally contradicting ourselves.—*Coroll.* No wonder, therefore, that the high and abstract mysteries of the Deity, the prime and most abstract of all beings, imply so many seeming contradictions.

[32.] Seeing Human Souls and Finite Spirits are said to be in this place or that, only because they are so as to mutual communications; it follows that, the Scripture, when it speaks of God being *in heaven*, of his dwelling *in Israel*, of his dwelling *in the hearts of his people;* does not speak so improperly as has been thought.

[4.] UNION of mind with body. The Mind is so united with the Body, that an alteration is caused in the Body, it is probable, by every action of the Mind. By those acts, that are very vigourous, a great alteration is very sensible; at some times, when the vigour of the body is impaired by disease, especially in the head, almost every action causes a sensible alteration of the Body.

[3.] PERCEPTION of separate minds. Our perceptions, or ideas that we passively receive by our bodies, are communicated to us immediately by God, while our minds are united with our bodies; but only we in some measure know *the rule.* We know that, upon such alterations in our minds, there follow such ideas in the mind. It need, therefore, be no difficulty with us, how we shall perceive things when we are Separate. They will be communicated then, also, and according to some rule, no doubt, only we know not what.

[68.] REASON. A person may have a strong Reason, and yet not a good Reason. He may have a strength of mind to drive an argument, and yet not have even balances. It is not so much from a defect of the reasoning powers, as from a fault of the disposition. When men of strong Reason do not form an even and just judgmest, 'tis for one of these two reasons: either a liableness to Prejudice, through natural temper, or education, or circumstances; or, for want of a great love to Truth, and of fear of Error, that shall cause a watchful circumspection, that nothing, relative to the case in question of any weight, shall escape the observation and just estimation, to distinguish with great exactness between what is real and solid, and what is only colour, and shadow and words.

Persons of mean capacities may see the Reason of that, which requires a nice and exact attention, and a long discourse, to explain—as the reason why Thunder should be so much feared; and many other things that might be mentioned.

[16.] CONSCIOUSNESS is the mind's perceiving what is in itself,—ideas, actions, passions, and every thing that is there perceptible. It is a sort of feeling within itself. The mind feels when it thinks; so it feels when it discerns, feels when it loves, and feels when it hates.

[69.] MEMORY is the identity, in some degree, of Ideas that we formerly had in our minds, with a consciousness that we formerly had them, and a supposition that their former being in the mind is the cause of their being in us at present. There is not only the presence of the same ideas, that were in our minds formerly, but also, an act of the judgment, that they were there formerly, and that judgment, not properly from proof, but from natural necessity, arising from a Law of nature which God hath fixed.

In Memory, in mental principles, habits and inclinations, there is something really abiding in the mind, when there are no acts or exercises of them; much in the same manner, as there is a chair in this room, when no mortal perceives it. For when we say, There are chairs in this room, when none perceives it, we mean, that minds would perceive chairs here, according to the Law of Nature in such circumstances. So when we say, A person has these and those things, laid up in his memory, we mean, they would actually be repeated in his mind, upon some certain occasions, according to the Law of Nature; though we cannot describe, particularly, the Law of Nature, about these mental acts, so well as we can about other things.

[11.] PERSONAL IDENTITY. Well might Mr. Locke say, that, Identity of *person* consisted in identity of consciousness; for he might have said that identity of *spirit*, too, consisted in the same consciousness; for a mind or spirit is nothing else but consciousness, and what is included in it. The same consciousness is, to all intents and purposes, individually, the very same spirit, or substance; as much as the same particle of matter can be the same with itself, at different times.

[72.] IDENTITY of person is what seems never yet to have been explained. It is a mistake, that it consists in sameness, or identity, of consciousness—if, by sameness of consciousness, be meant, having the same ideas hereafter, that I have now, with a notion or apprehension that I had had them before; just in the same manner as I now have the same ideas, that I had in time past, by memory. It is possible without doubt, in the nature of things, for God to annihilate me, and after my annihilation to create another being

that shall have the same ideas in his mind that I have, and with the like apprehension that he had had them before, in like manner as a person has by memory; and yet I be in no way concerned in it, having no reason to fear what that being shall suffer, or to hope for what he shall enjoy.—Can any one deny, that it is possible, after my annihilation, to create two beings in the Universe, both of them having my ideas communicated to them, with such a notion of their having had them before, after the manner of memory, and yet be ignorant one of another; and, in such case, will any one say, that both these are one and the same person, as they must be, if they are both the same person with me. It is possible there may be two such beings, each having all the ideas that are now in my mind, in the same manner that I should have by memory, if my own being were continued; and yet these two beings not only be ignorant one of another, but also be in a very different state, one in a state of enjoyment and pleasure, and the other in a state of great suffering and torment. Yea, there seems to be nothing of impossibility in the Nature of things, but that the Most High could, if he saw fit, cause there to be another being, who should begin to exist in some distant part of the Universe, with the same ideas I now have, after the manner of memory; and should henceforward co-exist with me; we both retaining a consciousness of what was before the moment of his first existence, in like manner; but thenceforward should have a different train of ideas. Will any one say, that he, in such a case, is the same person with me, when I know nothing of his sufferings, and am never the better for his joys.

[29.] POWER. We have explained a Cause to be *that, after, or upon, the Existence of which, or its Existence in such a manner, the existence of another thing follows.* The Connection between these two existences, or between the Cause and Effect, is what we call Power. Thus the Sun, above the Horizon, enlightens the Atmosphere. So we say the Sun has power to enlighten the Atmosphere. That is, there is such a connection between the Sun, being above the Horizon, after such a manner, and the Atmosphere being enlightened, that one always follows the other. So the Sun has power to melt wax: That is, the Sun and wax so existing, the melting of the wax follows. There is a connection between one and the other. So Man has power to do this or that: That is, if he exists after such a manner, there follows the existence of another thing: if he wills this or that, it will be so. God has power to do all things, because there is nothing but what follows upon his willing of it. When Intelligent beings are said to have power to do this or that; by it is meant, the Connection between this or that, upon this manner of their existing, their willing: in which sense they have power to do many things that they never shall will.

Coroll. Hence it follows, that men, in a very proper sense, may be said to have power to abstain from sin, and to repent, to do good works and to live holily; because it depends on their Will.

[59.] JUDGMENT. The mind passes a judgment, in multitudes of cases, where it has learned to judge by perpetual experience, not only exceedingly quick, as soon as one thought can follow another, but absolutely without any reflexion at all, and at the same moment, without any time intervening. Though the thing is not properly self-evident, yet it judges without any ratiocination, merely by force of habit. Thus, when I hear such and such sounds, or see such letters, I judge that such things are signified without reasoning. When I have such ideas coming in by my sense of seeing, appearing after such a manner, I judge without any reasoning.

that the things are further off, than others that appear after such a manner. When I see a globe, I judge it to be a globe, though the image impressed on my sensory is only that of a flat circle, appearing variously in various parts. And in ten thousand other cases, the ideas are habitually associated together, and they come into the mind together.—So likewise, in innumerable cases, men act without any proper act of the Will at that time commanding, through habit. As when a man is walking, there is not a new act of the Will every time a man takes up his foot and sets it down.

Coroll. Hence there is no necessity of allowing reason to Beasts, in many of those actions, that many are ready to argue are rational actions. As cattle in a team are wont to act as the driver would have them, upon his making such and such sounds, either to stop, or go along, or turn hither or thither, because they have been forced to do it, by the whip, upon the using of such words. It is become habitual, so that they never do it rationally, but either from force or from habit. So of all the actions that beasts are taught to perform, dogs, and horses, and parrots, etc. And those, that they learn of themselves to do, are merely by virtue of appetite and habitual association of ideas. Thus a horse learns to perform such actions for his food, because he has accidentally had the perceptions of such actions, associated with the pleasant perceptions of taste: and so his appetite makes him perform the action, without any reason or judgment.

The main difference between Men and Beasts is, that Men are capable of reflecting upon what passes in their own minds. Beasts have nothing but direct consciousness. Men are capable of viewing what is in themselves, contemplatively. Man was made for spiritual exercises and enjoyments, and therefore is made capable, by reflexion, to behold and contemplate spiritual things. Hence it arises that Man is capable of Religion.

A very great difference between Men and Beasts is, that Beasts have no voluntary actions about their own thoughts; for it is in this only, that reasoning differs from mere perception and memory. It is the act of the Will, in bringing its ideas into Contemplation, and ranging and comparing of them in Reflexion and Abstraction. The minds of Beasts, if I may call them *minds*, are purely passive with respect to all their ideas. The minds of Men are not only passive, but abundantly active. Herein probably is the most distinguishing difference between Men and Beasts. Herein is the difference between Intellectual, or Rational, Will, and mere Animal Appetite, that the latter is a simple Inclination to, or Aversion from, such and such Sensations, which are the only ideas that they are capable of, that are not active about their ideas: the former is a Will that is active about its own ideas, in disposing of them among themselves, or Appetite towards those ideas that are acquired by such action.

The Association of ideas in Beasts, seems to be much quicker and stronger than in Men: at least in many of them.

It would not suppose any exalted faculty in Beasts, to suppose that like ideas in them, if they have any, excite one another. Nor can I think why it should be so any the less for the weakness and narrowness of their faculties; in such things, where to perceive the argumunt of ideas, requires neither attention nor comprehension. And experience teaches us, that what we call thought in them, is thus led from one thing to another.

[17.] LOGICK. One reason why, at first, before I knew other Logick, I used to be mightily pleased with the study of the Old Logick, was, because it was very pleasant to see my thoughts, that before lay in my mind jumbled without any distinction, ranged into order and distributed into classes and subdivisions, so that I could tell where they all belonged, and run them

up to their general heads. For this Logick consisted much in Distributions and Definitions; and their maxims gave occasion to observe new and strange dependencies of ideas, and a seeming agreement of multitudes of them in the same thing, that I never observed before.

[66.] IDEAS. All sorts of ideas of things are but the repititions of those very things over again—as well the ideas of colours, figures, solidity, tastes, and smells, as the ideas of thought and mental acts.

[67.] LOVE is not properly said to be an idea, any more than Understanding is said to be an idea. Understanding and Loving are different acts of the mind entirely; and so Pleasure and Pain are not properly ideas. Though Pleasure and Pain may imply perception in their nature, yet it does not follow, that they are properly ideas. There is an Act of the mind in it. An idea is only a perception, wherein the mind is passive or rather subjective. The Acts of the mind are not merely ideas. All Acts of the mind, about its ideas, are not themselves mere ideas.

Pleasure and Pain have their seat in the Will, and not in the Understanding. The Will, Choice, etc. is nothing else, but the mind's being pleased with an idea, or having a superior pleasedness in something thought of, or a desire of a future thing, or a pleasedness in the thought of our union with the thing, or a pleasedness in such a state of ourselves, and a degree of pain while we are not in that state, or a disagreeable conception of the contrary state at that time when we desire it.

[7.] GENUS. The various distributing and ranking of things, and tying of them together, under one common abstract idea, is, although arbitrary, yet exceedingly useful, and indeed absolutely necessary: for how miserable should we be, if we could think of things only individually, as the beasts do; how slow, narrow, painful and endless, would be the exercise of thought.

What is this putting and tying things together, which is done in abstraction? It is not merely a tying of them under the same name; for I do believe, that deaf and dumb persons abstract and distribute things into kinds. But it is so putting of them together, that the mind resolves hereafter to think of them together, under a common notion, as if they were a collective substance; the mind being as sure, in this proceeding, of reasoning well, as if it were of a particular substance; for it has abstracted that which belongs alike to all, and has a perfect idea, whose relations and properties it can behold, as well as those of the idea of one individual. Although this ranking of things be arbitrary, yet there is much more foundation for some distributions than others. Some are much more useful, and much better serve the purposes of abstraction.

[24.] THERE is really a difference that the mind makes, in the consideration of an Universal, absolutely considered, and a Species. There is a difference in the two ideas, when we say Man, including simply the abstract idea; and when we say, the Human Sort of Living Creature. There is reference had to an idea more abstract. And there is this act of the mind in distributing an Universal into Species. It ties this abstract idea to two or more less abstract ideas, and supposes it limited by them.

It is not every property, that belongs to all the particulars included in, and proper to, a Genus, and that men generally see to be so, that is a part of that complex abstract idea, that represents all the particulars, or that is a part of that nominal essence. But so much is essential, which, if men should see any thing less, they would not call it by the name, by which

they call the Genus. This indeed, is uncertain, because men never agreed upon fixing exact bounds.

[25.] A PART, is one of those many ideas, which we are wont to think of together. *A whole*, is an idea containing many of these.

[47.] THE FOUNDATION of the most considerable Species or Sorts, in which things are ranked, is the order of the world—the designed distribution of God and nature. When we, in distributing things, differ from that design, we don't know the true essences of things. If the world had been created without any order, or design, or beauty, indeed, all species would be merely arbitrary. There are certain multitudes of things, that God has made to agree, very remarkably in something, either as to their outward appearance, manner of acting, the effects they produce, or that other things produce on them, the manner of their production, or God's diposal concerning them, or some peculiar perpetual circumstances that they are in. Thus diamonds agree in shape; pieces of gold, in that they will be divided in *aqua regia;* loadstones, in innumerable strange effects that they produce; many plants, in the peculiar effects they produce on animal bodies; men, in that they are to remain after this life. That inward conformation, that is the foundation of an agreement in these things, is the real essence of the thing. For instance, that disposition of parts, or whatever it be, in the matter of the loadstone, from whence arises the verticity to the poles, and its influence on other loadstones and iron, is the real essence of the loadstone that is unknown to us.

[41.] As there is great foundation in Nature for those abstract ideas, which we call Universals; so there is great foundation in the common circumstances and necessities of mankind, and the constant method of things proceeding, for such a tying of simple modes together to the constituting such mixed modes. This appears from the agreement of languages; for language is very much made up of the names of Mixed Modes; and we find that almost all those names, in one language, have names that answer to them in other languages. The same Mixed Mode has a name given to it by most nations. Whence it appears that most of the inhabitants of the Earth have agreed upon putting together the same Simple Modes into Mixed ones, and in the same manner. The learned and polished have indeed many more than others: and herein chiefly it is, that languages do not answer one to another.

[42.] THE agreement or similitude of Complex ideas, mostly consists in their precise identity, with respect to some third idea of some of the simples, they are compounded of. But if there be any similitude or agreement between simple ideas themselves, it cannot consist in the identity of a third idea that belongs to both; because the ideas are simple; and if you take any thing that belongs to them, you take all. Therefore no agreement between simple ideas can be resolved into Identity, unless it be the identity of Relations. But there seems to be another infallible agreement between simple ideas. Thus some Colours are more like one to another than others, between which there is yet a very manifest difference. So between Sounds, Smells, Tastes, and other Sensations. And what is that common agreement of all these ideas we call colours, whereby we know immediately that that name belongs to them. Certainly all colours have an agreement one to another, that is quite different from any agreement that Sounds can have to them. So is there some common agreement to all Sounds, that Tastes cannot have to any Sound. It cannot be said

that the agreement lies only in this, that these simple ideas come all by the ear; so that their agreement consists only in the relation they have to that organ. For if it should have been so that we had lived in the world, and had never found out the way, we got these ideas we call Sounds, and never once thought or considered any thing about it, and should hear some new simple sound, I believe nobody would question, but that we should immediately perceive an agreement with other ideas, that used to come by that sense, though we knew not which way one of them came, and should immediately call it a *Sound*, and say we had heard a strange *Noise*. And if we had never had any such sensation as the *Head-ach*, and should have it, I do not think we should call that a new *Sound*; for there would be so manifest a disagreement between those simple ideas, of another kind from what simple ideas have one with another.

I have thought, whether or no the agreement of Colours did not consist, in a Relation they had to the idea of Space; and whether Colour in general might not be defined, *that idea that filled Space*. But I am convinced, that there is another sort of agreement beside that; and the more, because there can no such common relation be thought of, with respect to different Sounds. It is probable that this agreement may be resolved into Identity. If we follow these ideas to their original in their Organs, like sensations may be caused from like motions in the Animal Spirits. Herein the likeness is perceived, after the same manner as the harmony in a simple colour; but if we consider the ideas absolutely, it cannot be.

Coroll. All Universals, therefore, cannot be made up of ideas, abstracted from Particulars; for Colour and Sound are Universals, as much as Man or Horse. But the idea of Colour, or Sound, in general, cannot be made up of ideas, abstracted from particular Colours, or Sounds; for from simple ideas nothing can be abstracted. But these Universals are thus formed. The mind perceives that some of its ideas agree, in a manner very different from all its other ideas. The mind therefore is determined to rank those ideas together in its thoughts; and all new ideas, it receives with the like agreement, it naturally, and habitually, and at once, places to the same rank and order, and calls them by the same name; and by the nature, determination and habit, of the mind, the idea of one excites the idea of others.

[43.] MANY of our Universal ideas are not Arbitrary. The tying of ideas together, in Genera and Species, is not merely the calling of them by the same name, but such an union of them, that the consideration of one shall naturally excite the idea of others. But the union of ideas is not always arbitrary, but unavoidably arising from the nature of the Soul; which is such, that the thinking of one thing, of itself, yea, against our wills, excites the thought of other things that are like it. Thus, if a person, a stranger to the Earth, should see and converse with a man, and a long time after should meet with another man, and converse with him; the agreement would immediately excite the idea of that other man, and those two ideas would be together in his mind, for the time to come, yea, in spite of him. So if he should see a third, and afterwards should find multitudes, there would be a Genus, or Universal Idea, formed in his mind, naturally, without his counsel or design. So I cannot doubt but, if a person had been born blind, and should have his eyes opened, and should immediately have *blue* placed before his eyes, and then *red*, then *green*, then *yellow*; I doubt not, they would immediately get into one General Idea—they would be united in his mind without his deliberation.

Coroll. So that God has not only distributed things into species, by evidently manifesting, by his making such an agreement in things, that he designed such and such particulars to be together in the mind; but by

making the Soul of such a nature, that those particulars, which he thus made to agree, are unavoidably together in the mind, one naturally exciting and including the others.

[37.] GENUS and Species, indeed, is a mental thing; yet, in a sense, Nature has distributed many things into Species without our minds. That is, God evidently designed such Particulars to be together in the mind, and in other things. But 'tis not so indeed, with respect to all genera. Some therefore may be called *Arbitrary* Genera; others *Natural*. Nature has designedly made a distribution of some things: other distributions are of a mental original.

[56.] NUMBER is a train of differences of ideas, put together in the mind's consideration in orderly succession, and considered with respect to their relations one to another, as in that orderly mental succession. This mental succession is the succession of Time. One may make which they will the first, if it be but the first in consideration. The mind begins where it will, and runs through them successively one after another. It is a collection of differences; for it is its being another, in some respect, that is the very thing that makes it capable of pertaining to multiplicity. They must not merely be put together, in orderly succession; but its only their being considered with reference to that relation. they have one to another as differences, and in orderly mental succession, that denominates it *Number*.—To be of such a particular number, is for an idea to have such a particular relation, and so considered by the mind, to other differences put together with it, in orderly succession.—So that there is nothing inexplicable in the nature of Number, but what Identity and Diversity is, and what Succession, or Duration, or Priority and Posteriority, is.

[57.] DURATION. *Pastness*, if I may make such a word, is nothing but a Mode of ideas. This Mode perhaps, is nothing else but a certain *Veterascence*, attending our ideas. When it is, as we say, *Past*, the idea, after a particular manner, fades and grows old. When an idea appears with this mode, we say it is *Past*, and according to the degree of this particular inexpressible mode, so we say the thing is longer or more lately past. As in distance, it is not only by a natural trigonometry of the eyes, or a sort of parallax, that we determine it; because we can judge of distances, as well with one eye, as with two. Nor is it by observing the parallelism or aperture of the rays, for the mind judges by nothing, but the difference it observes in the idea itself, which alone the mind has any notice of. But it judges of distance, by a particular mode of indistinctness, as has been said before. So it is with respect to distance of time, by a certain peculiar inexpressible mode of fading and indistinctness, which I call *Veterasceence*.

[65.] I THINK we find by experience, that, when we have been in a sound sleep, for many hours together, if we look back to the time when we were last awake, the ideas seem farther off to us, than when we have only ceased thinking a few minutes: which cannot be, because we see a longer train of intermediate ideas in one case, than in the other; for I suppose we see none in neither. But there is a sort of Veterascence of ideas, that have been a longer time in the mind. When we look upon them, they do not look just as those, that are much nearer. This Veterascence consists, I think, in blotting out the little distinctions, the minute parts, and fine strokes of it. This is one way of judging of the distance of Visible objects. In this respect, a house, a tree, do not look at a little distance, as they do very near. They not only do not appear so big; but a multitude of the little distinctions vanish, that are plain when we are near.

[53.] SENSATION. Our Senses, when sound, and in ordinary circumstances, are not properly fallible in any thing: that is, we mean our Experience by our Senses. If we mean any thing else, neither fallibility nor certainty in any way belongs to the Senses. Nor are our Senses certain in any thing at all, any other way, than by constant experience by our Senses: That is, when our Senses make such or such representations, we constantly experience, that things are in themselves thus or thus. So, when a thing appears after such a manner, I judge it to be at least two rods off, at least two feet broad; but I only know, by constant experience, that a thing, that makes such a representation, is so far off, and so big. And so my senses are as certain in every thing, when I have equal opportunity and occasion to experience. And our senses are said to deceive us in some things, because our situation does not allow us to make trial, or our circumstances do not lead us to it, and so we are apt to judge by our experience, in other and different cases. Thus, our Senses make us think, that the Moon is among the clouds, because we cannot try it so quick, easily, and frequently, as we do the distance of things, that are nearer. But the Senses of an Astronomer, who observes the Parallax of the Moon, do not deceive him, but lead him to the truth. Though the idea of the Moon's distance will never be exercised, so quick and naturally, upon every occasion, because of the tediousness and infrequency of the trial; and there are not so many ways of trial, so many differences in the Moon's appearance, from what a lesser thing amongst the clouds would have, as there are in things nearer. I can remember when I was so young, that seeing two things in the same building, one of which was twice so far off as the other, yet, seeing one over the other, I thought they had been of the same distance, one right over the other. My senses then were deceitful in that thing, though they made the same representations as now, and yet now they are not deceitful. The only difference is in *experience*. Indeed, in some things, our senses make no difference in the representation, where there is a difference in the things. But in those things, our experience by our Senses will lead us not to judge at all, and so they will deceive. We are in danger of being deceived by our Senses, in judging of appearances, by our experience in different things, or by judging where we have had no experience, or the like.

[19.] THINGS, that we know by immediate Sensation, we know intuitively; and they are properly self-evident truths: As, *Grass is green; The Sun shines; Honey is sweet*. When we say that Grass is green, all that we can be supposed to mean by it, is—that, in a constant course, when we see Grass, the idea of green is excited by it; and this we know self-evidently.

[55.] APPETITE of the Mind. As all ideas are wholly in the mind, so is all Appetite. To have Appetite towards a thing is as remote from the nature of Matter, as to have Thought. There are some of the Appetites, that are called Natural Appetites, that are not indeed natural to the Soul; as the Appetite to meat and drink. I believe when the Soul has that sort of pain, which is in hunger and thirst, if the Soul never had experienced that food and drink remove that pain, it would create no Appetite to any thing. A man would be just as incapable of such an Appetite, as he is to food he never smelt nor tasted. So the Appetite of scratching when it itches.

[15.] TRUTH. After all that has been said and done, the only adequate definition of Truth is, The agreement of our ideas with existence.

To explain what this existence is, is another thing. In abstract ideas, it is nothing but the ideas themselves; so their truth is their consistency with themselves. In things that are supposed to be without us, it is the determination and fixed mode of God's exciting ideas in us. So that Truth, in these things, is an agreement of our ideas with that series in God. It is existence; and that is all that we can say. It is impossible that we should explain a perfectly abstract and mere idea of existence; only we always find this, by running of it up, that God and Real Existence are the same.

Coroll. Hence we learn how properly it may be said, that God is, and that there is none else; and how proper are these names of the Deity, JEHOVAH, and I AM THAT I AM.

[6.] TRUTH is *The perception of the relations there are between ideas.* Falshood is *The supposition of relations between ideas that are inconsistent with those ideas themselves; not their disagreement with things without.* All truth is in the mind, and only there. It is ideas, or what is in the mind, alone, that can be the object of the mind; and what we call Truth, is a consistent supposition of relations, between what is the object of the mind. Falshood is an inconsistent supposition of relations. The Truth, that is in a mind, must be in that mind as to its object, and every thing pertaining to it. The only foundation of Error is inadequateness and imperfection of ideas; for, if the idea were perfect, it would be impossible but that all its relations should be perfectly perceived.

[10.] TRUTH, in the general, may be defined, after the most strict and metaphysical manner, *The consistency and agreement of our ideas, with the ideas of God.* I confess this, in ordinary conversation, would not half so much tend to enlighten one in the meaning of the word, as to say, *The agreement of our ideas with the things as they are*, But it should be enquired, What is it for our ideas to agree with things as they are? seeing that corporeal things exist no otherwise than mentally; and as for most other things, they are only abstract ideas. Truth, as to external things, is the consistency of our ideas with those ideas, or that train and series of ideas, that are raised in our minds, according to God's stated order and law.

Truth, as to abstract ideas, is the consistency of our ideas with themselves. As when our idea of a circle, or a triangle, or any of their parts, is agreeable to the idea we have stated and agreed to call by the name of a circle, or a triangle. And it may still be said, that Truth is, *the consistency of our ideas with themselves.* Those ideas are false, that are not consistent with the series of ideas, that are raised in our minds, by according to the order of nature.

Coroll. 1. Hence we see, in how strict a sense it may be said, that God is Truth itself.

Coroll 2. Hence it appears, that Truth consists in having perfect and adequate ideas of things: For instance, if I judge truly how far distant the Moon is from the Earth, we need not say, that this Truth consists, in the perception of the relation, between the two ideas of the Moon and the Earth, but in the adequateness.

Coroll. 3. Hence Certainty is the clear perception of this perfection. Therefore, if we had perfect ideas of all things at once, that is, could have all in one view, we should know all truth at the same moment, and there would be no such thing as Ratiocination, or finding out Truth. And Reasoning is only of use to us, in consequence of the paucity of our ideas, and because we can have but very few in view at once.—Hence it is evident, that all things are *self-evident* to God.

[5.] CERTAINTY. Determined that there are many degrees of certainty, though not indeed of absolute certainty; which is infinitely strong. We are certain of many things upon demonstration, which yet we may be made more certain of by more demonstration; because although, according to the strength of the mind, we see the connection of the ideas, yet a stronger mind would see the connection more perfectly and strongly, because it would have the ideas more perfect. We have not such strength of mind, that we can perfectly conceive of but very few things; and some little of the strength of an idea is lost, in a moment of time, as we, in the mind, look successively on the train of ideas, in a demonstration.

[8.] RULES OF REASONING. It is no matter how abstracted our notions are—the further we penetrate and come to the prime reality of the thing, the better; provided we can go to such a degree of abstraction, and carry it out clear. We may go so far in abstraction, that, although we may thereby, in part, see Truth and Reality, and farther than ever was seen before, yet we may not be able more than just to touch it, and to have a few obscure glances. We may not have strength of mind to conceive clearly of the Manner of it. We see farther indeed, but it is very obscurely and indistinctly. We had better stop a degree or two short of this, and abstract no farther than we can conceive of the thing distinctly, and explain it clearly: otherwise we shall be apt to run into error, and confound our minds.

[54.] REASONING. We know our own existence, and the existence of every thing, that we are conscious of in our own minds, intuitively; but all our reasoning, with respect to Real Existence, depends upon that natural, unavoidable and invariable, disposition of the mind, when it sees a thing begin to be, to conclude certainly, that there is a *Cause* of it; or if it sees a thing to be in a very orderly, regular and exact, manner, to conclude that some *Design* regulated and disposed it. That a thing that begins to be should make itself, we know implies a contradiction; for we see intuitively, that the ideas, that such an expression excites, are inconsistent. And that any thing should start up into being, without any cause at all, itself, or any thing else, is what the mind, do what we will, will forever refuse to receive, but will perpetually reject. When we therefore see any thing begin to be, we intuitively know there is a cause of it, and not by ratiocination, or any kind of argument. This is an innate principle, in that sense, that the soul is born with it—a necessary, fatal propensity, so to conclude, on every occasion.

And this is not only true of every new existence of those we call Substances, but of every alteration that is to be seen: any new existence of any new mode, we necessarily suppose to be from a cause. For instance, if there had been nothing but one globe of solid matter, which in time past had been at perfect rest; if it starts away into motion, we conclude there is some cause of that alteration. Or if that globe, in time past, had been moving in a straight line, and turns short about at right angles with its former direction; or if it had been moving with such a degree of celerity, and all at once moves with but half that swiftness. And it is all one, whether these alterations be in Bodies, or in Spirits, their beginning must have a cause: the first alteration that there is in a Spirit, after it is created, let it be an alteration in what it will; and so the rest. So, if a Spirit always, in times past, had had such an inclination, for instance always loved and chosen sin, and then has a quite contrary inclination, and loves and chooses holiness; the beginning of this alteration, or the first new existence in that

Spirit towards it, whether it were some action, or whatsoever, had some cause.

And, indeed, it is no matter, whether we suppose a being has a beginning or no, if we see it exists in a particular manner, for which way of existing we know that there is no more reason, as to any thing in the thing itself, than any other different manner; the mind necessarily concludes, that there is some cause of its so existing, more than any other way. For instance, if there is but once piece of matter existing from all eternity, and that be a square; we unavoidably conclude, there is some cause why it is square, seeing there is nothing in the thing itself that more inclines it to that figure, than to an infinite number of other figures. The same may be said as to rest, or motion, or the manner of motion; and for all other bodies existing, the mind seeks a Cause why.

When the mind sees a being existing very regularly, and in most exact order, especially if the order consists in the exact regulation of a very great multitude of particulars, if it be the best order, as to use and beauty, that the mind can conceive of, that it could have been, the mind unavoidably concludes, that its Cause was a being that had design: for instance, when the mind perceives the beauty and contrivance of the world; for the world might have been one infinite number of confusions, and not have been disposed beautifully and usefully; yea, infinite times an infinite number, and so if we multiply infinite by infinite, *in infinitum*. So that, if we suppose the world to have existed from all eternity, and to be continually all the while without the guidance of design, passing under different changes; it would have been, according to such a multiplication, infinite to one, whether it would ever have hit upon this form or no. Note—This way of concluding, is a sort of ratiocination.

[58.] REASONING does not absolutely differ from Perception, any further than there is the act of the will about it. It appears to be so in demonstrative Reasoning. Because the knowledge of a self-evident truth, it is evident, does not differ from Perception. But all demonstrative knowledge consists in, and may be resolved into, the knowledge of self-evident truths. And it is also evident, that the act of the mind, in other reasoning, is not of a different nature from demonstrative Reasoning.

[71.] KNOWLEDGE is not the perception of the *agreement*, or *disagreement*, of ideas, but rather the perception of the *union*, or *disunion*, of ideas—or the perceiving whether two or more ideas belong to one another.

Coroll. Hence it is not impossible to believe, or know, the Truth of MYSTERIES, or propositions that we cannot comprehend, or see the manner how the several ideas, that belong to the proposition, are united. Perhaps it cannot properly be said, that we see the *agreement* of the ideas, unless we see *how they agree*. But we may perceive that they are *united*, and know that they *belong* one to another; though we do not know the manner *how they are tied together*.

[22.] PREJUDICE. Those ideas, which do not pertain to the prime essence of things,—such as all colours that are every where objected to our eyes; and sounds that are continually in our ears; those that affect the touch, as cold and heats; and all our sensations—exceedingly clog the mind, in searching into the innermost nature of things, and cast such a mist over things, that there is need of a sharp sight to see clearly through: for these will be continually in the mind, and associated with other ideas, let us be thinking of what we will; and it is a continual care

and pains to keep clear of their entanglements, in our scrutinies into things. This is one way, whereby the body and the senses observe the views of the mind. The world seems so differently to our eyes, to our ears, and other senses, from the idea we have of it by Reason, that we can hardly realize the latter.

[18.] WORDS. We are used to apply the same words a hundred different ways; and ideas being so much tied and associated with the words, they lead us into a thousand real mistakes; for where we find that the words may be connected, the ideas being by custom tied with them, we think the ideas may be connected likewise, and applied every where, and in every way, as the Words.

[23.] The reason why the names of Spiritual things, are all, or most of them, derived from the names of Sensible or Corporeal ones—as Imagination, Conception, Apprehend, etc.—is, because there was no other way of making others readily understand men's meaning, when they first signified these things by sounds, than by giving of them the names of things sensible, to which they had an analogy. They could thus point it out with the finger, and so explain themselves as in sensible things.

[43.] DEFINITION. That is not always a true Definition, that tends most to give us to understand the meaning of a word; but that, which would give any one the clearest notion of the meaning of the word, if he had never been in any way acquainted with the thing signified by that word. For instance, if I was to explain the meaning of the word Motion, to one that had seen things move, but was not acquainted with the word; perhaps I should say, Motion is *a thing's going from one place to another.* But, if I was to explain it to one, who had never seen any thing move, (if that could be,) I should say, Motion is *a Body's existing successively in all the immediately contiguous parts of any distance, without continuing any time in any.*

[20.] INSPIRATION. The evidence of immediate Inspiration that the prophets had, when they were immediately inspired by the Spirit of God with any truth, is an absolute sort of certainty; and the knowledge is in a sense intuitive—much in the same manner as Faith, and Spiritual Knowledge of the truth of Religion. Such bright ideas are raised, and such a clear view of a perfect agreement with the excellencies of the Divine Nature, that it is known to be a communication from him. All the Deity appears in the thing, and in every thing pertaining to it. The prophet has so divine a sense, such a divine disposition, such a divine pleasure; and sees so divine an excellency, and so divine a power, in what is revealed, that he sees as immediately that God is there, as we perceive one another's presence, when we are talking together face to face. And our features, our voice and our shapes, are not so clear manifestations of us, as those spiritual resemblances of God, that are in the Inspiration, are manifestations of him. But yet there are doubtless various degrees in Inspiration.

[21.] THE WILL. It is not that, which appears the greatest good, or the greatest apparent good, that determines the Will. It is not the greatest good apprehended, or that which is apprehended to be the greatest good; but the Greatest Apprehension of good. It is not merely by judging that any thing is a great good, that good is apprehended, or appears. There are other ways of apprehending good. The having a clear and

sensible idea of any good, is one way of good's appearing, as well as judging that there is good. Therefore, all those things are to be considered—the degree of the judgment, by which a thing is judged to be good, and the contrary evil; the degree of goodness under which it appears, and the evil of the contrary; and the clearness of the idea and strength of the conception of the goodness and of the evil. And that Good, of which there is the greatest apprehension or sense, all those things being taken together, is chosen by the Will. And if there be a greater apprehension of good to be obtained, or evil escaped, by doing a thing, than in letting it alone, the Will determines to the doing it. The mind will be for the present most uneasy in neglecting it, and the mind always avoids that, in which it would be for the present most uneasy. The degree of apprehension of good, which I suppose to determine the Will, is composed of the degree of good apprehended, and the degree of apprehension. The degree of apprehension, again, is composed of the strength of the conception, and the judgment.

[60.] WILL, ITS DETERMINATION. The greatest mental existence of Good, the greatest degree of the mind's sense of Good, the greatest degree of apprehension, or perception, or idea of own Good, always determines the Will. Where three things are to be considered, that make up the proportion of mental existence of own good; for it is the proportion compounded of these three proportions that always determines the Will. 1. The degree of good apprehended, or the degree of good represented by idea. This used to be reckoned by many, the only thing that determined the Will.—2. The proportion or degree of apprehension or perception—the degree of the view the mind has of it, or the degree of the ideal perceptive presence of the good in the mind. This consists in two things. (1.) In the degree of the judgment. This is different from the first thing we mentioned, which was the judgment of the degree of good; but we speak now of the degree of that judgement, according to the degree of assurance or certainty. (2.) The Deepness of the sense of the goodness; or the clearness, liveliness and sensibleness, of the goodness or sweetness, or the strength of the impression on the mind. As one, that has just tasted honey, has more of an idea of its goodness, than one that never tasted, though he also fully believes that it is very sweet, yea as sweet as it is. And he that has seen a great beauty, has a far more clear and strong idea of it, than he that never saw it. Good, as it is thus most clearly and strongly present to the mind, will proportionally more influence the mind to incline and will.—3. There is to be considered the proportion or degree of the mind's apprehension of the *Propriety* of the good, or of its Own Concernment in it. Thus the soul has a clearer and stronger apprehension of a pleasure, that it may enjoy the next hour, than of the same pleasure that it is sure it may enjoy ten years hence, though the latter doth really as much concern it as the former. There are usually other things concur, to make men choose present, before future, good. They are generally more certain of the good, and have a stronger sense of it. But if they were equally certain, and it were the very same good, and they were sure it would be the same, yet the soul would be most inclined to the nearest, because they have not so lively an apprehension of themselves, and of the good, and of the whole matter. And then there is the pain and uneasiness of enduring such an appetite so long a time, that generally comes in. But yet this matter wants to be made something more clear, why the soul is more strongly inclined to near, than distant good.

It is utterly impossible but that it should be so, that the inclination and choice of the mind should always be determined by Good, as mentally or

ideally existing. It would be a contradiction to suppose otherwise, for we mean nothing else by Good, but *that which agrees with the inclination and disposition of the mind.* And surely that, which agrees with it, must agree with it. And it also implies a contradiction, to suppose that that good, whose mental or ideal being is greatest, does not always determine the Will; for we mean nothing else, by Greatest Good, but that which agrees most with the inclination and disposition of the soul. It is ridiculous to say, that the soul does not incline to that most, which is most agreeable to the inclination of the soul.—I think I was not mistaken when I said that nothing else is meant by Good, here, but that that agrees with the Inclination and Disposition of the mind. If they do not mean that that strikes the mind, that that is agreeable to it, that that pleases it, and falls in with the disposition of its nature; then I would know, What is meant.

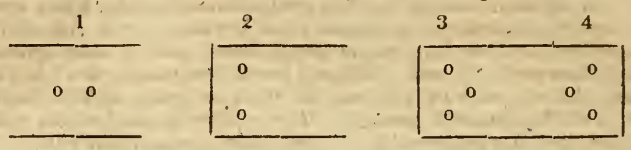
THE WILL is no otherwise different from the Inclination, than that we commonly call that the Will, that is the Mind's Inclination, with respect to its own Immediate Actions.

[70.] THAT it is not Uneasiness, in our present circumstances, that always determines the Will, as Mr. Locke supposes, is evident by this, that there may be an Act of the Will, in choosing and determining to forbear to act, or move, when some action is proposed to a man; as well as in choosing to act. Thus, if a man be put upon rising from his seat, and going to a certain place; his voluntary refusal is an act of the Will, which does not arise from any uneasiness in his present circumstances certainly. An act of voluntary refusal is as truly an act of the Will, as an act of choice: and indeed there is an act of choice in an act of refusal. The Will chooses to neglect: it prefers the opposite of that which is refused.

[39.] CONSCIENCE. Beside the two sorts of Assent of the mind, called *Will* and *Judgment*, there is a third, arising from a sense of the General Beauty and Harmony of things, which is *Conscience*. There are some things, which move a kind of horror in the mind, which yet the mind wills and chooses; and some, which are agreeable in this way to its make and constitution, which yet it chooses not. These Assents of Will and Conscience have indeed a common object, which is Excellency. Still they differ. The one is always General Excellency: that is Harmony, taking in its relation to the Whole System of beings. The other, that Excellency which most strongly affects, whether the Excellency be more general or particular. But the degree, wherein we are affected by any Excellency, is in proportion compounded of the Extensiveness, and the Intensiveness, of our view of that Excellency.

[1.] EXCELLENCY. There has nothing been more without a definition, than *Excellency;* although it be what we are more concerned with, than any thing else whatsoever: yea, we are concerned with nothing else. But what is this Excellency? Wherein is one thing excellent, and another evil; one beautiful, and another deformed? Some have said that all Excellency is *Harmony*, *Symmetry*, or *Proportion;* but they have not yet explained it. We would know, Why Proportion is more excellent than Disproportion; that is, why Proportion is pleasant to the mind, and Disproportion unpleasant? Proportion is a thing that may be explained yet further. It is an *Equality*, or *Likeness of ratios;* so that it is the Equality, that makes the Proportion. Excellency therefore seems to consist in *Equality*. Thus, if there be two perfect *equal* circles, or globes, together, there is something more of beauty than if they were of *unequal*, disproper-

tionate magnitudes. And if two *parallel* lines be drawn, the beauty is greater, than if they were *obliquely* inclined without proportion, because there is equality of distance. And if betwixt two parallel lines, two equal circles be placed, each at the same distance from each parallel line, as in Fig. 1, the beauty is greater, than if they stood at irregular distances from



the parallel lines. If they stand, each in a perpendicular line, going from the parallel lines, (Fig. 2,) it is requisite that they should each stand at an equal distance from the perpendicular line next to them; otherwise there is no beauty. If there be three of these circles between two parallel lines, and near to a perpendicular line run between them, (Fig. 3,) the most beautiful form perhaps, that they could be placed in, is in an equilateral triangle with the cross line, because there are most equalities. The distance of the two next to the cross line is equal from that, and also equal from the parallel lines. The distance of the third from each parallel is equal, and its distance from each of the other two circles is equal, and is also equal to their distance from one another, and likewise equal to their distance from each end of the cross line. There are two equilateral triangles: one made by the three circles, and the other made by the cross line and two of the sides of the first protracted till they meet that line. And if there be another like it, on the opposite side, to correspond with it and it be taken altogether, the beauty is still greater, where the distances from the lines, in the one, are equal to the distances in the other; also the two next to the cross lines are at equal distances from the other two; or, if you go crosswise, from corner to corner. The two cross lines are also parallel, so that all parts are at an equal distance, and innumerable other equalities might be found.

This simple Equality, without Proportion, is the lowest kind of Regularity, and may be called Simple Beauty. All other beauties and excellencies may be resolved into it. Proportion is Complex Beauty. Thus, if we suppose that there are two points, A B, placed at two inches distance, and the next, C, one inch farther; (Fig. 1,)

Fig. 1.

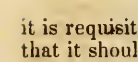
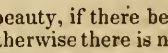
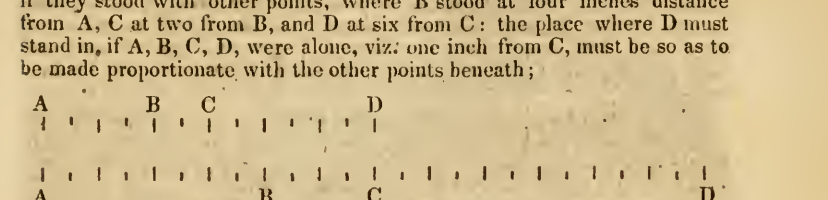


Fig. 2.



it is requisite, in order to regularity and beauty, if there be another, D, that it should be at half an inch distance; otherwise there is no regularity, and the last, D, would stand out of its proper place; because now the relation that the space C D, bears to B C, is equal to the relation that B C, bears to A B; so that B C D, is exactly similar to A B C. It is evident, this is a more complicated excellency than that which consisted in Equality, because the terms of the relation are here complex, and before were simple. When there are three points set in a right line, it is requisite, in order to regularity, that they should be set at an equal distance, as A B C, (Fig. 2,) where A B, is similar to B C, or the relation of C to B, is the same as of B to A. But in the other are three terms necessary in each of the parts, between which, is the relation, B C D, is as A B C: so that here more simple beauties are omitted, and yet there is a general complex-

beauty: that is, B C is not as A B, nor is C D as B C, but yet, B C D is as A B C. It is requisite that the consent or regularity of C D to B C, be omitted, for the sake of the harmony of the whole. For although, if C D was perfectly equal to B C, there would be regularity and beauty with respect to them two; yet, if A B be taken into the idea, there is nothing but confusion. And it might be requisite, if these stood with others, even to omit this proposition, for the sake of one more complex still. Thus, if they stood with other points, where B stood at four inches distance from A, C at two from B, and D at six from C: the place where D must stand in, if A, B, C, D, were alone, viz: one inch from C, must be so as to be made proportionate with the other points beneath;



So that although A, B, C, D, are not proportioned, but are confusion among themselves; yet taken with the whole they are proportioned and beautiful.

All beauty consists in similarness or identity of relation. In identity of relation consists all likeness, and all identity between two consists in identity of relation. Thus, when the distance between two is exactly equal, their distance is their relation one to another, the distance is the same, the bodies are two; wherefore this is their correspondency and beauty. So bodies exactly of the same figure, the bodies are two, the relation between the parts of the extremities is the same, and this is their agreement with them. But if there are two bodies of different shapes, having no similarness of relation between the parts of the extremities; this, considered by itself, is a deformity, because being disagrees with being, which must undoubtedly be disagreeable to perceiving being: because what disagrees with Being, must necessarily be disagreeable to Being in general, to every thing that partakes of Entity, and of course to perceiving being; and what agrees with Being, must be agreeable to Being in general, and therefore to perceiving being. But agreeableness of perceiving being is pleasure, and disagreeableness is pain. Disagreement or contrariety to Being, is evidently an approach to Nothing, or a degree of Nothing; which is nothing else but disagreement or contrariety of Being, and the greatest and only evil: And Entity is the greatest and only good. And by how much more perfect Entity is, that is without mixture of Nothing, by so much the more Excellency. Two beings can agree one with another in nothing else but Relation; because otherwise the notion of their twoness (duality,) is destroyed, and they become one.

And so, in every case, what is called Correspondency, Symmetry, Regularity, and the like, may be resolved into Equalities; though the Equalities in a beauty, in any degree complicated, are so numerous, that it would be a most tedious piece of work to enumerate them. There are millions of these Equalities. Of these consist the beautiful shape of flowers, the beauty of the body of man, and of the bodies of other animals. That sort of beauty which is called Natural, as of vines, plants, trees, etc. consists of a very complicated harmony; and all the natural motions, and tendencies, and figures of bodies in the Universe are done according to proportion, and therein is their beauty. Particular disproportions sometimes greatly add to the general beauty, and must necessarily be, in order to a more universal proportion:—So much equality, so much beauty; though it may be noted that the quantity of equality is not to be measured only by the number, but the intenseness, according to the quantity of being. As

bodies are shadows of being, so their proportions are shadows of proportion.

The pleasures of the senses, where harmony is not the object of judgment, are the result of equality. Thus in Music, not only in the proportion which the several notes of a tune bear, one among another, but in merely two notes, there is harmony; whereas it is impossible there should be proportion between only two terms. But the proportion is in the particular vibrations of the air, which strike on the ear. And so, in the pleasantness of light, colours, tastes, smells and touch, all arise from proportion of motion. The organs are so contrived that, upon the touch of such and such particles, there shall be a regular and harmonious motion of the animal spirits.

Spiritual harmonies are of vastly larger extent: i. e. the proportions are vastly oftener redoubled, and respect mere beings, and require a vastly larger view to comprehend them; as some simple notes do more affect one, who has not a comprehensive understanding of Music.

The reason, why Equality thus pleases the mind, and Inequality is unpleasing, is because Disproportion, or Inconsistency, is contrary to Being: For Being, if we examine narrowly, is nothing else but Proportion. When one being is inconsistent with another being, then Being is contradicted. But contradiction to Being, is intolerable to perceiving being, and the consent to Being, most pleasing.

Excellency consists in the *Similarness* of one being to another—not merely Equality and Proportion, but any kind of Similarness—thus Similarness of direction. Supposing many globes moving in right lines, it is more beautiful, that they should move all the same way, and according to the same direction, than if they moved disorderly; one, one way, and another, another. This is an universal definition of Excellency:—*The Consent of Being to Being*, or *Being's Consent to Entity*. The more the Consent is, and the more extensive, the greater is the Excellency.

How exceedingly apt are we, when we are sitting still, and accidentally casting our eye upon some marks or spots in the floor or wall, to be ranging of them into regular parcels and figures: and, if we see a mark out of its place, to be placing of it right, by our imagination; and this, even while we are meditating on something else. So we may catch ourselves at observing the rules of harmony and regularity, in the careless motions of our heads or feet, and when playing with our hands, or walking about the room.

Pleasedness, in perceiving Being, always arises, either from a perception of Consent to Being in general, or of Consent to that Being that perceives. As we have shown, that Agreeableness to Entity must be agreeable to perceiving Entity; it is as evident that it is necessary that Agreeableness to that Being must be pleasing to it, if it perceives it. So that Pleasedness does not always arise from a perception of Excellency; [in general;] but the greater a Being is, and the more it has of Entity, the more will Consent to Being in general please it. But God is proper Entity itself, and these two therefore, in Him, become the same; for, so far as a thing consents to Being in general, so far it consents to Him; and the more perfect Created Spirits are, the nearer do they come to their Creator, in this regard.

That, which is often called *Self Love*, is exceedingly improperly called *Love*, for they do not only say that one loves himself, when he sees something amiable in himself, the view of which begets delight. But merely an inclination to pleasure, and averseness to pain, they call Self Love; so

that the devils, and other damned spirits, love themselves, not because they see any thing in themselves, which they imagine to be lovely, but merely, because they do not incline to pain but to pleasure, or merely because they are capable of pain or pleasure; for pain and pleasure include an inclination to agreeableness, and an aversion to disagreeableness. Now how improper is it to say, that one loves himself, because what is agreeable to him is agreeable to him, and what is disagreeable to him is disagreeable to him: which mere Entity supposes. So that this, that they call Self-Love, is no affection, but only the Entity of the thing, or his being what he is.

One alone, without any reference to any more, cannot be excellent; for in such case, there can be no manner of relation no way, and therefore no such thing as Consent. Indeed what we call *One*, may be excellent because of a consent of parts, or some consent of those in that being, that are distinguished into a plurality some way or other. But in a being that is absolutely without any plurality, there cannot be Excellency, for there can be no such thing as consent or agreement.

One of the highest excellencies is Love. As nothing else has a proper being but Spirits, and as Bodies are but the shadow of being, therefore the consent of bodies one to another, and the harmony that is among them, is but the shadow of Excellency. The highest Excellency therefore must be the consent of Spirits one to another. But the consent of Spirits consists half in their mutual love one to another. And the sweet harmony between the various parts of the Universe, is only an image of mutual love. But yet a lower kind of love may be odious, because it hinders, or is contrary to, a higher and more general. Even a lower proportion is often a deformity, because it is contrary to a more general proportion.

Coroll. 1. If so much of the beauty and excellency of Spirits consists in Love, then the deformity of evil spirits consists as much in hatred and malice.

Coroll. 2. The more any doctrine, or institution, brings to light of the Spiritual World, the more will it urge to Love and Charity.

Happiness strictly consists in the perception of these three things: of the consent of being to its own being; of its own consent to being; and of being's consent to being.

[14.] Excellence, to put it in other words, is that which is beautiful and lovely. That which is beautiful, considered by itself separately, and deformed, considered as a part of something else more extended; or beautiful, only with respect to itself and a few other things, and not as a part of that which contains all things—the Universe—; is false beauty and a confined beauty. That which is beautiful, with respect to the university of things, has a generally extended excellence and a true beauty; and the more extended, or limited, its system is, the more confined or extended is its beauty.

[62.] As bodies, the objects of our external senses, are but the shadows of beings; that harmony, wherein consists sensible excellency and beauty, is but the shadow of excellency. That is, it is pleasant to the mind, because it is a shadow of love. When one thing sweetly harmonizes with another, as the Notes in musick, the notes are so conformed, and have such proportion one to another, that they seem to have respect one to another, as if they loved one another. So the beauty of figures and motions is, when one part has such consonant proportion with the rest, as represents a general agreeing and consenting together; which is very much the image of Love, in all the parts of a Society, united by a sweet consent and charity of heart. Therein consists the beauty of figures, as of flowers

drawn with a pen; and the beauty of the body, and of the features of the face.

There is no other way, that sensible things can consent one to another but by Equality, or by Likeness, or by Proportion. Therefore the lowest or most simple kind of beauty is equality or likeness; because by equality or likeness, one part consents with but one part; but by Proportion one part may sweetly consent to ten thousand different parts; all the parts may consent with all the rest; and not only so, but the parts, taken singly, may consent with the whole taken together. Thus, in the figures or flourishes drawn by an acute penman, every stroke may have such a proportion, both by the place and distance, direction, degree of curvity, etc. that there may be a consent, in the parts of each stroke, one with another, and a harmonious agreement with all the strokes, and with the various parts, composed of many strokes, and an agreeableness to the whole figure taken together.

There is a beauty in Equality, as appears very evident by the very great respect men show to it, in every thing they make or do. How unbeautiful would be the body, if the parts on one side were unequal to those on the other; how unbeautiful would writing be, if the letters were not of an equal height, or the lines of an equal length, or at an equal distance, or if the pages were not of an equal width or height; and how unbeautiful would a building be, if no equality were observed in the correspondent parts.

Existence or Entity is that, into which all Excellency is to be resolved. Being or Existence is what is necessarily agreeable to Being; and when Being perceives it, it will be an agreeable perception; and any contradiction to Being or Existence is what Being when it perceives, abhors. If Being, in itself considered, were not pleasing, Being's consent to Being would not be pleasing, nor would Being's disagreeing with Being, be displeasing. Therefore, not only may *Greatness* be considered as a capacity of Excellency; but a Being, by reason of his greatness considered alone, is the more excellent, because he partakes more of Being. Though if he be great, if he dissents from more general and extensive Being, or from Universal Being; he is the more odious for his greatness, because the dissent or contradiction to Being in general is so much the greater. It is more grating to see much Being dissent from Being than to see little; and his greatness, or the quantity of Being he partakes of, does nothing towards bettering his dissent from Being in general, because there is no proportion between Finite Being, however great, and Universal Being.

Coroll. 1. Hence it is impossible that God should be any otherwise, than excellent; for he is the Infinite, Universal and All-comprehending, Existence.

2. Hence God infinitely loves himself, because his Being is Infinite. He is in himself, if I may so say, an Infinite Quantity of Existence.

3. Hence we learn one reason, why persons, who view Death merely as Annihilation, have a great abhorrence of it, though they live a very afflicted life.

[63.] Sensible Things, by virtue of the harmony and proportion that is seen in them, carry the appearance of perceiving and willing being. They evidently show at first blush, the action and governing of understanding and volition. The Notes of a tune or the strokes of an acute penman, for instance, are placed in such exact order, having such mutual respect, one to another, that they carry with them, into the mind of him that sees or hears, the conception of an understanding and will exerting itself in these

appearances; and were it not that we, by reflection and reasoning, are led to an extrinsic intelligence and will, that was the cause, it would seem to be in the Notes and Strokes themselves. They would appear like a society of so many perceiving beings, sweetly agreeing together. I can conceive of no other reason why *Equality* and *Proportion*, should be pleasing to him that perceives, but only that it has an appearance of *Consent*.

[64.] Excellency may be distributed into *Greatness* and *Beauty*. The former is the Degree of Being; the latter is Being's Consent to Being.

[49.] It is reasonable to suppose that the mere perception of Being is agreeable to perceiving Being, as well as well as Being's consent to Being. If absolute Being were not agreeable to perceiving Being, the contradiction of Being to Being would not be unpleasant. Hence there is in the mind an inclination to perceive the things that are, or the Desire of Truth. The exercise of this disposition of the soul, to a high degree, is the passion of admiration. When the mind beholds a very uncommon object, there is the pleasure of a new perception, with the excitation of the appetite of knowing more of it, as the causes and manner of production and the like, and the uneasiness arising from its being so hidden. These compose that emotion called *Admiration*.

[45.] EXCELLENCE. 1. When we spake of Excellence in Bodies, we were obliged to borrow the word, *Consent*, from Spiritual things; but Excellence in and among Spirits is in its prime and proper sense, Being's consent to Being. There is no other proper consent but that of *Minds*, even of their Will; which, when it is of Minds towards Minds, it is *Love*, and when of Minds towards other things, it is *Choice*. Wherefore all the Primary and Original beauty or excellence, that is among Minds, is Love; and into this may all be resolved that is found among them.

2. When we spake of External excellency, we said, that *Being's consent to Being*, must needs be agreeable to *Perceiving Being*. But now we are speaking of Spiritual things, we may change the phrase, and say, that *Mind's love to Mind* must needs be lovely to *Beholding Mind;* and Being's love to Being, in general, must needs be agreeable to Being that perceives it, because itself is a participation of Being, in general.

3. As to the proportion of this Love;—to greater Spirits, more, and to less, less;—it is beautiful, as it is a manifestation of love to Spirit or Being in general. And the want of this proportion is a deformity, because it is a manifestation of a defect of such a love. It shows that it is not Being, in general, but something else, that is loved, when love is not in proportion to the Extensiveness and Excellence of Being.

4. Seeing God has so plainly revealed himself to us; and other minds are made in his image, and are emanations from him; we may judge what is the Excellence of other minds, by what is his, which we have shown is Love. His Infinite Beauty, is His Infinite mutual Love of Himself. Now God is the Prime and Original Being, the First and Last, and the Pattern of all, and has the sum of all perfection. We may therefore, doubtless, conclude, that all that is the perfection of Spirits may be resolved into that which is God's perfection, which is Love.

5. There are several degrees of deformity or disagreeableness of dissent from Being. One is, when there is only merely a dissent from Being. This is disagreeable to Being, (for Perceiving Being only is properly Being.) Still more disagreeable is a dissent to very excellent Being, or, as we have explained, to a Being that consents in a high degree to Being, because such a Being by such a consent becomes bigger: and a dis-

senting from such a Being includes, also, a dissenting from what he consents with, which is other Beings, or Being in general. Another deformity, that is more odious than mere dissent from Being, is, for a Being to dissent from, or not to consent with, a Being who consents with his Being. It is a manifestation of a greater dissent from Being than ordinary; for the Being perceiving, knows that it is natural to Being, to consent with what consents with it, as we have shown. It therefore manifests an extraordinary dissent, that consent to itself will not draw its consent. The deformity, for the same reason, is greater still, if there be dissent from consenting Being. There are such contrarieties and jars in Being, as must necessarily produce jarring and horror in perceiving Being.

6. Dissent from such Beings, if that be their fixed nature, is a manifestation of Consent to Being in general; for consent to Being is dissent from that, which dissents from Being.

7. Wherefore all Virtue, which is the Excellency of minds, is resolved into *Love to Being;* and nothing is virtuous or beautiful in Spirits, any otherwise than as it is an exercise, or fruit, or manifestation, of this love; and nothing is sinful or deformed in Spirits, but as it is the defect of, or contrary to, these.

8. When we speak of Being in general, we may be understood of the Divine Being, for he is an Infinite Being: therefore all others must necessarily be considered as nothing. As to *Bodies*, we have shown in another place, that they have no proper Being of their own. And as to *Spirits*, they are the communications of the Great Original Spirit; and doubtless, in metaphysical strictness and propriety, He is, as there is none else. He is likewise Infinitely Excellent, and all Excellence and Beauty is derived from him, in the same manner as all Being. And all other Excellence, is, in strictness only, a shadow of his. We proceed, therefore, to show how all Spiritual Excellence is resolved into Love.

9. As to God's Excellence, it is evident it consists in the *Love of himself;* for he was as excellent, before he created the Universe, as he is now. But if the Excellence of Spirits consists in their disposition and action, God could be excellent no other way at that time; for all the exertions of himself were towards himself. But he exerts himself towards himself, no other way, than in infinitely loving and delighting in himself; in the mutual love of the Father and the Son. This makes the Third, the Personal Holy Spirit, or the Holiness of God, which is his Infinite Beauty; and this is God's Infinite Consent to Being in general. And his love to the creature is his Excellence, or the communication of Himself, his complacency in them, according as they partake of more or less of Excellence and beauty, that is of holiness, (which consists in love;) that is according as he communicates more or less of his Holy Spirit.

10. As to that Excellence, that Created Spirits partake of; that it is all to be resolved into Love, none will doubt, that knows what is the Sum of the Ten Commandments; or believes what the Apostle says, That Love is the fulfilling of the Law; or what Christ says, That on these two, loving God and our neighbor, hang all the Law and the Prophets. This doctrine is often repeated in the New Testament. We are told that the End of the Commandment is Love; that to Love, is to fulfil the Royal Law; and that all the Law is fulfilled in this one word, Love.

11. I know of no difficulties worth insisting on, except pertaining to the spiritual excellence of Justice; but enough has been said already to resolve them. Though Injustice is the greatest of all deformities, yet Justice is no otherwise excellent, than as it is the exercise, fruit and manifestation of the mind's love or consent to Being; nor Injustice deformed any otherwise, than as it is the highest degree of the contrary. Injustice is

not to exert ourselves towards any Being as it deserves, or to do it contrary to what it deserves, in doing good or evil, or in acts of Consent or Dissent. There are two ways of deserving our Consent, and the acts of it: (By *deserving* any thing, we are to understand *that the nature of being requires it*:) By extensiveness and excellence; and by consent to that particular being. The reason of the deformity of not proportioning our consent, and the exercise of it, may be seen in paragraphs 3 and 5. As to the beauty of Vindictive Justice, see paragraph 6.

12. 'Tis peculiar to God, that he has beauty *within himself*, consisting in Being's consenting with his own Being, or the love of himself, in his own Holy Spirit. Whereas the excellence of others is in loving others, in loving God, and in the communications of his Spirit.

13. We shall be in danger, when we meditate on this love of God to himself, as being the thing wherein his infinite excellence and loveliness consists, of some alloy to the sweetness of our view, by its appearing with something of the aspect and cast of what we call self love. But we are to consider that this love includes in it, or rather is the same as, a love to every thing, as they are all communications of himself. So that we are to conceive of Divine Excellence as the Infinite General Love, that which reaches all, proportionally, with perfect purity and sweetness; yea, it includes the true Love of all creatures, for that is his Spirit, or which is the same thing, his Love. And if we take notice, when we are in the best frames meditating on Divine Excellence, our idea of that tranquility and peace, which seems to be overspread and cast abroad upon the whole Earth, and Universe, naturally dissolves itself, into the idea of a General Love and Delight, every where diffused.

14. Conscience is *that Sense the Mind has of this Consent:* Which Sense consists in the Consent of the Perceiving Being, to such a General Consent; (that is of such perceiving Beings, as are capable of so general a perception, as to have any notion of Being in general;) and the Dissent of his mind to a Dissent from Being in general. We have said already, that it is naturally agreeable to Perceiving Being that Being should consent to Being, and the contrary disagreeable. If by any means, therefore, a particular and restrained love overcomes this General Consent;—the foundation of that Consent yet remaining in the nature, exerts itself again, so that there is the contradiction of one consent to another. And as it is naturally agreeable to every Being, to have being consent to him; the mind, after it has thus exerted an act of dissent to Being in general, has a sense that Being in general dissents from it, which is most disagreeable to it. And as he is conscious of a dissent from Universal Being, and of that Being's dissent from him, wherever he is, he sees what excites horror. And by inclining or doing that, which is against his natural inclination as a Perceiving Being, he must necessarily cause uneasiness, inasmuch as that natural inclination is contradicted. And this is the *Disquiet of Conscience.* And, though the Disposition be changed, the remembrance of his having so done in time past, and the idea being still tied to that of himself, he is uneasy. The notion of such a dissent any where, as we have shown is odious; but the notion of its being in himself, renders it uneasy and disquieting. But when there is no sense of any such dissent from Being in general, there is no contradiction to the natural inclination of Perceiving Being. And when he reflects, he has a sense that Being in general doth not dissent from him; and then there is *Peace of Conscience;* though he has a remembrance of past dissentions with nature. Yet if by any means it be possible, when he has the idea of it, to conceive of it as not belonging to him, he has the same Peace. And if he has a sense not only of his not dissenting, but of his consenting to Being in general, or Nature, and acting accordingly; he has a

sense that Nature, in general, consents to him: he has not only *Peace*, but *Joy*, *of mind*, wherever he is. These things are obviously invigorated by the knowledge of God and his Constitution about us, and by the light of the Gospel.

[The preceding articles were written as comments on the various subjects treated of, while the author was studying the Essay on the Human Understanding. It is not improbable that some of the later numbers were written while the author was a tutor in College.]

I.

NOTES ON NATURAL SCIENCE.

The following hints, to guide himself in the arrangement of his proposed work, are on the first page of the cover.

1. Remember to set down here, the order in which I would have the particulars stand; a mark here denoting the paragraphs.
2. To set down this, and the following propositions, only as postulates, in short, without standing to prove them.
3. To have in the beginning, Definitions, as the definition of an Atom, or Perfect Solid; and what I mean by a body touching by points, touching by lines, and touching by surfaces.
4. Let there be Postulata; which let be either axioms, or principles, exceeding plainly deduced from them.
5. Let there be Definitions and Postulata, not only at the beginning of the whole, but at the beginning of the particular Chapters and Sections, if there is occasion, which postulates and definitions may be referred to from other parts. If it suits best, these may be put before even the Sections, in the midst of a Chapter.

The following Rules, to direct him in writing the work, are on the inside page of the cover.

1. Try not only to silence, but to gain.
2. To give but few prefatorial admonitions about the style and method. It doth an author much hurt to show his concern in those things.
3. What is prefatorial, not to write in a distinct preface, or introduction, but in the body of the work; then I shall be sure to have it read by every one.
4. Let much modesty be seen in the style.
5. Not to insert any disputable thing, or that will be likely to be disputed by learned men; for I may depend upon it, they will receive nothing, but what is undeniable, from me; that is, in things exceedingly beside the ordinary way of thinking.
6. [*In short hand.*]
7. When I would prove any thing, to take special care that the matter be so stated, that it shall be seen, most clearly and distinctly, by every one, just how much I would prove; and to extricate all questions from the least confusion or ambiguity of words, so that the ideas shall be left naked.
8. In the course of reasoning, not to pretend any thing to be more certain, than every one will plainly see it is, by such expressions as,—It is certain,—It is undeniable,—etc.
9. To be very moderate in the use of terms of art. Let it not look as

if I was much *read*, or was conversant with books, or with the learned world.

10. In the method of placing things, the first respect is to be had to the easiness and intelligibleness, the clearness and certainty, and the connexion and dependence of other things upon them.

11. Never to dispute for things, after that I cannot handsomely retreat, upon conviction of the contrary.

12. In writing, let there be much compliance with the reader's weakness, and according to the rules in the Ladies' Library, Vol. I. p. 340, and Sequel.

13. Let there be always laid down as many Lemmata, or preparatory propositions, as are necessary, to make the consequent proposition clear and perspicuous.

14. When the proposition allows it, let there be confirming Corollaries and Inferences, for the confirmation of what had been before said and proved.

15. Oftentimes it suits the subject and reasoning best, to explain by way of objection and answer, after the manner of Dialogue.

16. Always, when I have occasion, to make use of mathematical proofs. [*The rest in short hand.*]

17. [*In short hand.*]

18. If I publish these propositions,—[*the rest in short hand.*]

19 and 20, *in short hand.*

OF THE PREJUDICES OF THE IMAGINATION.

LEMMA TO THE WHOLE:

Of all prejudices, no one so fights with Natural Philosophy, and prevails more against it, than those of the Imagination. It is these, which make the vulgar so roar out, upon the mention of some very rational philosophical truths. And indeed I have known of some very learned men, that have pretended to a more than ordinary freedom from such prejudices, so overcome by them, that, merely because of them, they have believed things most absurd. And truly I hardly know of any other prejudices, that are more powerful against truth of any kind, than those; and I believe they will not give the hand to any in any case, except to those arising from our ruling self-interest, or the impetuosity of human passions. And there is very good reason for it; for opinions, arising from imagination, take us as soon as we are born, are beat into us by every act of sensation, and so grow up with us from our very births, and by that means grow into us so fast, that it is almost impossible to root them out; being, as it were, so incorporated with our very minds, that whatsoever is objected contrary thereunto, is, as if it were dissonant to the very constitution of them. Hence men come to make what they can actually perceive by their senses, or by immediate and outside reflection into their own souls, the standard of possibility and impossibility; so that there must be no body, forsooth, bigger than they can conceive of, or less than they can see with their eyes: no motion, either much swifter, or slower, than they can imagine. As to the greatness, and distances of bodies, the learned world have pretty well conquered their imagination, with respect to them; neither will any body flatly deny, that it is possible for bodies to be of any degree of bigness that can be mentioned; yet imaginations of this kind, among the learned themselves, even of this learned age, have a very powerful secret influence, to cause them, either to reject things really true, as erroneous, or to embrace

those that are truly so. Thus some men will yet say, they cannot conceive, how the Fixed Stars can be so distant as that the Earth's annual revolution should cause no parallax among them, and so are almost ready to fall back into antiquated Ptolemy his system, merely to ease their imagination.—Thus also, on the other hand, a very learned man and sagacious astronomer, upon consideration of the vast magnitude of the visible part of the universe, has, in the extacy of his imagination, been hurried on to pronounce the universe infinite; which I may say, out of veneration, was beneath such a man as he. As if it were any more an argument, because what he could see of the universe were so big, as he was assured it was. And suppose he had discovered the invisible universe, so vast as it is, to be as a globule of water to another Universe; the case is the same; as if it would have been any more of an argument, that that larger Universe was infinite, than if the visible part thereof were no bigger than a particle of the water of this. I think one is no nearer to infinite than the other.

To remedy this prejudice, I will, as the best method I can think of, demonstrate two or three Physical Theorems; which, I believe, if they are clearly understood, will put every man clean out of conceit with his imagination: in order whereunto, these two are prerequisite.

PRELIMINARY PROPOSITIONS.

PROP. I. *There is no degree of swiftness of motion whatever, but what is possible.*

That you may not doubt of this, suppose any long piece of matter to move round any point or centre, to which one end shall be fixed, with any given degree of velocity. Now that part of this piece of matter, that is farthest from the centre, to which one end is fixed, must move swiftest. And then suppose this piece of matter to be lengthened out, and that part of it, that moved swiftest before, to move on still with the same degree of velocity. It is evident, that the farther end now moves swifter than the farther end did before, by so much as the piece of matter is longer. And suppose it to be made longer still, the farther end moves still just so much swifter: so that, as the parcel of matter can be protracted to any degree of length whatsoever, so the farther end of it can be moved with any degree of swiftness whatsoever, so that there is no degree of swiftness whatsoever but what is possible.

PROP. 2. *There may be bodies of any infinite degree of smallness.*

Let two perfect spheres, A and B, touch each other in some point of their surfaces at I. It is evident that there can be a globule of matter just so big as to reach from the surface of one sphere to the surface of the other sphere, at any given equal distance in each sphere, from the point of contact I, suppose at *o* and *g*, whether the spheres be greater or smaller. Since therefore the distance *o g*, from the surface of one sphere to that of the other, is less, according as the spheres are greater, and since the touching spheres can be of any degree of magnitude, and since consequently the distance *o g* can be of any degree of smallness, and since the body, that fills up that distance, is small accordingly, it follows that there can be a body of any degree of smallness.

N. B. This I take to be all that is meant by the divisibility of matter, *in infinitum*.

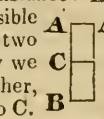
PROP. 3. That it is possible for a body, as small as a ray of light, to strike the surface of a body as big as the earth, or any indefinite magnitude, sup-

posing it to be hard enough to hold the stroke, so as to impel it along with any indefinite degree of swiftness.

Let the laws of gravity and motion be mentioned; and let it be a postulatum inserted, that these laws hold universally, in all bodies, great or small, at how great distance soever, and however disproportionate.

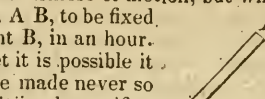
Postalatum 1. In every body, or part of a body, however small, there is a middle, between the two extremes of that body, or that part of a body.

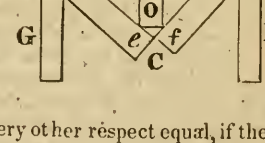
Postulatum 2. That there may be bodies of any indefinite degree of smallness. That is, in any of these infinite divisions of matter, it is possible that matter, or body, may extend so far as the extremes of that part, and no farther; and then that part will be a distinct body. For instance: Let the body, A B, be by you supposed to be as small, as it is possible for a body to be: no doubt but there is a middle between the two extremes of that body, how small soever it be, as at C. Now we mean, that it is possible that matter may not extend any further, than to the extremes of the half of that body, or only from B to C. So that it is possible, that there may be a body smaller than A B, however small that is.



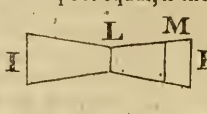
Postulatum 3. That there is no degree of swiftness of motion, but what is possible. For instance, suppose the body, A B, to be fixed at the point B, and to move round the point B, in an hour. If the body, A B, be made as long again, yet it is possible it may be moved round in an hour: so let it be made never so long. Thus it is manifest, that the longer it is, the swifter doth the further extreme move.

Postulatum 4. That the separating of bodies, or the parts of bodies, which touch each other, is always by Divulsion, or falling asunder. That is, if, of the body, A D, the parts, A C, C D, be separated, it must be by a force, pulling one from the other. It cannot be by *protrusion*; because nothing can be between them *at that very place*, where they touch, before they are separated. Thus, if we suppose them to be separated, by the driving in of a wedge at C; yet the parts must be first separated, before the wedge could get between them. Not but that protrusion, or impulsion, in another place, might cause the divulsion in that. Or, if we suppose the part of the body, A D, to be broken thus—let the two ends, A and D, be laid on two other bodies G and H, and broken by the striking of the body O in the middle at C. Even then it is manifest, that the parts A C and C D were pulled asunder: the extreme, *e*, of A C, was pulled from the extreme, *f*, of C. D. This is all that I mean by Divulsion.





Postulatum 5. A body every where in every other respect equal, if there be a possibility of separating the parts, may be most easily separated where it is least. For instance, the body, I K, may be more easily pulled in two at L than at M. And it is least, where it is most easily separated.



Postulatum 6. If the parts of a given body, may be separated by a given degree of force; the same body, retaining the same degree of inseparableness, or another body with an equal degree of inseparableness, will evermore be separated when that degree of force is applied.

Postulatum 7. Every body, and every part of body, has length, breadth and thickness.

OF BEING.

That there should absolutely be Nothing at all, is utterly impossible. The mind, let it stretch its conceptions ever so far, can never so much as bring itself to conceive of a state of perfect Nothing. It puts the mind into mere convulsion and confusion, to think of such a state: and it contradicts the very nature of the soul, to think that such a state should be. It is the greatest of contradictions, and the aggregate of all contradictions, to say that THING should not be. It is true, we cannot so distinctly show the contradiction in words; because we cannot talk about it, without speaking stark nonsense, and contradicting ourselves at every word: and because Nothing is that, whereby we distinctly show other particular contradictions. But here we are run up to our first principle, and have no other to explain the nothingness, or not being of Nothing by. Indeed we can mean nothing else by Nothing but a state of absolute contradiction; and if any man thinks, that he can conceive well enough how there should be Nothing, I will engage, that what he means by Nothing, is as much Something, as any thing that he ever thought of in his life; and I believe, that if he knew what Nothing was, it would be intuitively evident to him that it could not be.—Thus we see it is necessary that some being should eternally be. And it is a more palpable contradiction still to say, that there must be Being somewhere, and not otherwhere, for the words *Absolute Nothing*, and *Where*, contradict each other. And, besides, it gives as great a shock to the mind, to think of pure Nothing being in any one place, as it does to think of it in all places: and it is self-evident, that there can be Nothing in one place, as well as in another; and if there can be in one, there can be all. So that we see that this Necessary, Eternal Being must be Infinite and Omnipresent.

This Infinite and Omnipresent being cannot be solid. Let us see how contradictory it is, to say that an Infinite being is solid; for solidity surely is nothing, but resistance to other solidities.—Space is this necessary, eternal, infinite, and omnipresent being. We find that we can, with ease, conceive how all other beings should not be. We can remove them out of our minds, and place some other in the room of them: but Space is the very thing, that we can never remove, and conceive of its not being. If a man would imagine Space any where to be divided, so as there should be nothing between the divided parts, there remains Space between, notwithstanding, and so the man contradicts himself. And it is self-evident I believe to every man, that Space is necessary, eternal, infinite and omnipresent. But I had as good speak plain: I have already said as much as, that Space is God. And it is indeed clear to me, that all the Space there is, not proper to body, all the Space there is without the bounds of Creation, all the Space there was before the Creation, is God himself; and no body would in the least pick at it, if it were not because of the gross conceptions, that we have of Space.

A state of absolute nothing is a state of absolute contradiction. Absolute nothing is the aggregate of all the contradictions in the world: a state, wherein there is neither body, nor spirit, nor space, neither empty space nor full space, neither little nor great, narrow nor broad, neither infinite space nor finite space, not even a mathematical point, neither up nor down, neither north nor south, (I do not mean, as it is with respect to the body of the earth, or some other great body.) but no contrary points, positions or directions, no such thing as either here or there, this way or that way, or any way. When we go about to form an idea of perfect Nothing, we must shut out all these things: we must shut out of our minds both space that has something in it, and space that has nothing in it. We must not allow ourselves to think of the least part of Space, be it ever so

small. Nor must we suffer our thoughts to take sanctuary in a mathematical point. When go to expel being out of our thoughts, we must be careful not to leave empty space in the room of it; and when we go to expel emptiness from our thoughts, we must not think to squeeze it out by any thing close, hard and solid; but we must think of the same, that the sleeping rocks do dream of; and not till then, shall we get a complete idea of Nothing.

When we go to enquire, Whether or no, there can be absolutely Nothing? we utter nonsense, in so enquiring. The stating of the question is nonsense; because we make a disjunction where there is none. Either Being, or absolute Nothing, is no disjunction; no more than whether a triangle is a triangle, or not a triangle. There is no other way, but only for there to be existence: there is no such thing, as absolute Nothing. There is such a thing, as Nothing, with respect to this ink and paper: there is such a thing, as Nothing, with respect to you and me: there is such a thing, as Nothing, with respect to this globe of earth, and with respect to this Universe. There is another way, beside these things, having existence; but there is no such thing, as Nothing, with respect to Entity, or Being, absolutely considered. We do not know what we say, if we say, that we think it possible in itself, that there should not be Entity.

And how doth it grate upon the mind, to think that Something should be from all eternity, and yet Nothing all the while be conscious of it. To illustrate this: Let us suppose that the World had a being from all eternity, and had many great changes, and wonderful revolutions, and all the while Nothing knew it, there was no knowledge in the Universe of any such thing. How is it possible to bring the mind to imagine this? Yea, it is really impossible it should be, that any thing should exist, and Nothing know it. Then you will say, If it be so, it is, because Nothing has any existence but in consciousness: No, certainly, no where else, but either in created or uncreated consciousness.

Suppose there were another Universe, merely of bodies, created at a great distance from this; created in excellent order, harmonious motions, and a beautiful variety; and there was no created intelligence in it, nothing but senseless bodies, and nothing but God knew any thing of it. I demand where else that Universe would have a being, but only in the Divine consciousness? Certainly, in no other respect. There would be figures, and magnitudes, and motions, and proportions; but where, where else, except in the Almighty's knowledge? How is it possible there should?—But then you will say, For the same reason, in a room closely shut up, which nobody sees, there is nothing, except in God's knowledge. —I answer, Created beings are conscious of the effects of what is in the room: for, perhaps, there is not one leaf of a tree, nor a spire of grass, but what produces effects, all over the Universe, and will produce them, to the end of eternity. But any otherwise, there is nothing in a room so shut up, but only in God's consciousness. How can any thing be there, any other way? This will appear to be truly so, to any one who thinks of it, with the whole united strength of his mind. Let us supoose, for illustration, this impossibility, that all the spirits in the Universe were, for a time, deprived of their consciousness, and that God's consciousness, at the same time, were to be intermitted. I say the Universe, for that time, would cease to be, of itself; and this not merely, as we speak, because the Almighty could not attend to uphold it; but because God could know nothing of it. It is our foolish imagination, that will not suffer us to see it. We fancy there may be figures and magnitudes, relations and properties, without any one knowing of it. But it is our imagination hurts us. We do not know what figures and properties are.

Our imagination makes us fancy, that we see shapes, and colours, and magnitudes, though nobody is there to behold it. But to help our imagination, let us thus state the case: Let us suppose the creation deprived of every ray of light, so that there should not be the least glimmering of light in the Universe. Now all will own, that, in such case, the Universe would really be immediately deprived of all its colours. No one part of the Universe is any more red, or blue, or green, or yellow, or black, or white, or light, or dark, or transparent, or opake. There would be no visible distinction, between the Universe and the rest of the incomprehensible void: yea, there would be no difference, in these respects, between the Universe and the infinite void; so that any part of that void would really be as light and as dark, as white and as black, as red and as green, as blue and as brown, as transparent and as opake, as any part of the Universe: so that, in such case, there would be no difference, in these respects, between the Universe and Nothing. So also, there would be no difference, between one part of the Universe and another: all, in these respects, is alike confounded with, and undistinguished from, infinite emptiness.

At the same time, also, let us suppose the Universe to be altogether deprived of motion, and all parts of it to be at perfect rest. Then, the Universe would not differ from the void, in this respect: there would be no more motion in the one, than in the other. Then, also, solidity would cease. All that we mean, or can be meant, by solidity, is resistance; resistance to touch, the resistance of some parts of space. This is all the knowledge we get of solidity, by our senses, and, I am sure, all that we can get, any other way. But solidity shall be shown to be nothing else, more fully, hereafter. But there can be no resistance, if there is no motion. One body cannot resist another, when there is perfect rest among them. But, you will say, Though there is no actual resistance, yet there is potential resistance: that is, such and such parts of space would resist upon occasion. But this is all that I would have, that there is no solidity now; not but that God could cause there to be, on occasion. And if there is no solidity, there is no extension, for extension is the extendedness of solidity. Then, all figure, and magnitude, and proportion, immediately cease. Put, then, both these suppositions together: that is, deprive the Universe of light, and motion, and the case would stand thus, with the Universe: There would be neither white nor black, neither blue nor brown, neither bright nor shaded, pellucid nor opake, no noise nor sound, neither heat nor cold, neither fluid nor solid, neither wet nor dry, neither hard nor soft, nor solidity, nor extension, nor figure, nor magnitude, nor proportion, nor body, nor spirit. What, then, is to become of the Universe? Certainly, it exists no where, but in the Divine mind. This will be abundantly clearer to one, after having read what I have further to say of solidity, etc.: so that we see that a Universe, without motion, can exist no where else, but in the mind—either infinite or finite.

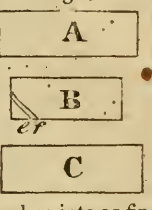
Corollary. It follows from hence, that those beings, which have knowledge and consciousness, are the only proper, and real, and substantial beings; inasmuch as the being of other things is only by these. From hence, we may see the gross mistake of those, who think material things the most substantial beings, and spirits more like a shadow; whereas, spirits only are properly substance.

OF ATOMS AND OF PERFECTLY SOLID BODIES.

Proposition I. All bodies whatsoever, except Atoms themselves, must, of absolute necessity, be composed of Atoms, or of bodies that are indiscerpible, that cannot be made less, or whose parts cannot, by any finite

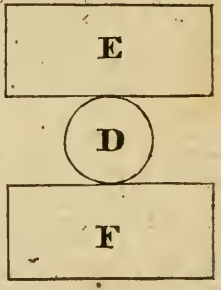
power, be separated one from another. This will be clearly seen, as soon as it is seen what bodies those are, that are indiscerpible, or what is requisite in a body, in order to cause it to be so. And here we shall lay down this proposition, that that body, which is absolutely Plenum, or that has every part of Space, included within its surface, impenetrable, is indivisible, and the parts thereof cannot be separated from each other, by any force, how great soever: As for instance, suppose the body B to be what we call an absolute Plenum, and suppose the two bodies, A and C, to come as impetuously, and with as great force, as you please, and strike on each side of the body B; I say the two bodies A and C could cause no fracture in the body B.—For, if the bodies A and C should cause any fracture in the body B, those fractures must be on some certain places or parts of the body B, and not in others, for there cannot be fractures in every part; for I suppose every one will admit, that after the body is supposed to be broken, there remain parts of this broken body which are unbroken. And so it will be, let the body be broken into as fine parts as you please, those fine parts are still unbroken. The fraction is not through the midst of those parts, as it was between them; so that the fraction must be, if at all, in some places, and not in others: and indeed, breaking of a body all over, or in every part, is the same as to annihilate it.—We say then, that the body B cannot be broken in some parts, and not in others, by the bodies A and C; for if it is broken in this part and not in that, it must be because it is more easily broken in this than in that. But a body perfectly solid and absolutely full, is every where equally solid, equally full, and equally strong, and indeed every where absolutely alike, so that there is nothing that should cause a fraction in one place sooner than in another.

Fig. 1.



Again. Suppose the body D to be a perfectly solid body, and to be as pressingly jammed up as you please, between the two bodies E and F, which are supposed not in the least to give way to the Body D, and the surfaces of them, which touch the Body D, are supposed, every where, to be perfectly easy and plain, and to continue parallel to each other; and to be every way infinitely extended. I say, that the body D could not be broken by the pressure of the bodies E and F. For suppose the body D to begin to be broken and crumbled into parts by the pressure of the bodies E and F. If the whole body D can be broken by that pressure, then the parts of the body D can still be broken again, by the pressure of the same bodies, with equal reason, supposing the bodies still to continue pressing towards each other; and then again their parts can be broken into other parts, and so on continually, and that as fast as the motion of the bodies E and F, towards each other, shall require. And truly I think if it be so, that the parts can be broken still finer and finer: They can be broken so far as not to retard the motion of the bodies E and F at all; and if so surely the bodies E and F will presently meet so as to touch intimately every where, inasmuch as it was said that the surfaces of the bodies were perfectly even and continue parallel. And then I ask, What is become of the body D? I think there can be no other answer, but that it is annihilated, since it was said the two bodies were infinitely extended. So that we see, if the body D can be broken by the bodies E and F, then it can be

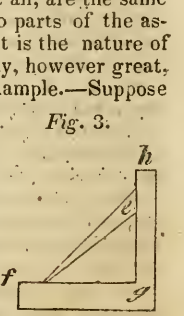
Fig. 2.



annihilated by them; which, I believe, nobody will own; and the case is all one, let the body D be of whatsoever figure. Q. E. D.

But here, I foresee, it will be objected, to render what has been said invalid, "But what if the body B (Fig. 1.) should begin first to be broken off at the corners, whose pieces would be more easily cracked off than in other places; and what if it were less in some places than in others; or what if the bodies A and C were applied with much greater force, in some places than in others."—These objections seem, at first, quite to render all good for nothing. But I must say, notwithstanding these objections, what has been said does prove, that if the perfectly solid body B were every where equally bulky, and the bodies A and C were all along applied with equal force, the perfectly solid body B could never be broken. And to them who say, that it would first break at the corners, I ask, How near the corner the first fraction would be?—If they tell me at *f.*; I ask, Why not at some point nearer the corner still, as at *e.*; since the nearer the corner, the easier is it broke. If after this, the place assigned for the first fracture is *e.*; I ask again, why not nearer still; so that, at last, they must be forced to say, that the first fracture would be a point infinitely near the corner, or that the first piece broken, would be infinitely small. And they had as good say, at first, that none at all would be broken, for, as I take it, an actually infinitely small body, and no body at all, are the same thing, or rather the same nothing.—As to the other two parts of the assertion, it is enough for them, if we can discover that it is the nature of perfectly solid bodies not to be broken, but to resist any, however great, force. This will appear more plainly from another example.—Suppose the body *e*, to be a perfect solid, and of such a shape that it is wider at the upper end, and decreases gradually to a point at the lower: suppose it to be thrust with indefinitely great force towards the point *g*, against the sides *f g*, and *g h*, which are supposed not at all to give way. It has been proved that, if it would break any where, it would be at the lower point first; and what we have said concerning the corners of the body B, proves that it would not break there. Now, since nothing but perfect solidity can hinder the body *e* from breaking, we have certainly found out, that a perfectly solid body cannot be broken: for the body *e*, may be as great or as small, as long or as short as you please, the case is the same; and let the force that *e* is to withstand be as great as you please—if the weight of the Universe falls against it from ever so great a distance, and as much more as you please,—we can prove, and what is said above doth prove, that it would neither bend nor break, but stiffly bear the shock of it all.

Fig. 3.



Coroll. 1. From what was proved by the 2d figure, it plainly appears, that the breaking of a perfectly solid body, and the annihilating of it, are the same thing, so far that the breaking of it would be the annihilating of it.

Coroll. 2. Hence it appears that Solidity, Impenetrability, and Indivisibility, are the same thing, if run up to their first principles: For, as in Fig. 1, the solidity of the body B is that, whereby it so far resists the bodies A and C, so that they shall not be able, till the body B is out of the way, closely every where to touch each other: that is to say, the force of the two, A and C, endeavouring to meet, could not be the annihilating of the body B, for the meeting of them would be the annihilating of it by Fig. 2. So also the indivisibility of the body B, in Fig. 1, and of the body D, in Fig. 2, has been proved to be that also, whereby the bodies B and D resist and prevent the bodies pressing upon them, from touching each other, in-

asmuch as the breaking of them would certainly admit of it and would be their annihilation.

Coroll. 3. It appears from the two Demonstrations, and from the two first Corollaries, that Solidity, Indivisibility, and resisting to be annihilated, are the same thing; and that bodies resist division and penetration, only as they obstinately persevere *to be.*

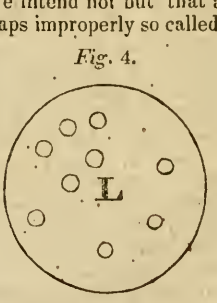
Coroll. 4. Since, by the preceding Corollary, Solidity is the resisting to be annihilated, or the persevering to be, of a body, or, to speak plainly, of the *being* of it; (for *being*, and *persevering to be*, are the same thing, looked upon in two a little different ways;) it follows, that the very essence and being of bodies is Solidity, or rather, that Body and Solidity are the same.—If here it shall be said, by way of objection, that body has other qualities, beside solidity; I believe it will appear, to a nice eye, that it hath no more real ones. "What do you say," say they, "to Extension, Figure, and Mobility?"—As to extension, I say, I am satisfied, that it has none, any more than space without body, except what results from solidity. As for figure, it is nothing but a modification of solidity, or of the extension of the solidity. And as to mobility, it is but the communicability of this solidity, from one part of space to another.

Or thus: Since by Corol. 1, Annihilation, and Breaking, are the same; their Contraries, Being, and Indivisibility, must also be the same; and since by Corol. 2, Indivisibility and Solidity are the same, it follows, that the Solidity of bodies and the Being of bodies are the same; so that Body and Solidity are the same.

Coroll. 5. From what has been said, it appears that the nature of an Atom or a *Minimum Physicum*, (that is, if we mean by these terms, *a body which cannot be made less*, which is the only sensible meaning of the words, does not at all consist in littleness, as generally used to be thought; for by our philosophy an Atom may be as big as the Universe; because any body, of whatsoever bigness, were an atom, if it were a perfect solid.

N. B. It will be necessary, here, to explain a little, what is that we mean by a perfectly solid, absolute Plenum; because we have laid down that, that is an absolutely full, a solid, body, that has every part of space, included within its surface, solid or impenetrable. Our meaning is very liable to be mistaken, unless a little explained. We intend not but that a perfect solid may be very full of pores, though perhaps improperly so called, interspersed up and down in it, as in the perfect solid L. It is only requisite, that every part of the body L should be intimately conjoined with some other parts of it, so as not only barely to touch in some points or lines thereof; (I mean mathematical points or lines, as two perfect globes do, or as a cylinder does a plain, when it lies on one side, and as all atoms do each other, except the surfaces where they happen to be infinitely exactly fitted to join each other,) but so that the body L, although it may have some little holes in it, yet it has an absolute plenum, continued all along between these holes; so that it is as impregnable, as a body that has no holes at all. This will be understood more fully, after we have proved, that two atoms, touching each other by surfaces, can never be separated.

Fig. 4.



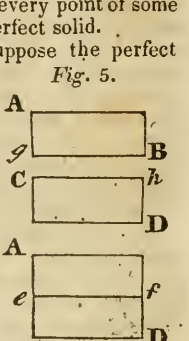
Now it is time to apply what we have said concerning *atoms*, to prove that all bodies are compounded of such atoms; for if we suppose that all those bodies, which are any way familiar to our senses, have interstices so interspersed throughout the whole body, that some parts of it do only touch others, and are not conjoined with them, by which they are rendered im-

perfectly solid; yet we must allow that those parcels of matter, which are between the pores, i. e. between this and the next adjacent pore, have no pores at all in them, and consequently are plenums, or absolute solids or atoms. And surely all bodies, that have pores, are made up of parcels of matter, which are between the pores, which we have proved to be atoms.

PROPOSITION 2. Two or more atoms, or perfect solids, touching each other by surfaces, (I mean so that every point, in any surface of the one, shall touch every point in some surface of the other; that is, not simply in some particular parts or lines of their surfaces, however many, for whatever does touch, in more than points and lines, toucheth in every point of some surface,) thereby become one and the same atom, or perfect solid.

This will be abundantly clear from the figure. Suppose the perfect solid, A B, and the perfect solid, C D, to be precisely alike to the halves of the perfect solid, A D; viz. A B to A *f*, and C D to *e* D; and then suppose the atom A B to move up to the body C D, so that every point of the surface, *g* B, shall touch every point of the surface C *h*. Now since that these two bodies, when separate, were precisely every way like the two halves of the body, A D, it follows that after they are joined together, after the same manner as the two halves of the body, A D, are, they must make up a body, every way precisely like the body A D, as if it were the same, and consequently must be a perfect solid, as the body, A D, is.

Fig. 5.



But perhaps it will be answered, that the halves of the body, A D, are joined and continued, whereas the two bodies, A B and C D, only touch each other. But I affirm that the latter are as much joined and continued as the former: for all the way, in which the former are joined and continued, is merely as solidity is all along continued from one to the other, without the least intermission, so that there is not the least vacuity betwixt them. Just so it is in the latter, after they touch; for they are supposed to touch in every point of their surfaces, and then I am sure solidity is continued from one to the other, without intermission or vacuity. Neither does the fact of A B and C D, being once separate, make any alteration.

Corol. 1. Hence it follows, that all atoms, which ever happen to touch each other in surfaces, or more than barely in some certain points, or lines, (millions of millions of which do not make so much as the least surface,) can never again be separated by any finite power; since it has been proved that the parts of atoms can never be torn asunder; and since it has been proved that atoms, so touching *inter se*, become the same atom.

Corol. 2. From Proposition I. and Corol. 1 of Proposition II. we learn, that it must needs be an Infinite power, which keeps the parts of atoms together; or, which with us is the same, which keeps two bodies touching by surfaces in being; for it must be infinite power, or bigger than any finite, which resists all finite power how big soever, as we have proved these bodies to do.

Corol. 3. We have already as much as proved, that it is God himself, or the immediate exercise of his power, which keeps the parts of atoms, or two bodies tending by surfaces, together; for it is self-evident that barely two atoms being together, and that alone, is no power at all, much less an infinite power; and if any say the nature of atoms is an infinite, they say the same that I do; for all the nature of them, that is not absolutely themselves, must be God exerting his power upon them.

Coroll. 4 Since by the foregoing Corollary, the exercise of the infinite power of God is necessary to keep the parts of atoms together; and since,

by Prop. I, Corol. 1, the dissolution of them would be annihilation; it follows, that the constant exercise of the Infinite power of God is necessary, to preserve bodies in being.

Coroll. 5. Hence an incontestable argument for the being of a God.

Coroll. 6. Since, by Corol. 4, there is need of the exercise of Infinite power, in order to keep bodies in being, it clearly follows that there was need of an Infinite power, to bring them into being: so that it was a Divine, and no created, being, who created and preserves the world.

Coroll. 7. Hence also an incontestable argument for the being, infinite power, and omnipresence of God:—of the two latter, inasmuch as we see that Infinite power is actually exerted, in an infinite number of places at once, even in every part of every atom of the Universe; and since that, where his power is exercised, there his essence must be, his essence can be by nothing excluded.

Coroll. 8. Since, by Prop. I, Corol. 3, Solidity and Indivisibility are the same, and since, by Prop. II, Corol. 3, Indivisibility is from the immediate exercise of God's power, it follows that Solidity results from the immediate exercise of God's power, causing there to be an indefinite resistance in that place where it is.

Coroll. 9. Since, by Prop. I, Corol. 4, Body and Solidity are the same; and since, by the preceding Corollary, Solidity is from the immediate exercise of Divine power; it follows, that all body is nothing but what immediately results from the exercise of Divine power, in such a particular manner.

Coroll. 10. From the same Corollaries it follows, that Creation is the first exercise of that power in that manner. (Vid. No. 47.)

Corol. 11. Since, by Prop. I. Corol. 4, Body and Solidity are the same; and by Prop. II. Corol. 3, Resistance, or Solidity, is by the immediate exercise of Divine power; it follows that that, which Philosophers used to think a certain unknown substance, that subsists by itself, [called the *Unknown Substratum*,] which stood underneath and kept up solidity, is nothing at all distinct from solidity itself;—or that, if they must needs apply that word to something else, that does really and properly subsist by itself, and support all properties, they must apply it to the Divine Being or power itself. And here I believe all these philosophers would apply it, if they knew what they meant themselves. So that the substance of bodies at last becomes either nothing, or nothing but the Deity, acting in that particular manner, in those parts of space where he thinks fit: so that, speaking most strictly, there is no proper substance but God himself. We speak at present with respect to *Bodies* only: how truly then is he said to be *Ens entium*.

Corol. 12. Since by Corollaries 8 and 9 preceding, Solidity, or Body, is immediately from the exercise of Divine power, causing there to be resistance in such a part of space, it follows that Motion also, which is the communication of Body, Solidity, or this Resistance, from one part of space to another successively, that is, from one part of space to the next immediately adjacent, and so on to the next, is by Divine Power communicating the resistance, according to certain conditions, which we call "the Laws of Motion." How truly then is it, that, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being."

Coroll. 13. From all this we find, that what Divines used to say, concerning *Divine Concourse*, had a great deal of truth lying at the bottom of it.

Coroll. 14. By this also, we clearly see, that the Creation of the corporeal Universe is nothing other, than the first causing resistance in such parts of space as God saw fit, with a power of being communicated suc-

cessively, from one part of space to another, according to such stated conditions, as his Infinite wisdom directed, and then the first beginning of this communication, so that ever after it might be continued, without deviating from those stated conditions.

Coroll. 15. Hence we see what are those, which we call the *Laws of Nature*, in bodies, viz. the stated methods of God's acting with respect to bodies, and the stated conditions of the alteration of the manner of his acting.

Coroll. 16. Hence we learn, that there is no such thing as *Mechanism*; if that word is intended to denote that, whereby bodies act, each upon the other, purely and properly by themselves.

Coroll. 17. Since, by Corollary 1, Atoms, which happen to touch each other in surfaces, or more than barely in points and lines, can never by finite force be separated; it follows, that all those compound bodies in the Universe, which can be divided and broken, have their parts only touching each other in points, or at most, in lines.—Not but that those points and lines in which they touch may be of any number whatsoever:—as many, if you please, as a man can note down with his pen in his life-time. Yet those points and lines fall infinitely short of the least surface, and two bodies, touching each other in all these points, do not touch each other so much, by an infinite deal, as two bodies touching in the least surface. And although, perhaps, *cæteris paribus*, the more points bodies touch each other in, the more difficultly are they separated, yet it must be allowed that those, that touch each other in the most points, can be separated infinitely easier, than bodies touching in surfaces.

Objection. But you will say, "If so, we should surely experience something of it: a thousand to one, but that some of the atoms of those compound bodies, with which we converse, in all their infinite jumbles and different colligations and collisions, would happen to touch each other by their surfaces, so as not, by any finite force, to be separated; why then do we never find any bodies, but what we can divide again, as often as we please: why do the surfaces of two bodies never happen to touch each other, so as never to be pulled asunder again: for who can imagine but that some atom, in the surface of one body, in so many innumerable applications, should happen to touch some atom in the surface of another body, by surfaces."—I answer,

1. I do not think it to be at all rash or absurd, to suppose, that the Almighty, in the first creation, might take sufficient care to prevent any such fatal or inconvenient consequences, by creating the atoms, of which the Universe was to be composed, of such figures, as that no surface of any one should be so suited to the surface of any other, as to be able to touch it by surfaces: which would prevent all that is objected.

2. If we suppose, that the Almighty took no care at all of that matter; yet, it is a thousand to one, if, of all the atoms in the Universe, there ever happened to be two, whose surfaces are so exactly and nicely suited and adapted to each other, as that they should precisely coalesce; for is it not infinity to one, that one surface should be so as to be precisely fitted to another, when there are infinite other different, that it could have been as well. And it is all one, let the surfaces be greater or less: and the odds is the same, betwixt infinity and one atom, and betwixt infinity and all the atoms in the Universe.

3. Suppose there should be some atoms in the Universe, which had their surfaces exactly adapted: it is a thousand to one, if ever they came together: or, if they did, that they should touch on that side, where were the correspondent surfaces.

4. If those, that had surfaces exactly adapted to each other, should come

together; a thousand to one, if there are not some prominences, or some such thing, that shall hinder their being exactly applied.

5. If there should happen to get together, some of those atoms, yea many millions of them, in a heap, so as never again to be got asunder, and such heaps should be frequent; that need not hinder, but that bodies may be divided, more than ever we yet experienced, and into finer parts than we can perceive with our senses, either naked, or assisted by the best instruments; for what hinders, but that a compages of millions of millions, should be so little, as to be out of the reach of the microscope.

6. Neither would there be any such fatal adhesion, if one atom, in the surface of one body, should happen to touch an atom, in the surface of another, in this manner; for it is but the taking of an atom from the surface of one of those bodies, and the separation is made: and I conceive, if it were three or four millions of atoms, it could be done with infinite ease.

Coroll. 18. Hence it follows, that two atoms or particles, however small, may, by the force of their gravity, cleave together, with any finite degree of strength, and yet, not with infinite strength. For, since, when their surfaces touch, they tend to each other with infinite strength, and since, the nearer two atoms approach to such touching, they tend to each other, with so much the greater strength, and since, among the infinite number of degrees of nearness, there is none but what is possible, all which are short of infinite; it follows, that there is no degreee of finite tendency to each other, but what the least particles are capable of. And it is no strange thing, if two very small particles should cleave together, with such strength, as to exceed the force of the motion of a comet, in its perihelion; so that, if all the force of that motion could be applied to these atoms, it shall not be able to rend them asunder, and yet, a greater force shall be sufficient for it.

THINGS TO BE CONSIDERED, OR WRITTEN FULLY ABOUT.

[FIRST SERIES.]

1. To observe, that Incurvation, Refraction, and Reflexion, from concave surfaces of drops of water, etc., is from Gravity.

2. To observe, that it is likely, that the Attraction of particles of Heat contributes as much towards the burning of bodies, as the Impulse.

3. To observe, that water may quench fire, by insinuating itself into the pores, and hindering the free play of the particles, and, by reason of its softness and pliableness, deadening that motion, like throwing a stone upon a feather-bed.

4. To observe, that, if we do suppose an infinite number of Surfaces in the Universe, yet, according to the number, so must be the smallness.

5. To observe, that the cause that an object appears not double, being seen with two eyes, is, that all the parts upon the retina, that exactly correspond, end upon the same spot of the surface in the brain, which receives the images.

6. To observe, that one end of Respiration is, that the motion in the chest may be communicated to the other parts of the body.

7. To consider, whether one use of air, in preserving fire, be not, that the particles of it may be to counteract the fiery particles of the burning body; and whether that be not the reason, that nothing shines, neither rotten wood, glow-worms, nor coals, in the exhausted receiver: and that may be one use of air in respiration, among the rest.

8. To show, that the probable reason why the light of the ignis fatuus, of rotten wood, of the glow-worm, etc., is not accompanied with heat, is

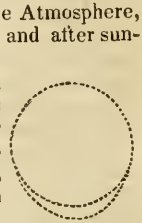
because of the exquisite smallness of the rays; and to show, that, if that were the reason, the rays need not be the thousandth part as small, as those of the sun.

9. To show, that the different refrangibility of rays must of necessity be owing, either to their different velocity, or different magnitude; because, there can be no other reason, of their different attractability, which, indeed, is refrangibility.

10. To show the parvity of the rays of light, the elasticity of air, how wisely the eye is contrived.

11. To show, from (Sir) Isaac Newton's principles of light and colours, why the sky is blue; why the Sun is not perfectly white, as it would be, if there were no atmosphere, but somewhat inclining to a yellow, even at noon-day; why the Sun is yellow, when rising and setting, and sometimes, in smoky weather, of a blood red; why the Clouds, and the Atmosphere, near the horizon, appear red and yellow, before sun-rising, and after sun-setting; why Distant Mountains are blue, etc.

12. Concerning clouds, rain, dew, etc. To show how, when the rarified air, contained within the bubble, begins to cool, and be condensed, and contracted into a narrower compass; the water of the skin of the bubble, being too much for it, necessarily will begin to gather at the bottom, as in the figure; and how, by that means, the destruction of the Cloud, and production of Rain, is brought to pass.



13. To observe, that all the rays of one sort, being obstructed by any medium, and others still proceeding, as by the air in smoky weather, etc.: —To enquire, how it can be; and to observe, that its so doing makes it probable, that there are some other properties in light and mediums, yet wholly unknown; and to observe, that the unaccountable phenomena of reflexions prove the same thing; and to enquire, what it is; and also, to seek out other strange phenomena, and compare them altogether, and see what qualities can be made out of them: And if we can discover them, it is probable we may be let into a New World of Philosophy.

14. Relating to the foregoing: that, if there be no new qualities, either in the medium, or the rays, that it must arise from an infinitely fine and artful contrivance, in these bodies.

15. Relating to the Rainbow: To instance, in many, that will not reflect light perceptibly, except it be obliquely.

16. Relating to No. 13: Why, also, are not Rays reflected, at any imaginary surface of water, as well as the true one.

17. To observe, that the cause why Thunder, that is a great way off, will sound very grum, which, near, is very sharp, as well as other noises, instances of which are to be given, is, because the further waves go, the wider they grow, and further asunder, as it is in water: several of the little undulations, by travelling near together, incorporate with the great one.

18. To give the reason, why the Lightning, which is all at once, has a noise of long continuance, viz. That, although the Lightning be all at once, yet, some parts of it are much farther than others, and the noise, caused by that which is farthest off, is a much longer time in coming, and we hear the noise successively, from that end which is nearest to us, to that which is furthest off: So that, it may often happen, that we hear that which is really the beginning of the clap, a long time after that which is really the end of it: which is the reason, that in claps that are very near us, the very first of it seems to be down among us, and the last, a rumbling in the heavens above us; when, in reality, that rumbling among the clouds, which we hear afterwards, is only the beginning of the clap there, and that severe noise, close by us, the end of it. The reason of this is, because Lightning is incredibly swifter than Sound. These things are so

far certain and demonstrable, that it is impossible that it should happen otherwise.

19. To observe, that the weight of the descending blood in the veins, completely answers to the weight of the ascending blood in the arteries, in parts above the heart; so that the weight of one, exactly balances the weight of the other; and the descending blood in the veins pulls up the blood in the arteries; and the weight of the blood in the arteries, restrains the impetuosity of the descending blood in the veins; so that the blood in both, ascending and descending, runs as easily and uniformly, as it it ran all the while parallel to the horizon. So in the parts below the heart, where the arterial blood descends, and the venal ascends, barely the weight of the blood, in the arteries, is sufficient to raise the blood in the veins even with it, as high as the beginning of the arteries, according to the law of hydrostatics; and the weight of the blood in the veins restrains that, which descends in the arteries, so that the blood in these also moves, just as if it moved in a plain, neither up nor down: and the heart has no more labour, to impel the blood up the ascending trunk of the Aorta, nor ease in impelling it down the descending trunk, than if it ran in a trunk parallel to the horizon. Neither doth the blood ascend, with more difficulty than it descends, but with equal facility, both in arteries and veins, above and below the heart; and to show the philosophy of this.

20. To show the grand use of Respiration, and to show how it keeps nature in a circulation, and the blood in motion; and why the course of nature so immediately ceases, on the ceasing of respiration.

21. To show, that the reason why the Fixed Stars twinkle, and not the Planets, is, because the stream of rays, by which we see the Fixed Stars, is infinitely less than that, by which we see the Planets, (however some of the Fixed Stars may appear bigger than some of the Planets,) and therefore, much more liable to be obstructed, and the continuity of it to be broken, by any thing in the atmosphere.

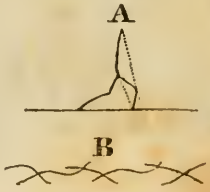
22. Relating to the 13th. To observe, that it is certain, that the stopping of one sort of rays, and the proceeding of others, is not, because that sort of rays alone are stopped, by striking against the particles of the medium, from this experiment: viz. As I was under the trees, I observed, that the light of the sun, upon the leaves of the book I was reading, which crept through the crevices of the leaves of the tree, was of a reddish purplish colour; which I supposed to be, because many of the green rays were taken up, by the leaves of the tree, and left all the rest tainted with the most opposite colour; which could be no otherwise, than by stopping those green rays, which passed near to the edges of the leaves.—N. B: that the light of the sun, in this case, would not appear coloured, except the crevices, through which the rays came, were very small.

Coroll. 1. Hence bodies do attract one sort of rays, more than another.

Coroll. 2. Hence it is certain, that bodies do attract the same sort of rays most strongly, which they reflect most strongly.

Coroll. 3. Hence it is probable, that bodies do reflect, and attract, by the same force; because that they both attract and reflect the same sort of rays.

23. To observe that the motion of no animal, is by any power which they have, of impelling their bodies forward, but only by the mere sending forth of animal spirits and filling the muscles, and thereby shortening of them. In the annexed figure, A represents the motion of a man, B the motion of fishes and serpents. Also to give the reason of the motion of hawks and other birds, without any visible motion of their wings.

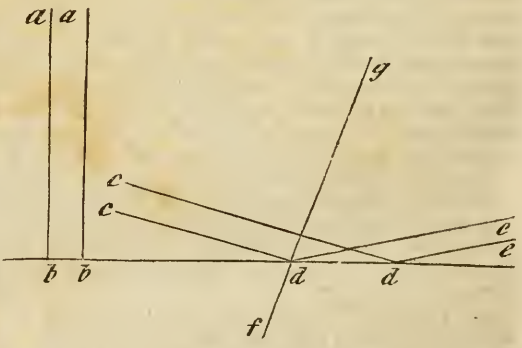


24. In the plain, flat rocks, that rivers run over, there are commonly Holes, sometimes for a considerable depth into the rock, smooth on the sides, having a stone at the bottom something less than the diameter of the hole. That stone doubtless was the cause of the hole. But the difficulty is, to know how the stone should first sink down so far into the firm rock. It must be thus: the stone, lying on the surface of the rock, and being a little moved by the water, gently rubs the rock it lies on, and doubtless rubs off some particles of the rock; and so continuing to rub for a long time, perhaps hundreds of years, it wears down to such a depth into the rock.

25. It need not make us think that our soul is in our fingers, and so all over the body, because our feeling seems to be in them; for, if we hold a staff in our hands, the feeling seems to be in the staff, bnt only we learn better by experience.

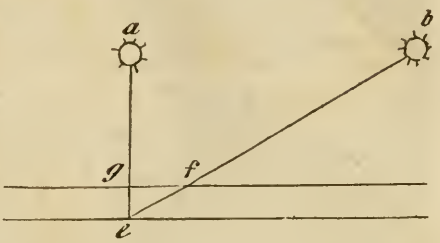
26. The cause of the vast disparity of heat, in summer and winter, cannot be, because that the perpendicular ray is at all more rapid in its motion, than the oblique; for there is no reason why that ray, which comes sideways, should not fly as swiftly, as that which comes right down. The one and the other are sent forth from the Sun, with an equal degree of velocity; and because one happens to meet a surface sideways, it doth not move the slower for it; nor does the other obtain a new velocity, because it is likely to strike the earth perpendicularly. Indeed, the perpendicular rays make a stronger impression, on the surface of the earth, because it stands firm for the stroke; but how should this make any difference in the air that is nearer. But the reason why the perpendicular ray causes the greatest heat, is, because the reflex ray is more opposite to the direct, and thereby raises a much hotter war, and more vehement agitation, of the particles of the air; for while some rays fly one way, others fly directly contrary, so the agitation must needs be much greater, than where the direct ray and the reflex ray partly come into the same course. Indeed the surface of the Earth, with respect to its minute parts, which reflect the sun-beams, is so infinitely uneven, that the reflex ray has equally all directions: that is, the ray *c d* is not only reflected towards *e*, as it would be if the surface of the Earth were a looking-glass, but is also reflected back again towards *c*, and every way else indifferently; so that there is a direct opposition in the oblique ray, as well as in the perpendicular ray. But yet there is not so much opposition; for all the reflexions of the perpendicular ray, *a b*, are in some measure opposite to the direct. They are all reflected by less than a right angle; whereas all the reflexions of the oblique ray, *c d*, that are on the other side of the line *f g*, perpendicular to *e d*, are by an angle greater than a right angle.

Fig. 3.



Another reason why winter is so much colder than summer, is, because the rays of the sun, when near the horizon, travel much longer in the Atmosphere, than when the Sun is more over head. Thus the ray, *b e*, travels much longer in the Atmosphere from *f* to *e*, before it comes to *e*, the eye, than the ray *a e*, from *g* to *e*. Therefore the light and heat of the Sun at *b*, will be much less than when at *a*.

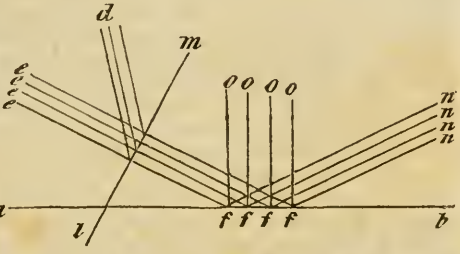
Fig. 4.



Another reason is, because the Sun, in winter, is so much less time above the horizon, than in summer. The cold, that prevailed in the night, is not chased away, by the short sun-shine of the next day. The next night, there is a new addition of the cold of another night, and every night there is a new increase. And the Sun stays too little a time, to give a check to this progress.

But another reason, why the perpendicularity of the rays adds to the heat, is, because the rays, that fall upon the earth obliquely, fall not near so thick, as those that fall perpendicularly: as it is very manifest, that the rays *e f* fall thicker and nearer together, on the perpendicular surface *l m*, than on the oblique surface *a b*. This makes a difference, as to the heat, two ways: First, because the reflexion of rays from the surface *a b*, is not near so thick as from the surface *l m*, because there are not so many rays, that fall on *a b*, to be reflected. I acknowledge that, notwithstanding their falling thinner, yet the reflexion would be as thick, if the surface were a speculum, and the angle of reflexion were the same as that of incidence; for it is manifest, that the rays *e f*, are at no greater distance from each other, after they are reflected towards *n*, than they were when they struck the surface *l m*: And seeing that, by reason of the unevenness of the surface, they are reflected every way indifferently, the spissitude of their reflexion must be in exact proportion to the spissitude of their incidence: for it is manifest, that if the rays *e f* had been reflected towards *o*, they are reflected much thinner than they would be, if reflected by the same angle, from the surface *l m*, in proportion as they fall nearer together on the surface *l m*, than on the surface *a b*. It is also manifest, that if they are reflected from the surface *l m*, towards *d*, in the same angle as from the surface *a b* towards *n*, the reflection is then also thicker, in the same proportion: Secondly, the rays falling thicker, when they fall perpendicularly, makes it hotter, because the thick rays heat the ground more. The ground does not cause heat in the incumbent air, only by reflexion of the rays of the Sun, but as a stone or bar of iron, when it is hot, heats the air round about it; for the ground, that is heated by the summer sunbeam, will continue to cast a heat, though the rays of the Sun are, for a short time, interrupted.

Fig. 5.



27. It appears, that the visible particles of a morning Fog are not single bubbles of water. I have seen a frozen fog, a fog of which these particles were all frozen, as they floated in the air, which were all little stars, of six points, like the particles of snow, very small, and were not joined together, many of them into one flake, as in snow, but floated single, and at a little distance looked every whit like other fog, only not as thick as other fog often is, and not so thick as to hinder the Sun from shining bright. It was evident that it was not a fine snow; for it was otherwise a very clear morning, and there was not a cloud any where to be seen above the horizon. It is therefore evident, that, before they were frozen, they were not single bubbles; inasmuch as a single bubble will not make one of those stars, no not less than seven.

28. The reason why there are so many more frigorific particles towards the Poles, and in the winter, and where the Sun is absent, than near the Equator, and in summer, and in the presence of the Sun; is, not because that the heat of the Sun drives the frigorific particles away towards the Poles, for all that the rays can do is to disturb. They have not sense, to drive them one way more than another; neither do they this to them, because of an antipathy. But when the Sun has great influence, they are disturbed, and let loose, and kept from settling; but at the poles they are fixed. This is sufficient to solve their flying from under the Sun, and gathering at the Poles: seeing that all, or the most that come to the Poles, there settle and fix, the rays of the Sun not disturbing them. But, if all that come there fix there, there will necessarily be most of them gathered there in time. And seeing those that are under the Sun are unfixed, and all that get, by any means, from under the Sun do become fixed, it necessarily follows, that all in time will get from under him, because they are continually getting from under him by accident, and those that get from under him fix, and return not again.—This therefore is undoubtedly a reason, why the Sun, when returning from the South Tropic, does no sooner get the victory of the cold; because those frigorific particles, that were brought down in winter, return back into their own country again, no otherwise than as they happen to be driven by winds.

29. It ought not to be judged that all the Blood in the body goes through the heart, in the same time that as much blood, as there is in the body, goes through it. The blood, in the smallest branches of the veins and arteries, cannot move near so fast, as in the greater, for the same force will not make it move near so swiftly. The blood had need to be impelled with a much greater force, to make it move through a small vein as swift as through a great one; yea, though the blood be in proportion to the smallness of the passage; for it is the blood's bearing against the sides of the vein, that stops the blood. But a small vein has much more of sides, in proportion to the quantity of blood that it contains, than a great one. And then the blood is somewhat of a thick substance, which will move but slowly in a narrow passage. It is by these small veins and arteries, that the body receives nourishment. But the blood would have no time, orderly and regularly, to communicate proper nourishment to each part, which requires different aliment, as nothing to the brain but what is suitable; so that for the animal spirits and other uses, one kind to the various bones, kinds of flesh, marrows, humours, and the like. If the blood moved so very swiftly in those pipes, as in the greater veins, and one part of the body were diseased, the disease would forthwith be communicated to all others. We find when a person is bit by a serpent, if it be in a great vein it is immediately communicated to all parts; but if not, perhaps the quantity of all the blood in the body may go through the heart many times, before the body in general feels much of the effect of the poison. If the

stream of blood were so swift in every small vein, the coldness of our extreme parts, before it would come to such a degree, would kill the man, the shifting of the cold blood would be so quick. Physicians are wont to chafe the limbs, before they let blood to fill the veins; thereby causing the blood, in the little veins, to move swifter in that, in which the orifice is made.

30. The pleasure, the mind has by the Senses, arises immediately from an harmonious motion of the Animal Spirits; their appulse to the brain being in an harmonious order, consisting in a regular proportion of time, distance and celerity. We know it is thus in one of the senses, to wit, Hearing; which may lead us to think that it is so in all the rest, especially considering that we find nothing, that the mind loves in things, but proportion. Pain is caused by a motion of the Animal Spirits, that is contrary hereto, or by a laceration and dislocation of the parts of the body, which are so far its destruction; which the mind abhors, by reason of the law of union between soul and body.

It is not probable that, when the parts of the body are touched, the Animal Spirits, that were in those parts of the nerves, go quite to the brain before the soul perceives, but that motion is continued to the brain, in the tubes that contain the animal spirits, as motion in a tube filled with water. If the water at one end moves never so little, the motion is continued quite to the other end; or as the motion, given to the blood in the Arteries, by the pulse of the heart, is communicated all over the body.

31. To show how Infinite Knowledge, as well as Strength, is necessary, either to give or to maintain the proper existence of one Atom; for example, an infinite, minute knowledge of parts, in order to termination, figure, and the relation of the parts of the surface.

THINGS TO BE CONSIDERED OR WRITTEN FULLY ABOUT.

[SECOND SERIES.]

1. To prove the Universe, or Starry World, one vast Spheroid.

2. To demonstrate that all the matter, which is without the Spheroid, is so disposed, as that there should be an equal attraction on all sides, and so probably an equal quantity of matter.

3. To prove that this Universe cannot be a small body, for instance, as a particle of water, in some greater; because, if it were so, the greater attraction on one side more than another, would immediately put all the bodies contained in it out of order: and so also to prove, that there cannot be another Universe within ours.

4. To know the shape of the Spheroid of the Universe, by observation of the Milky Way; and to know whereabout our System is in it; 1st. with respect to the plane of the greatest circles, from observations of the ratio of the brightness of the opposite sides compounded with several other ratios.—2d. With respect to the latitude, or the axis of this Spheroid, by observing how much the Milky Way differs from a great circle.

5. To show that the Starry World cannot be infinite, because it is a Spheroid.

6. To write concerning the *Lens* about the Sun.

7. To write concerning the distance of the Sun, by observation of the enlightened part of the Moon, when exactly in quadrature.

8. To write concerning the use of Comets, to repair the wastes of the heavenly bodies.

9. To show how Infinite Wisdom must be exercised, in order that *Gravity* and *Motion* may be perfectly harmonious; and that, although

the jumble of the Epicureans be allowed, although it be, in fact, impossible.

10. To find out a thousand things by due observation of the Spheroid of the Universe.

11. To show that, however thin we suppose the inclosure of the Spheroid of the whole Universe to be, if there be one, yet if it be perfectly solid, the most violent shocks of the greatest bodies in the world would not be able to break it, or in the least to injure it.

12. To consider, whether or no some of the Telescopical Stars be not the reflection of Real Stars from such an inclosure—i. e. from the common inclosure of the Starry World.

13. To consider thoroughly the objections that may be made, from more little stars appearing in the Milky Way, than elsewhere.

14. To show how the Motion, Rest, and Direction of the *Least Atom* has an influence on the motion, rest and direction of every body in the Universe; and to show how, by that means, every thing which happens, with respect to motes, or straws and such little things, may be for some great uses in the whole course of things, throughout Eternity; and to show how the least wrong step in a mote, may, in Eternity, subvert the order of the Universe: and to take notice of the great wisdom, that is necessary, in order thus to dispose every atom at first, as that they should go for the best, throughout all Eternity, and in the Adjusting, by an exact computation, and a nice allowance to be made for the miracles, which should be needful, and other ways, whereby the course of bodies should be diverted.—And then to show how God, who does this, must he necessarily *Omniscient*, and know every the least thing, that must happen through Eternity.

15. To show how that the Least Atom must have an influence, not only for the present, but forever after.

16. To show how all nature consists, in things being precisely according to strict rules of justice and harmony.

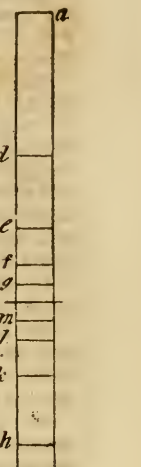
17. To show how the least wrong step, in the least atom, happening ever so seldom, if it returns at a certain period, would most certainly, throughout eternity, so returning, totally subvert the order of the Universe; or if it be supposed, taking one time with another, to be equally frequent, as without doubt it will be, if there is any; and thence to show that there is very good philosopical reason to think, that the hairs of our heads are all numbered. (Vid. 52.)

18. To endeavour to show how two atoms, whose surfaces are nearly adjusted to each other, may, only by the force of gravity, meet each other with incredible celerity;—and to show how by that means *heat* may be begotten, without any external enkindling, and also *rays of light* emitted;—and to consider what may arise from the different shapes of the particles, with respect to celerity, colour, or otherwise.

19. To show that, if a congeries of particles of matter were cast together, which had their surfaces thus fixed, they would meet each other with such a great celerity, and would, of themselves, bound back to the same place with an equal degree of celerity, and so would, of themselves, continue to do forever; but that celerity being increased, by their mutual impulses, and repulses, and continual repercussions, until at length it had brought it to an immense degree, sufficient to send them to the end of the world, with an almost infinite velocity, and this velocity receive increase a thousand ways, by bounding upon their flat surfaces and striking one another in their rebound by round surfaces, etc.—To solve by this method, the light and heat of the Sun and stars—the solving the grand question of kindling fires, firing of powder, etc. enkindling of mixed liquors, etc.—To show, also, how it must necessarily be so, in a congeries of particles, if the particles

are suitable, and are so disposed, that they can have fair play, without hindrance.

20. To absolutely demonstrate that two atoms, touching by surfaces, tend with infinite force of quantity to adhere together, on this wise, viz. Let the atoms *a b*, and *c b*, touch each other by surfaces at *b*. Now I say that the atoms *a b*, and *b c*, tend to adhere together, by an infinite quantity. Let the atom *a b*, be supposed to be divided in the middle at *d*, and the atom *c b*, at *h*. Let the inner half of each be again divided in the middle, viz. *d b*, at *e*, and *h b*, at *k*. Let *e b*, also be divided at *f*, and *k b*, at *l*; Again, let *f b*, be equally divided at *g*, and *l b*, at *m*; and so on, let each be divided *ad infinitum*. That I may go on thus dividing *ad infinitum*, is evident, because, if I go but half way at a time, I shall never come to the end. It is also evident that the parts of the atom *a b*, tend to the corresponding parts of the atom *c b*, according to the squares of the distance and the quantity of matter, in the parts attracting and attracted. And it is again evident, that the part *d e*, has half the quantity of matter of the part *a d*, because it is half of a part *d b*, that is equal to it; and so *h k* has half the quantity of matter of *h c*. And it is likewise evident, that the part *d e* is just as near again to the part *h k*, as the part *a d*, to the part *c h*—that is, all the corresponding parts of *d e*, and *h k*, the extremities and the corresponding extremities, the middle and the middle, are just as near again to each other, as the corresponding parts of the parts *a d*, and *h c*, as any body may easily see it must needs be: so that it may be said in the general, that the one two parts, are as near again to each other, as the other two parts; i. e. that *d e*, is as near again to *h k*, as *a d* to *h c*. And consequently, because attraction is as the square of the distance, the attraction would be *four* times as strong, if the quantity of matter were equal; but because the quantity of matter of *d e*, is but half so much, which we at present call the body attracted, therefore, if the quantity of matter of the attracting part *h k*, were *equal*, still the gravity of the part *d e*, would be but *twice* as much. But seeing the quantity of matter of *h k*, the attracting body, is also but half so much, therefore, the gravity is but just *equal*. So that we have proved that the gravity of *d e*, and *h k*, towards each other, is just equal to the gravity of *a d*, to *c h*. And after the same manner it is proved that the gravity of the remaining parts, *e f*, and *k l*, is just equal to the gravity of *d e*, and *h k*, and consequently, to *a d*, and *c h*; and that the gravity of *e f* to *k l*, is equal to that; and of *f g*, and *l m*, to that, and so on; And consequently, the gravity of each and all of them equal to the gravity of the first, and so of all the rest of the infinite division that might be made. Whence it follows that the gravity of the first part *a d*, to *c h*, is an infinite number of times in the atom *a b*, and so in the atom *c b*, and consequently, that the gravity of the whole put together, is actually infinite. For certainly, any small quantity of attraction, let it be ever so small, (if it be a millionth, or a million-millionth,) if it be an infinite number of times repeated, will amount to an infinite gravity. Wherefore, the atoms *a b*, and *c b*, tend to each other, with an infinite force of gravity, Q. E. D.—N. B. From this, again, to prove our whole scheme.



21. That the adhesion of bodies arises from Gravity, proved from the adhesion of two polished marbles, in the exhausted receiver.

22. Solidity is gravity; so that, in some sense, the Essence of bodies is Gravity—and to show how the very bare being of body, without supposing harmonious being, necessarily infers Gravity, and to observe the

folly of seeking for a mechanical cause of Gravity. But to observe that this has as much a mechanical cause as any thing in the world, and is as philosophically to be solved, and ought no more to be attributed to the immediate operation of God, than every thing else which indeed arises from it; and that Gravity is no way diverse from a principle, by which Matter acts on Matter.

23. Because it is universally allowed, that Gravity depends immediately on the Divine influence, and because it may be proved that Solidity and Gravity are in a good sense the same, and resolvable into each other, and because Solidity has been proved to be the very *being* of a body; therefore, we may infallibly conclude, that the very being, and the manner of being, and the whole, of bodies depends immediately on the Divine Being.—To show how that, if Gravity should be withdrawn, the whole Universe would in a moment vanish into nothing; so that not only the well-being of the world depends on it, but the very being.

24. Relative to the 19th. To show how a congeries of secondary particles, rightly compounded, may do likewise; though not as well.

25. Relating to the 2d.—Except we suppose a Revolution; and to show that, being of such a figure, it cannot be, without causing great confusion; and to show that, let the figure be what it may, there will be great attractions among the Stars—the same as the Tides.

26. To bring in an observation, somewhere in the proper place, that—instead of Hobbes' notion, that God is matter, and that all substance is matter—that nothing, that is matter, can possibly be God; and that no matter is, in the most proper sense, matter, according to the 11th Corollary, of Prop. 2.

27. To observe, in a proper place, that, since Creation is the first causing of such resistance, and Upholding is the causing of it successively; therefore the same person, who created, upholds and governs; whence we may learn who it is that sustains this noble fabrick of glorious bodies—and to expatiate much upon it.

28. To demonstrate that every thing done, at least, may depend on an infinite number of causes concurring, or the alteration of them,—upon an indefinitely little alteration or turn, especially in men's minds; and thence, in a proper place, to show, that no Finite spirit can predict such things.

29. The Definition of an Atom: Such a body, whose parts are no ways separated by pores, but has all its parts conjoined by an absolute continuity of matter.

30. Relating to the Note of the 5th Corollary, Proposition I. Hence we may learn, that an absolutely solid body, may have as much vacuity, within its surface, as any body whatsoever, that is not absolutely solid.

31. Remember to place all about motion, under the head of The Manner or Harmony of Existence.

32. To observe how the Planets may act on sublunary things, such as plants, animals, bodies of men, and indirectly upon their souls too, by that infinitely subtile matter diffused all around them; which, in all probability, is so subtile, as to permeate the Air, and any bodies whatsoever, but more especially the Moon, but most of all, the Comets, because of the great quantity that is diffused from them; and to show how it is probable the Ancients got the notion, from the long experience of the Antediluvians.

33. Relating to the 19th. Compute how much Motion there may be, in an inch square of Gunpowder, when set on fire, compared with some solid body, when moving straight forward; and, from the prodigious quantity of it, to prove, that it could neither take that motion, from any circumambient body, nor have it, in itself, before, and that it was an actual creation, at that very time; and to show the only way, whereby motion is created, is by Attraction, and therefore that this must be from Attraction.

34. To show how, and by what laws, a compound body, of any degree of rarity, may have any degree of hardness or inseparability; and *vice versa*, how a very dense body, and of little vacuity, may be, in comparison of it, very soft and separable.

35. Relating to the 19th. To show how fiery and shining (bodies) are inflamed, or enlightened, in this manner.

36. To show, if I think proper, how Sir Isaac Newton was very sensible, that all Spontaneous Enkindling was from a certain species of attraction.

37. To show that it is not only highly probable, but absolutely certain, that the Fixed Stars are so many Suns. For it is certain, in the first place, that they do shine by their own light: i. e. not by the Sun's; for altho' we do not exactly know how far distant they are, yet we know that they are so far distant, at least, that the annual Revolution of the Earth makes no sensible alteration in their position. And we know certainly, that the light of the Sun, at such a distance, will be no more than about so much, as the light of a Fixed Star is here. (Let any body calculate and see.) And now I ask, Whether or no it be not certain, that no body will reflect the light of another body, which does not shine upon it brighter than a single Fixed Star does upon the Earth, so much as to cause it to shine, with its reflected light, so brightly as the Fixed Stars do, at such a distance. And then, in the second place, it is certain, they must be pretty near about so big. And thirdly, it is certain that they must shine with as bright a light, or else they could never appear so bright at such a distance. This we may also be certain of, by calculation. Which three things are all that are needed to make a Sun.

Coroll. 1. from the foregoing: That our Sun is a Fixed Star, is as certain, as that any one particular Star in the heavens is one.

Coroll. 2. It is as probable that the other Fixed Stars, or Suns, have Systems of planets about them, as it would be that ours had, to one who had seen a Fixed Star, or Sun, every way like it, have them.

38. To bring in, if there happens a good place for it, that it is equally probable, in itself, that all, or the greater part, of the Universe was created at the time of the Mosaic Creation; as that all, or the greatest part, of the Universe was created at once, at any other time.

39. Relating to the 18th. To show that the motion will be made by rebounding, if the particles are elastic; and how that motion will be otherwise begotten, if they be not elastic, but perfectly hard.

40. To observe that, for aught we know, the most dense bodies we are acquainted with, do not take up about the 10,000,000,000th part of the space they are in; if there shall be need of taking notice of it.

41. Relating to the 14th. To instance, how all and every of the particles, here upon the Earth, do follow a particular particle, in the atmosphere of a planet, of a Fixed Star, etc.

42. To observe about all the mountains being pitched over to the westward.

43. To observe about all stones being broken pieces of stones.

44. To observe that, if bodies have no substance of their own, so neither is solidity, strictly speaking, a property belonging to body, and to show how. And if solidity is not so, neither are the other properties of body, which depend upon it, and are only modifications of it; so that there is neither real substance, nor property, belonging to bodies; but all that is real is immediately in the First Being.

Coroll. 1. Hence see how God is said, still more properly, to be *Ens entium*, or, if there was nothing else in the world but bodies, the only *Real Thing*, so that it may be said, in a stricter sense than hitherto, "Thou art, and there is none beside thee."

Coroll. 2. Hence see, that, instead of Matter being the only proper substance, and more substantial than any thing else, because it is hard and solid; yet, it is truly nothing at all, strictly and in itself considered.

Coroll. 3. The nearer in nature beings are to God, so much the more properly are they *beings*, and more substantial. And that Spirits are much more properly beings, and more substantial, than bodies.

45. To observe, it is somewhat difficult to know, how it comes to pass, that there are, in all Continents, however uneven and confused, hilly and jumbled, though they seem to have mountains and vallies, indifferently, and undesignedly, every where dispersed; yet, that there are such convenient Channels, whereby water may be conveyed from the middle of the Continents, and from all parts, into the Ocean. The reason is, when the world was first created, the water covering all the earth, the surface of the earth must needs be very soft, and loose, and easily worn or altered, by the motions of the water; and afterwards, the water, retiring in such a vast body, into one place, from off the continents, and some places of the (continents) being higher, and others lower, some were easily worn, others more difficult; in some places, the waters moving with more force, in others with less, some places would necessarily be worn deeper than others, from the middle of the continent to the ocean: and as the water decreased, as going off from the earth, all would retire into those channels; and, the water still decreasing, the remainder would run in the deeper places of these channels; and after they [the waters] were gone, they left channels every where; into which, the waters afterwards gushing out, in various parts of the continent, would naturally find their way. Thus, also, after the Deluge, when the surface of the earth was again loosened.

By this means it comes to pass, that, generally, our large rivers have champaign countries, without stones, on each side of them, before we come to the ridges of mountains, that commonly run parallel to them, at some distance, on each side; and yet, nearer the river still, there are meadows on each side, lower than the plain; and last of all, the channel itself, as in Connecticut River, because the water, when it first began to *de*flow from the land, it moved in vast quantities, enough to fill the whole space between the parallel mountains; so that the reason, why the country is so plain, is, because it was all once the bottom of a river; but afterwards, the water decreasing, was confined to a narrower compass, and wore the meadows out. At last, still narrowing, it was confined to the space between the banks. But there being still a remainder, in the champaign, and country between the greater channels, this, flowing off by degrees, into them, wore the lesser channels, for our little rivers.

46. The reason of the different Refrangibility of *Rays*, must be, either the different Figure, or Magnitude, or Hardness, or Internal Texture, or Density, of the Rays. There can be no other differences, between one ray and another, except the difference be some of these.—Now, first, it cannot be the different Figure, that causes the different Refrangibility. This would not cause some rays to be more attracted towards the edge of bodies; for all bodies, equal in other respects, are equally attracted, let them be of what figure so ever; nor will this serve to explain, how some are more easily reflected, than others. Different Magnitude is alike insufficient for these purposes. Different Hardness can cause no difference in the Attractibility. The Internal Texture can make no manner of difference, either in refraction or reflection. If the Quantity of Matter, and the Surface, be the same, the different Swiftness of Motion cannot be the reason. Wherefore, there remains nothing more, that can be the cause, but the different *Density*—the different Quantity of Matter in the rays, in the same room. Then we will suppose there to be a great deal of differ-

ence, between the rays of the Sun, in this respect—some more dense, and some more rare, as in all other bodies. Now, there will be this other difference, arising from this, viz. that the densest rays will come from the Sun, with the most rapid motion; not because they are less obstructed, by the medium they go through, but because, as every body may see, their mutual repercussions in the Sun, before they leap out into the vast circumambient expanse, will be much more violent, because of their greater gravity, which we have shown to be the reason of these repercussions.—Now, in the first place, we have no reason to think, but that there is a difference in the Density of the Rays of the Sun; and, if so, we are certain, that that will cause a difference in the Rapidity of their Motion; and therefore, certainly would cause a difference in their *Refrangibility;* for it is certain, that those rays, that move swiftly by a body, will be attracted least by it, and those that move slowest by it, will be attracted most. This will, also, certainly cause a difference in the *Reflexibility* of Rays; for those rays, that strike on a body with greatest force, will be most dificultly reflected, and those that strike with least force will be reflected most easily: those, that strike it most forcibly, are most likely to make their way forward without reflection; and those bodies, that are most likely to stand a stroke of the weaker rays, so as to reflect them, will give way to the stronger rays. Now, whether this difference in the density of the rays be the reason of the different Refrangibility or no; I think we may be sure of this, that, if the true reason were removed, and there should be a difference in the Density of Rays, this would certainly be a new reason of difference in the Refrangibility.

It may be objected to this, that there is an infinite variety in the density of bodies, and so doubtless of rays, and at that rate there would be an infinite variety of simple Colours.—I answer, And so there is; and multitudes have been distinguished, and more might be, if we had instruments and senses sufficiently accurate. The progression, there is from the highest to the lowest colours, is through an infinite variety. But the reason, why there are no colours below Blue, is, because if there are any rays, rarer than the blue, they are so weak, that they degenerate into shade, and are undistinguishable from darkness, and because they have not gravity enough to beget a motion in them, sufficient to cause them to leap out, at such a distance.

This explication very well agrees with experience. Red is the highest, strongest, harshest colour, because it is caused by the densest and most rapid rays; blue, more gentle and weak. Red gives the most light, because the rays have more of vivacity, and more strongly affect the organ: blue, the nearest approaching to darkness. Red, long beheld, is painful to the eyes; green and blue are pleasing, easy, gentle, inoffensive and healthful to the organ. Blue is so weak a colour, the rays are so weak, that they are reflected from the weakest bodies, such as air, and their exhalations, as in the blueness of the skies; which are so weak, that they let through the stronger rays; though sometimes at sunsetting, when the air is dense, all the rest of the rays are stopped but the Red, which fight their way through all the exhalations the air is full of, and then the Sun looks as red as blood.

Corollary. Because there is such a difference in the Density of the rays of light, it appears that the Atoms, of which the rays of light are composed, are immensely less, than the rays themselves.

47. Since, as has been shown, body is nothing but an infinite resistance, in some parts of space, caused by the immediate exercise of Divine power; it follows, that as great and as wonderful power is every moment exerted in the *upholding* of the world, as at first was exerted in its *creation:* the first

creation being only the first exertion of this power, to cause such resistance, and the preservation, only the continuation or the repetition of this power, every moment to cause this resistance: so that the Universe is created out of nothing every moment. And, if it were not for our imaginations, which hinder us, we might see that wonderful work performed continually, which was seen by the morning stars, when they sang together.

48. There is that, which is peculiarly wonderful in Trees, beyond any thing that is to be found in the inanimate world, even the manner of their growing from the seed. Their amazing diversification into such curious branches, leaves, flowers, fruits, and seeds; and so successively from one seed after another, in the same manner, from age to age, forever.

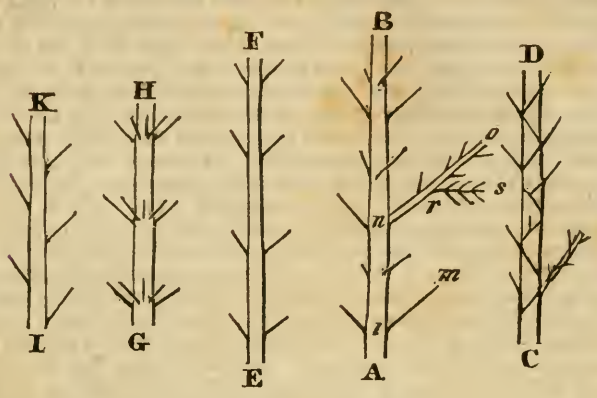
The discovery of the little tree in the seed, has opened a door for finding out these wonders; but, without that, we might have known that the parts of the tree are in miniature, before they are in perfection; for the bud, which is but another sort of seed, is nothing but the leaves, twigs, flowers and fruits, folded up together, which we see by degrees unfold themselves.

But the trees being in embryo in the seed, does not seem to solve the difficulty, for the tree most certainly does not keep to its rule, does not exactly follow its copy in the seed; for we may make the tree grow almost as we please. If we lop the tree, there will peep out new branches from the body of the tree, where there was no sign of a branch. But if the branches of the tree did really grow exactly in the same form as their pattern in the seed, this might indeed solve for the growing of one tree, but not for that infinite succession, and endless offspring, of trees, that may proceed from it; except we suppose that, in one seed, are actually contained an infinite number of trees and seeds, one within another; for this makes actually an infinite number of trees twice over, in the same seed: first, an infinite number of successions of one tree, less than another, and by that time we come to the least, (we must be allowed to speak contradictions here,) the offspring will be so numerous, that there will be actually an infinite number of trees of the same size and standing. Wherefore this matter of the Growth of Trees still remains very difficult.

The reason of it would not be altogether so difficult and perplexing, if they always grew in the same regular order. We do not despair of finding out the reason of that, which always happens alike, and in the same order. Thus, when we have reduced the motion of the Planets to a rule, we have got above half way towards giving the reason of their motions. But the Branches of Trees seem not capable of being reduced to any rule at all; but there is an infinite variety—one branch grows out here, and another there, without any order.

But we shall be helped in this matter, if we consider, that all trees and plants, universally, when they first sprout out of the ground, while there is, as yet, but one twig, are exactly regular; that is, having the buds which grow out of them, which are branches in miniature, standing in a regular and uniform manner—a leaf always growing under the bud. In some, two come out together, one right opposite to the other, always standing transverse to the last two, as in the twig, A B, in the maple tree; In others, but one at a time, standing at regular distances, on different sides, in such order as to stand round the twig, in the form of a screw, so that the branches shall stand out on every side, as in the twig, C D, in the apple, the pear, the cherry, etc.; in others, having two together, growing out of opposite sides, but not standing transverse, like the maples, as in the twig E F; In others, having four or five standing round the twig together, as in G G; In others, having but one at a time, standing always opposite to each other, as in I K; and innumerable other ways, but yet always regular. And as the first sprouts of the tree are always regular, so are

all the young sprouts of the tree afterwards, when the tree comes to be divided into many branches; yea, always as long as the tree lives, all the twigs, that are of that years growth, are regular. So that it follows, that the body,



the main branches, and the little twigs, and every part, of every tree in the world, in their first beginnings, were regular. So that, if all the trees had continued as they were, in the year that they grew; the whole tree, with all the branches, small and great, would be regular. And now we are sure that, if the sap did not flow, more easily, into one bud or branch than another, or, if one were not otherwise advantaged above another, if all the buds and branches had, in all respects, equal advantages for growing; the tree would be most exactly regular. It follows clearly, and certainly; for, if the common trunk, A B, when it first grew, was regular, and the branches, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, at first were regular, and the branches of the branches, as *r s*, were also regular, and so on; it is certain, if all these branches continued as they were at first, and every bud or branch expanded itself alike, that the whole tree, A B, will always continue to grow regularly. Thus far we are clear, that the miniatures of all plants are regular, and that there is no provision made, in the seeds and bud, for any but a regular growth, and that, if it were not for some accidental causes that promoted or hindered the growth of one of the branches or buds, *n o*, more than another, that all the tree, in the end, would be regular.

We need not perplex ourselves to find out, what should give one a greater advantage of growth than another. The least thing in the world may be sufficient, when they are so small and tender: ten thousand things might be thought of.

Many plants do actually always continue to grow regular; as most herbs and weeds, that are but of one year's growth, and come trees; and, of those that err from their seminal pattern, some keep nearer to it than others.

We therefore conclude, that the first trees, that ever were, were regular trees, or at least regular parts of trees, so contrived, with vessels, pipes and valves, that, as it receives more sap, it continually desires to shoot forth towards B. And infinite wisdom so contrived the curious workmanship of the inlets, receptacles, passages and outlets, from A to B, that that which is, by degrees, added at B, by the gentle motion of the sap, from A to B, through the pipes, shall be cast into the same form, and shall come out in the same fashion, as if it were cast into a mould. It is

also so contrived, that, as it continues to proceed towards B. the course of some of the passages shall be directed so, as to cause it to shoot forth on the side at *n*, and at every such regular distance, just as the engineer contrives his clock to strike at uniform distances, and the sap proceeds forwards in the branch, *n o*, in the same manner as it did in the trunk A B; and in like manner breaks out at the sides, at regular distances from *r* to *s*, and then branches forth, in like manner, at the sides of *r s*, and so on, in infinitum, to the world's end. And the trees, that grow now, are nothing but the branches of those first trees; which, although the communication with the original branch has ceased, yet still continue to grow and to be diversified into more branches, in the same regular and uniform method. in infinitum; and the seeds, from whence our trees proceed, are no new plants, but branches of the old, a continuation of the same plant, in its infinite regular progress—branches not yet expanded. The trees, or seeds, or whatever they were, that God first created, were only the beginning of this progress, enough to set it a going. So it is contrived, that, at such due and uniform distances, these little continuations of the branches of the tree, while they are very tender, shall be wrapped in the curious covering and shelter of leaves, flowers and fruits, and some only of leaves and flowers, and shall drop off; so that when the seed drops off, it is only the regular continuation of these branches. And as it drops into the ground, though the continuation is uninterrupted, yet, receiving sap from the ground, it will not cease to grow: which is no more strange, than that the branch of an apple-tree, if cut off and cast into the ground, will continne to grow.

The leaves are still nothing but branches of the tree, that grow not so big, and so contrived as to cleave together after such a manner. So likewise is the flower, and the fruit too is a compages of branches, yet otherwise modelled. There is nothing belonging to a tree but branches; and all, that the first trees, which God created, had to do, was to proceed to the end of the world, in such regular branches, having various stated periods, at the same stated distances: at which periods, there happen remarkable changes, and unusual phenomena, among the branches, as there may be various periods in an engine of human contrivance: some returning every second, every minute, every quarter of an hour, hour, day, month and year.—As for the leaves, flowers and fruits, they are not to be looked upon as a continuation of these regular branches, but as part of the substance of the trunk to which they grow.

There is but here and there one of these buds, that grow thus regularly and expand themselves. Perhaps some die, most of them continue in their littleness and imperfect state; the sap not running plentifully enough into them, having more free passage elsewhere, or being by some means diverted; and so, the part growing bigger, they are at last covered in it, and lie latent, until by some means the passage of the sap elsewhere is stopped, as by lopping of the tree, or otherwise; and then the sap, flowing more plentifully into them, causes them to spring forth, and make their way out of the bark. It may lie, like a seed in the tree, for many years, and, upon such an occasion, spring forth. Hence it is, that those little twigs, how small soever, though but of one year's growth, that grow out of great trees, yet always have their beginning and rise close by the very heart of the tree; because all the rest that is above it has grown and been added, since the tree was so small as to bear buds at that place. We had as good think that trees grow out of the ground, without seeds, as that branches grow out of the trunk without buds; for the buds are but another sort of seeds, that cleave to the tree, and the seeds are but another sort of buds, that drop into the ground.

49. (Vid. 14.) In order to this, it is not only necessary that God should

tell the number of the stars, and know the exact bigness, weight, density, number, and distance, of those great bodies of the Universe; not only that he should weigh the mountains in exact scales, and the hills in perfectly even balances, and measure the seas as in the hollow of his hand; but he must comprehend the dust of the earth in a measure. He must measure the dust of the earth in all these respects—he must know the exact number of the particles of dust, the exact dimensions and weight of every atom, the exact distance of every one, yea, of every part of every one, from every other, yea, from every part of all others in the universe. Thus, Infinite Wisdom is as much concerned, not only in the excellent Arrangement of the world, but in the simple Creation of it, as Infinite Power. Yea, one single atom cannot have a being without it; one single atom could not move without it, inasmuch as we have shown, that motion cannot be without Infinite Wisdom; and again, that no body could have being, without motion, any otherwise, than as the world had a being from all eternity.

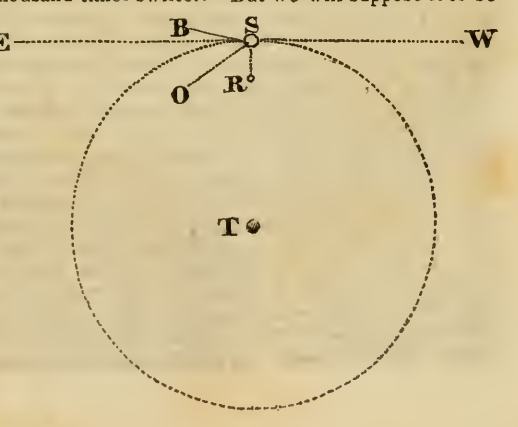
50. The only way that the soul can influence the body is by the emitting of animal spirits from the brain; and when the soul retracts animal spirits from some part, it is by emission in others. This emission is either natural, which follows merely from the presence of the soul in the brain; or voluntary, that which follows of itself, from thoughts and passions. And the only way that the body has influence upon the soul, is by the influx of animal spirits to the brain, or efflux from it.

51. When I come to speak of the Body of Man, let a demonstration of the Soul, being distinct from matter, be inserted.

52. (Vid. 17.) That is, the least wrong step, would thus disorder all things, and quite overthrow the Universe, except God, from time to time, set the whole Universe a going anew; which would be necessary, because the least wrong turn in one atom causes a wrong motion in every atom in the Universe; and this also, returning at the end of some given period, or continuing at intervals of time, longer or shorter, equal or unequal, would at length overthrow the Universe.

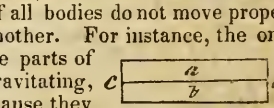
53. I believe all Fluidity arises from Repulsion.

54. If the Fixed Stars moved round the Earth in twenty-four hours, none of them would be seen here upon the earth; none of their rays would ever reach the Earth: For although it cannot be demonstrated how far distant they are from us, yet they must needs be so far distant, that such a motion would be at least ten times so swift as the motion of the rays of light. According to the ordinary computation of their distance, it would be several thousand times swifter. But we will suppose it to be ten times. Wherefore, I say, that if the motion of the Star at S, round the Earth T, be ten times so swift as the motion of the bodies emitted on all sides, from the body S, none of those emitted bodies will ever reach the body T. In such cases, it is evident, that bodies so emitted, would have a two-fold motion; viz. a motion whereby they are omitted



from S, and also the motion which they receive with the body, while they are with it. Thus the ray R, emitted from S towards T, would besides have a motion towards W; which it had while it was in the body, equal to the motion of the body S, and which it don't lose when emitted. Wherefore it is manifest, that the motion of R towards W, will be ten times so swift as its motion towards T: so that by the time it has got the distance from S to T, in the direction S T, it is manifest it will have got ten times as far towards W, or in that direction: so that it is most manifest, that it would never reach T. And even the ray B, that is sent out right behind the star S, moves nine times as swiftly towads W, as towards E. So that it is evident, that all the rays that can be emitted from the star S, move at least nine times so swiftly towards W, as they gain towards the Earth. It is therefore evident, that they all will fall on that side of the Earth, that is towards W. We will take one instance more. Let the emission of the ray O, be towards O, It is evident, that this ray will never gain one inch towards E, or the East, being carried at least nine times so swiftly towards W, or the West, the contrary point: Because, being carried at least nine times so swiftly towards W, by that time it is got half way of the distance in that direction, it will have got nine times as far to the West, and therefore will miss the globe of the Earth.

55.—Proposition. The Cohesion of bodies, or the parts of bodies, to one another, can be from nothing else but their tendency, or gravity, one to another. So that all cohesion in the world, arises from this. This is the only reason, why every the least part of all bodies do not move properly at liberty, without any respect one to another. For instance, the only reason of the cohesion of the bodies, or the parts of bodies $a\,b$, must be from their tending, or gravitating, c to each other: for it must be, either because they tend to each other, or because the parts of the body a, next to b, are linked and fastened in, amongst the parts of the body b. I can think of no medium. Neither is the second another case different from the first; for the question is, Why all the corporeal parts below the plane $c\,d$, cleave to any of the parts above that plane? Let some of the corporeal parts be particles, conceived as coming out of the body a, and linked and locked into the parts of the body b, or no. It is all one, as if they are conceived as only parts of the body b, only cleaving to the body a. It is evident, therefore, that this is not the reason: therefore the other is.—N. B. When bodies are press'd together by circumambient bodies, the proposition does not regard that as cohesion.



56. The parts which constitute the Atmosphere, are two-fold. (1.) The parts of the Ether, drawn and pressed together by gravity to the Earth: which is nothing but exceedingly minute, subtil, active particles, which parts are the most penetrating. Now it is certain if there be any Etherial Matter at all, however little, this is one part of the atmosphere. For, if there be any, that which is round about the Earth, or any other celestial body, will be very much condensed and pressed together, by its tendency to such body. So that although it be almost infinitely rare, at the distance of four or five diameters of the Earth; yet it will, according to the laws of gravity, be thick enough at the surface of the Earth, so that there are no proper bounds to this part of the Atmosphere, inasmuch as it is nothing but the Ether pressed together, according as it is nearer or farther from the centre of the Earth. It is in vain therefore to pretend to setting bounds to the Atmosphere. (2.) Another part are the vapours and exhalations which ascend from the globe—parts of liquids rarified, so as to ascend from the Earth, by means of the gravity of the rest of the Atmosphere. These vapours are wholly constituted of small bubbles, as is now

said by philosophers; these bubbles being lighter than the Atmosphere, not because the liquid of it, which makes the skin or wall of the bubble, is rarer than the air, but because the air or subtile matter, that is in the bubble is, by the sunbeams or otherwise, made more rare than the circumambient air: so that take the skin of the bubble and all together, and it is lighter than a part of the air that is round about it, of the same dimensions. When we say that the air within the bubble is rarer than that without, it must be the etherial part of the air, or at least another part of the air that is not constituted of these bubbles, for that which is in all the bubbles is not the bubbles. Now here in the first place, it is certain that these exhalations do constitute a part of the Atmosphere that is round about; and, secondly, it is certain that they do not wholly constitute it, as has been by some thought; for it is contrary to the supposition, viz. that these bubbles are lighter than the air, and therefore ascend in it. Than what air are these bubbles lighter? It is not meant that these bubbles are lighter or rarer than these bubbles, and therefore ascend among them: so that these are not the primary parts of the air. Yea, it is certain that the matter of our Atmosphere is the very same with the Ether, the same with that which is in the spaces between the heavenly bodies; and that there is a certain subtile matter in these spaces, and that it is the same with, or at least partly constituted of, the air; only the air is the Ether much compressed. If it has been proved that the self-expanding quality of the air is so great, as has been said by the late philosophers; for if one inch square of it, when free and having nothing incumbent to press it together, will expand itself so much, it is certain that the whole Atmosphere, being free, and having nothing incumbent, will expand itself into all the Solar System. And if one inch square of air, at the distance of a semi-diameter of the Earth, will expand itself so as to fill the Solar System, then there is nothing incumbent upon the Atmosphere sufficient to hinder its free expansion: so that the matter of our air is abroad in the heavenly spaces.

2. The etherial part of the air, that is here near the Earth, is much more compressed by reason of the exhalations, or that part that is made up of bubbles floating in the air; for though they in themselves are lighter than the air, yet they have some weight, and must therefore necessarily add to the weight, that is incumbent upon that lower part of the Atmosphere, whereby the air below, in general, is denser and heavier, and so more able to bear up more such exhalations.

3. There is yet another way, whereby the rays of the Sun do doubtless cause particles to ascend off from terrestrial bodies, beside this of rarifying of liquids, and making of them lighter than the air, so as to be buoyed up thereby. For as the air or Ether is nothing but exceedingly subtile and agile particles, made so exceedingly elastic and diffusive, by their lively motion one among another; so when the rays of the Sun separate particles as subtile as they are, and like unto them, from terrestrial bodies, and give them as brisk a motion as the particles of Ether have, such particles thereby do become some of them, or in all respects whatever become particles of ether, and will move up or down, on one side or another indifferently, in the Ether, as other particles of Ether do. Now there is no doubt but that there are great plenty of particles in terrestrial bodies, that are as fine as the Ether, but only are fixed adhering to other particles by gravity, and want nothing to make them become parts of Ether, but to be disengaged and loosened, and to have a suficiently active motion given them. We have showed that all bodies are constituted of atoms, which are, it is probable, finer than any etherial particles. And it is not to be doubted, therefore, that all bodies are capable of being dissolved into parts, as fine as etherial ones. But this is what I would, that doubtless there are great

plenty of particles in bodies, proper for etherial matter, and wanting nothing but to be loosened and set in motion. And if it be so, I think it cannot be doubted, but that the rays of the Sun do daily disengage and loosen plenty, and set them into a motion sufficiently lively and brisk; and so that there is continually rising etherial matter from off the surface of the Earth, and that this, in considerable measure, constitutes the Atmosphere, and is not specifically different from the first constituent parts.

4. And seeing these particles are so very active, and therefore diffusive, and move indifferently any way in the Ether, no doubt but those that are daily raised from off the Earth may disperse, many of them at immense distances, in a very short time, though not so quick as rays of light, nor in right lines as they move.

5. There are, doubtless, the like etherial particles, continually diffused from the other Planets, as from the Earth; and, *ceteris paribus*, the more any planet has of the Sun's influence, the more of these particles are diffused from it; and therefore, there are abundantly more from Comets, than from any of the Planets. And, seeing there is such subtile matter, diffused around, from all the heavenly bodies, into the etherial spaces, it is probable, that the Ether is chiefly composed of them.

6. We have these two reasons, to think, that the motion of these subtile particles is exceedingly rapid, (1.) Because, they receive their motion from the rays of the Sun, which move so swiftly, as to come from the Sun in seven or eight minutes; and (2.) It can absolutely be proved, by their great elasticity—so great, that an inch square of air will, by its elasticity, if sufficiently compressed, be of sufficient force, to move a prodigious weight; which could not be, except the motion of those particles were prodigiously swift.

7. This matter, that arises from the heavenly bodies, will diffuse itself abundantly faster, at a distance from those bodies, than near them; both because they are so much less retarded, by their gravity to the bodies from whence they came, and because, they have millions of times more liberty, and their motion less resisted by circumambient particles.

8. There may be a great difference, in the kinds of particles, diffused from different planets: even as there is a great difference in the particles, that are diffused from particular bodies, upon the Earth, which causes different odours.

9. Those Effluvia, that are diffused from the bodies of the Universe, diffusing themselves so fast, and being so fine and penetrating, and of different kinds, may cause considerable and different effects in other planets. Being diffused into all parts of the etherial spaces, and mixing themselves with their atmospheres, and being so very active, they may produce considerable effects in the temperature of their air, and on their plants and animals, which have so much to do with their air. And these effects will be different, at different times, according as the bodies are nearer, or further off, and according as the rays of the Sun, which cause them, fall upon either the side that is towards them, or that that is from them. And, *ceteris paribus*, those bodies, which are nearest, will have much the greatest effects upon the Earth, and, therefore, the Moon has vastly greater effects of this kind, than any of the Planets. And, *ceteris paribus*, those bodies will have the greatest effects upon the Earth, which emit most of these effluvia; and, therefore, Comets will have much greater alterations upon the Earth, than any of the primary Planets.

10. Whether these effluvia are diffused from one star to another, in an hour, or a month, a longer or a shorter time, it alters not the case. Neither will it cause but that there shall be constant different effects, produced at certain periods, according to the different places and aspects of

the stars, provided that these effluvia are propagated to the same distance, at the same time. For, as to this, it alters not the case, whether, at the Full Moon, we have the effects of the effluvia of the Full Moon, or of the First Quarter, or of the New Moon: yet, it will not follow, but that, at every Full Moon, we shall have the same effects produced.

11. It seems to me probable, that, before the Flood, when the Earth enjoyed so temperate and undisturbed an Atmosphere, when the effects of the stars, of this nature, were constant, being not disturbed by the perturbations of the Atmosphere, as now, and the lives of men were so long, that they knew the effects of the Planets upon the Earth; that they could foretell nearly what effects such a position or aspect of the Stars would produce in the Atmosphere, and upon the plants and animals of the Earth; having so much opportunity of experience and observation, by reason of their long lives; and that the tradition of this, from Noah and his sons to their posterity, has been the cause of that general opinion, which the nations of the world have had, that the various phases and appearances of the planets had a considerable effect upon the earth; and thus gave rise to Judicial Astrology, and, in a great measure, to their Worshipping of the Planets.

12. *Corollary*, from the first part. Hence it is, that the Atmosphere of the Moon is so much less, and thinner, than that of the Earth: it having so much less attraction, it cannot attract so much of the ether about it, nor will it be so much compressed, and so dense.

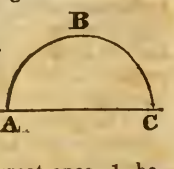
13. These effluvia, or subtile particles, are not only continually dissolving, and diffusing from the bodies of the Universe, but also, doubtless, are continually settling to those bodies, and so become fixed again. I do not suppose, that they precipitate, as dust in water; but, seeing that far the greatest part of the etherial matter that is in the whole Universe, is near the surface of the Stars; these particles, crowding about these bodies, doubtless often are catched, by coming so appositely to some of their fixed particles, that they adhere by their gravity, and their motion is not sufficient, to carry them clear. They may, also, so far lose their motion, that it shall not be sufficient, to keep them playing off from the Earth.

14. Here, near the surface of the Earth, where the air is so dense, particles, that are not so fine as the particles of pure ether, may easily diffuse themselves, nevertheless; the Atmosphere counterbalancing most, though not all, of their gravity, so that, their motion may cast them to a great height and distance. And of these particles, our Atmosphere is doubtless, in considerable measure, composed; and of this kind, I suppose, the effluvia, which cause odours, to be, and other effluvia, that are emitted from all bodies, upon the Earth, set in motion, not only by the rays of the Sun, but also, by the motion of circumambient aerial particles, and by intestine motion, in the bodies themselves.

57. 1. It is already determined, what Exhalations are, that they are nothing but bubbles of water, including atmospheric air, or some other etherial matter, considerably rarer than the air without. The only thing that wants to be known, is, how these bubbles come to be made. In order to determine this, we must first know, how any bubbles are made, which is, by driving a parcel of air under the surface of the water; so that, the water being so fluid, immediately closes near it, so that there is a parcel of air inclosed by the water. Now, this inclosed air immediately gathers itself into a globular form, by reason of the gravity of the parts of the air, one to another, as, likewise, the gravity of the parts of the water, which will prevent any prominences of water, inwards, amongst the air. The air, also, immediately ascends again, to emerge from the water, whereupon, most of the water that was over it, runs off on every side;

but water being a thing, whose particles are so fitted, one to another, that they adhere one to another, by their gravity, the skin, or the walls of the bubble, will not immediately break; though the particles of water run off with infinite ease, before it comes to the last skin, because they run upon other water, that attracts it as much, as these particles that they run from.

2. What makes small bubbles break is, 1. The endeavour of the air quite to emerge; for the lowest part of the air is something lower than the surface of the water, by reason of the weight of the incumbent water in the skin of the bubbles: 2. The weight of the water, whereby it endeavours to run off down to the body of water: 3. The attraction of the water, that is at the basis of the walls of the bubbles: for the water, that is at A and C, attracts the water of the skin, that is next to it, with considerable strength.



3. We see that small bubbles live much longer than great ones, 1. because the skin is not so strongly attracted by the subjacent water, inasmuch as the margin of the bubble is not so large; and 2. the endeavour of the air to emerge is not so great, there not being so much below the surface of the water, because the weight that presses it under is not so great. 3. Because the weight of the water of the skin is not so great.

4. A very small bubble, being disjoined from the water, and suspended in the air, provided the air within remains as it was, and the bubble be not broken by something external, would live forever, or at least a very long time; for the weight of the water, whereby it tends to run from the top to the bottom of the bubble, would be very inconsiderable, the bubble being so small; and then a parcel of air, ascending out of the water, would take no more water, than just would suffice for a skin. The weight would be nothing near equal to the tendency of the particles one to another; for we see in great bubbles it is hardly equal, where the weight is so much greater; therefore the weight would not be sufficient to disjoin those particles, therefore the bubble would not be broken by the weight. 2. The attraction of the water, from whence it ascended, would not contribute to it, because it would be carried at a distance from it. 3. Nor the endeavour of the inclosed air to get out or emerge from the water, or in bubbles that lie on the surface, because it is supposed it would be entirely emerged and disjoined.

5. Now then all that is necessary to be done, by the Sun's rays, in order to cause bubbles to ascend from the water, is, to drive very minute particles of air under water, and to make the air inclosed so much rarer than the rest of the air, that this air, together with the watery skin, shall be lighter than a parcel of other air of the same bigness.

6. The air that is close to the surface of the water, is far more exposed to the force of the Sun's ray's, than any at a distance, because the other air has room to yield to the stroke of the rays, but this must bear all the brunt, and stand the stroke, and can go no further. A body, that is smitten upon an anvil, suffers much more by the stroke, than a thing that is floating in the free air. Therefore the air, that is next to the surface of the water, will be much more rarified by the Sun's rays than the other air.

7. If a very small parcel of air, that is next to the water, happen to be struck so to advantage, by the rays of the Sun, (by many rays striking together upon it, or otherwise,) as to be smitten just under the surface of the water, that air, being smitten more forcibly than the other air that is smitten under, will be more rarified by the Sun's rays than other air; and that parcel of the air, so smitten under, emerging, will raise a bubble with

it, and if the air within be rarified enough, (as in all probability it will, because all the air, that is next to the water, is more rarified than other air, and this is more rarified than other air, that is next to the water,) I say, if the air within is rarified enough, it will not only be buoyed up to the surface of the water, causing a bubble there, but will leap clear out of the water, and will ascend in the air, till it is in equipoise with the circumambient air.

58. 1. I never yet could light of any satisfying reason, why the Heat of the Sun is so much greater near the Surface of the Earth, than at a distance from it. It is said that, near the Earth, the rays are doubled by reflexion. But they are not *doubled;* for none can think that the Earth reflects all the rays that fall upon it, at least not with as much strength as they come from the Sun, for the reflex light is nothing near so great as the direct light, it is very evident. But I suppose that the heat, that is very near the Earth, in a hot summer's day, is a hundred times greater than merely the direct rays would cause, instead of being only double. And I suppose, at three or four miles from the Earth, the heat is nothing to what it is very near: but there is as much of the reflex ray, to a very trifle, as we have close to the surface, for the rays, that are reflected from the Earth, do not cease, in going three or four miles, any more than the rays reflected from the Moon, or Venus, or Jupiter, or Saturn; and all the difference, otherwise, is only according to the squares of the distances from the centre; and what a small matter is that in three or four miles.

2. The heat therefore cannot be caused immediately, by the motion of the rays of the Sun, but also by the motion of other particles in the Atmosphere, set in motion by them. Now the reason, why particles should be much more set in motion, near the Surface of the Earth, than farther from it, we gave in 57; because that part of the Atmosphere, that is close to the Surface of the Earth, suffers much more from the rays, so that they will be much more heated, and rarified, and ascending; and the heavier, colder air, that is incumbent, getting under; so that it is the ascent of these agitated particles that chiefly causes the heat, which, by degrees, cooling as they ascend, being no longer subject to the violent force of the rays, will cause it to be much hotter near the surface and cooler at a distance.

59. 1. The matter of the Tail of a Comet, does not ascend from the Sun, because it is made more rare than the Ether; for it must be very rare indeed to be so rare, that all the matter of the greatest tails might be contained in a nut-shell; (this is more rare than it is reasonable to suppose;) but by the Comet's heating the Ether that is round about, so that the Ether will have a constant stream from the Comet upwards from the Sun, yea a very rapid stream, so as to carry some of the rarest parts of the Comet's Atmosphere with it.

2. These tails entirely cease to be emitted at a considerable distance from the Sun, not because the Comet wants heat to rarify, but because the Ether is so rare it is not strong enough to carry particles with it.

60. All Plants, from the beginning of the world, of the same kind, are nothing but so many branches of the first plant, or plants, proceeding ever since, and sprout out in exact order, and at regular distances. But this regularity consists in the equality of different periods. They do not continue to send forth branches, one after another, perpetually, without intermission; but this germination, has various stops, and stays, of equal lengths and distances, one from another. If the weather be never so suitable, the tree will not continue to emit branches continually, one after another, without intermission; but after such a number of branches are emitted, no more will sprout for some months, and then such a number again

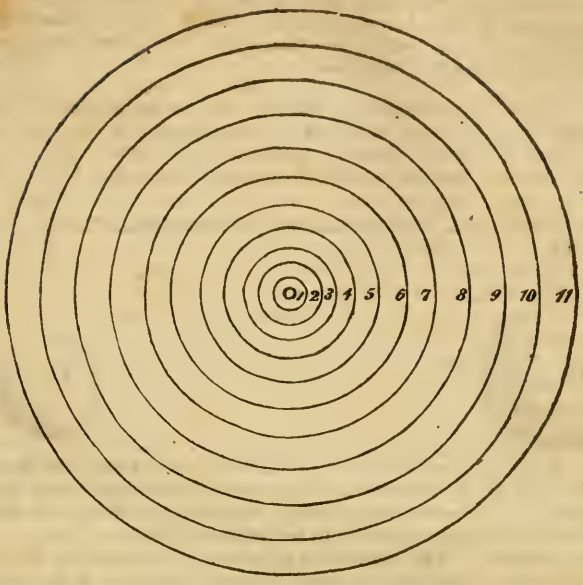
will unfold themselves, ceasing again, at the due period. This may be observed, at least in all the trees that grow in this climate, where are successions of summer and winter. These periods are usually suited to the length of these seasons. And once, when the heat here in New-England continued extraordinarily late, we have had part of two of these periods in a year; plants that had stopped, sprouted again. The twig grows, till the bud for the next year appears, and then ceases; but if the weather continues warm, it will be a considerable time before these buds will expand themselves. Another, and the largest distance is, from seed to seed. The fruit and seed is the extremity of a branch, and that branch or twig, from which the seed falls, never grows any more at all by it; the tree proceeds on no further that way.

61. It is the same thing that distant existence, distant as to place, should have influence on bodies, as in gravity; as that existence, distant as to time, being past, should have influence on their present existence, as in the successions of motion.

62. WIND. EXHALATIONS. It is certain, by experience, that winds do contribute so to drying up of moisture. It is not conceivable, that the wind should raise those bubbles, of which watery exhalations consist; but we conceive it, that it contributes to the raising of them, after this manner. It may contribute to the raising them from off the surface of bodies of water, by continually carrying off the moist air, and by bringing on that from the land which is dryer and more agile; whose parts are more briskly moved by the heat, and therefore, are more easily driven under the surface of the water, and so carry it off. It dries things that are moist upon the land, by carrying off the exhalations from the loose and porous parts, as soon as raised, so that they do not lodge again, and stand in the way of others.

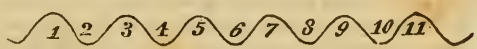
63. PLANETS. A reason why the Greater Planets, as Jupiter, and Saturn, are placed at such a vast distance from the Sun, and the Lesser Planets nearer; is because, if such vast bodies were near, they would have abundantly greater influence by their attraction, to disturb the rest of the Sun, and so in time, to overthrow the whole system. The Comets would likewise be greatly exposed to their influence, and their orbits would be much disturbed by them. And it is fit they should be at a great distance from the Lesser Planets, otherwise they would greatly disorder their motion; and also from one another, for bodies of such mighty force and power must be kept at a distance, otherwise they will make dreadful work, one with another.

64. WAVES. Circular Waves in the water are begun, with a raising or depression of the water, in the centre of these circles, and are made thus. Suppose the water is raised into a hillock, at 1. This cannot be, without the water subsiding in the space 2, to make the hillock; and the water at 3, is set in motion towards 1, to fill up that hollow. And it is most easy to conceive, that the water at 3, moving out of its place, and



thereby leaving a valley, the water at 4, will necessarily follow, and so on to 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11:

for a valley being made at 2, the water at 3,

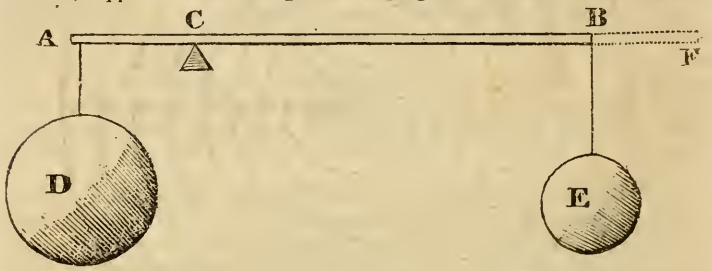


comes to fill it up, and leaves a valley at 3; then the water at 4 moves inward, and leaves a valley there; so that the valley that began at 2, spreads around further and further, in a circle outward, from 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. successively. But we are to remember that the hillock of matter at 1, immediately subsides and flows every way into the space 2, and stops the water at 3, which was set in motion inwards; whereby it necessarily rises into a hill, for water, being stopped in its motion, will necessarily rise. The water at 3, being stopped and raised in an hill, this hill falling, contradicts and stops the water at 4, and causes that to rise; so that it is easy to conceive, why there must immediately succeed a rising, spreading after the same manner. We are to remember that we left a valley at 1, where the water subsided, and must necessarily subside lower than the ordinary surface; because when the hill was raised there, there was a valley round it, in the space 2. Now the weight and libration of the water, would cause all the water at 1, that was higher than that valley, to flow away. There being now, therefore, a valley at 1, and a hill at 2, it is easy to conceive, that the libration of the water, will raise another hill at 1, leaving a valley at 2, which valley will be communicated to 3, 4, 5, etc. after the same manner, and for the same reason, as the first valley; and this again will succeed another hill. And so there will be a continued succession of spreading hills and vallies, having their original in the successive hills and vallies, in the spaces 1, and 2, caused by the libration of the water.

But if we suppose, that in the first place, a valley, and not a hill, is made in the space 1, then the first circle will be an hill, and not a valley; for the water being expelled out of 1, necessarily thrusts up the water at 2, and

causes a hill there: the water at 2, subsiding, thrusts up the water at 3, that, the water at 4, and so on: and then there being the same reciprocation of the water at 1, and 2, as in the former case, causes the same succession of circular hills and vallies.

65. LEAVER.—Problem. To give the reason, why the same force or weight, upon a Leaver or Balance, has a stronger or weaker influence, according as it is further from, or nearer to, the Center of motion. For instance, suppose that the weight D, hanging from the end A of the balance



A B, is in equilibrio with the weight E, that is four times less, hanging at the other end, B, of the balance, at four times the distance from the center of motion, C. To solve this problem, we shall lay down the following Propositions, as most agreeable to the reason of man.

Proposition 1. The same force or power, which, applied at a certain single moment, is sufficient to raise the greater weight, D, is requisite to raise the weight E, which is four times less, four times as far. This is evident, because the effect is just equal, and what is wanting in weight, in the lesser body, is exactly made up in the distance raised. If there is requisite a greater force, to raise the weight E four inches, than one, as there certainly is, for we suppose no continual repetition of the force, but an application of it for a certain moment: if so, then I say, there needs four times as much, for the weight resists the motion, as well while the body is moving the 2d moment, (space,) as the first, and as much the 3d, and 4th, as the 2d.

Hence we may learn, why the weight D will not sink, but hang in equilibrio with the lesser weight; because, if it subsided, it must raise the weight E, four times as much as it fell itself, every moment of its fall. But, in order to that, by the foregoing proposition, there would need a force sufficient to raise the weight D, that is, a force that is greater than the weight D. Wherefore, the weight D will not raise the weight E.

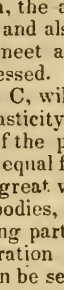
Coroll. It necessarily follows hence, that, if the weight E be made in the least greater, it will descend, for it hung in equilibrio before; but the reason of this will appear better, from the following Proposition.

Proposition 2. The supporting or holding up of a greater weight, is an effect, that is fully equivalent to, and requires a force or power full as great, as the raising or carrying upwards a lesser weight. It is exceeding evident; because, if the least degree of force was added, it would carry upwards, even the greater weight.—Or, we may take the Proposition in more general terms, thus: The bare resisting of a greater force, is equivalent to the carrying or moving a body against a lesser.

Hence it follows, that if the lesser body E be made in the least heavier, or removed further from the center of motion, it will subside, and raise the greater weight D; because, as has been shown already, it is not sufficient to raise it now; but if it was heavier, or further removed from A, the

supporting of it would require more force, than the raising it. Let the weight E be supposed to be removed to F, a fourth part of the former distance, and let the weight, at the same time, be made answerably lighter. It is evident, by the foregoing proposition, that it would then remain in equilibrio with the weight D. It is, therefore, evident by this, that if it be removed, without proportionally lessening its weight, it will sink, because the holding it up, would require greater force, than the raising it before.

66. SOUND. The cause of Sound is agreed to be, a vibrating, or a trembling motion of the air, consisting of quick and very sudden shocks, or leaps of the air, reciprocated. It is very easy to conceive, why the meeting of two hard bodies should cause such a trembling, correspondent to the trembling of these bodies; and why a body, moving steadily, though very swiftly, in the air, should cause but little such motion in the air. But we find, that the most violent sounds are caused by the shutting or closing of a gap or vacuity, that has been made in the air; and it is very agreeable to reason, that it should be so. For such a gap being made, it necessarily follows, from the weight of the incumbent atmosphere, and its very elastic nature, that the walls of the vacuity should rush together, with incredible violence, and that they should strike each other, with great force: upon which, the air that thus meets, will be very much compressed, and will again, by reason of its elasticity, very suddenly, and with violence, expand itself again; and, according to the laws of the motion of elastic bodies, with twice as great violence, as the like quantity of air, compressed in a solid body, would expand itself: for then, the air would be beaten back, only by its own spring, but now, by that, and also by the spring of the air that it met. Let the air meet at the plane A B, and be by the shock much compressed. It is evident, that the air, on the side of that plane C, will not only leap back towards that side, by its own elasticity, but that the elasticity of the air on the other side of the plane, the side D, will impel it towards the side C, with equal force.



And so the reciprocation will be repeated, with great violence, for a time.

Sound, that is made by the collision of solid bodies, is not made by the sudden start of the air, from between the closing parts of those bodies; but the vibration of the air is begotten by a vibration of the parts of the bodies themselves; for, if the body that is smitten be set upon another, the sound will be like that of the body it stands upon; which can be for no other reason, than that the vibration is communicated to the parts of that body, and from them to the air. So, from the communication of sound, in a long stick of timber, if we lay our ear at the farther end, when it is struck, the sound will seem to be made there; which is doubtless, from the communication of the vibration, through the parts of the timber.

The loudness of many sounds, doubtless arises from the continualness of them: that is, let pulses of the same degree be continued, or constantly repeated in the air, and on the organ, every successive moment: the Sound will not only be longer, but abundantly louder, than if only one of these pulses smote the organ, and ceased; that is, provided those pulses are repeated so quick, that the impression, made upon the organ by one pulse, does not cease, till another comes, or so quick, that several of them smite the organ, before the mind can perceive any succession, or while one idea remains unvaried in the mind, before it has time to grow old, or perish, in any degree. The reason, in both cases, is very plain; for if the impression of one pulse remains upon the organ, till another comes, the new impression being added to the old, the whole impression must be

greater. And if many pulses affect the mind, before the mind can perceive any succession, and during the time that one idea or mental impression remains unvaried in the mind, then there will be the addition of several impressions together, which must be stronger than one alone. If three sounds, or three pulses, be made upon the air and ear, in so little time, that the mind has not the least sense of succession, and they seem to be all perfectly at once; then it will be all one to the mind, as if these three sounds had been made really at once; and the sound will be as much louder than one of these sounds alone, as three, joined together, would be louder than one of them.

Coroll. 1. The shrillness of the sound of a bell arises, very much, from this cause. There is a continuance of pulses, exceedingly quick, repeated one after another, answerable to the vibrations of the metal; and perhaps one of these vibrations, singly, would not make a louder noise, than a rap with a staff, upon a piece of wood, which yet, is not the one hundredth part so loud, as the rigning of a bell.

Coroll. 2. The loudness of Thunder arises, also, very much, from hence; for the Lightning, that breaks forth from the cloud, and comes so instantaneously down to the Earth, smites the air successively, all the way. And if Sound came as quick as the light, the Sound would all seem to be together, in a moment; but because the places, from whence the Sound comes, are gradually further and further off, and so the Sound comes to us successively; but not so slow, but that the stroke of the Lightning upon the air, for a long space, seems to come to us at once. It may be, that, in the loudest claps of Thunder, if we only received the impression that the Lightning made in going one foot, and were not reached by the impression made in the rest of its course, it would not be a quarter so loud, as the report of a pistol.

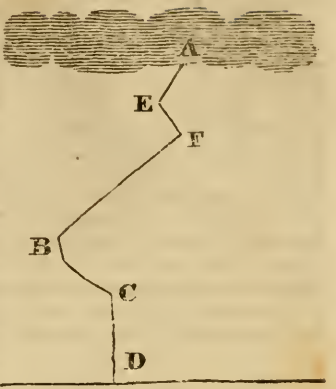
67. THUNDER. It is remarkable of Thunder, how long one part of the sound will be heard after another, when it is evident that the sound is made all in an instant, by the Lightning, which continues no longer. This arises from the length of the stream of Lightning, whereby one part is a great deal farther from us than another, so that the sound is a great while coming successively. Hence it is, that in claps of thunder, that are near us, the first noise that we hear seems to be very near the Earth, and then it seems to go further and further from us, and the last will be a murmuring up in the clouds; for although the noise that was made in the clouds, and the noise near the earth, was made together as at an instant, yet that in the clouds is much farther, and therefore is longer coming, and is a much lower sound when it sounds.

The rapid vibration of the air jars and jumbles, breaks and condenses, the bubbles of the cloud: whence it is, that, soon after hard claps of thunder, rain falls in greater plenty.

I regard Thunder as a meteor by far the most wonderful and least explicable of any whatsoever. But that we may make some approaches to the knowledge of the true nature of it, we shall lay down these following propositions.

1. The Streams of Lightning are not caused by any solid burning, or red-hot mass of matter, exploded with such swiftness as to cause it to appear as if there were one continued stream of light; nor are the effects of Lightning caused by the violent stroke of any such solid mass. For if Lightning were such a body projected, it would be projected according to the laws of projected bodies; whereas the path of the Lightning is exceedingly far from it, being very crooked and angled. If Lightning were a

solid body, projected from the cloud at A, towards E, with such a prodigious celerity, it proceeds according to the direction A, very nearly, and turns short at E in the free air, and so at F, B and C; for, when it is projected with such a prodigious force, it must also be a prodigious force, that must change the course of it so short, and not the force of the free and yielding air.—But if any should suppose, that the change of the course of the Lightning might be caused, by some very violent eruptions of fire, at these angles, where the course is changed, that gives the thunderbolt a new projection:—to this I reply, that the fiery stream of Lightning is smooth and even; but if there were any such new eruptions, they would be seen by a sudden and extraordinary expansion of the light, in those places. But what proves, that this cannot be the reason of the crookedness of the path of the Lightning, is, that, as the flash of the Lightning is repeated once or twice, however crooked and angled the path is, yet it is every time the same: a stream of Lightning darts from the clouds two or three times over, and every time exactly in the same path. And sometimes there is a continued stream, for some time, with a tremulous motion. Now if these repeated flashes were one bolt exploded after another, and the reason of the Lightning's changing its course were new eruptions of fire, how should every bolt proceed, so exactly, in the same path.—And further, the effects of Lightning, upon earthly bodies, can in no wise be accounted for, by the violent projection of a solid mass, and do plainly show that they are not produced by such a cause. There is no such effect, as is caused by the explosion of a cannon ball. It is not worth while to stand to particularize, for it is exceedingly evident that none of the effects of Lightning arise from any such cause. Nor



2. Are those streaks of Lightning caused by a vein of combustible matter's taking fire, and the fire's running from one end of the vein to the other almost instantaneously. This would not produce any of those effects, which are caused by lightning, except we should suppose that these veins enter into the hearts of trees, rocks, and metals, and bodies of animals. If it were, it would be a wonder that the lower ends of these veins never took fire from fires that are upon earth. But

3. Lightning seems to be this: An almost infinitely fine, combustible matter, that floats in the air, that takes fire by a sudden and mighty fermentation, that is some way promoted by the cool and moisture, and perhaps attraction, of the clouds. By this sudden agitation, this fine, floating matter, is driven forth with a mighty force one way or other, which ever way it is directed, by the circumstances and temperature of the circumjacent air; for cold and heat, density and rarity, moisture and dryness, has almost an infinitely strong influence upon the fine particles of matter. This fluid matter, thus projected, still fermenting to the same degree, divides the air as it goes, and every moment receives a new impulse by the continued fermentation; and as its motion received its direction, at first, from the different temperature of the air, on different sides, so its direction is changed, according to the temperature of the air it meets with, which renders the path of the lightning so crooked. The parts are so

fine, and are so vehemently urged on, that they instantaneously make their way into the pores of earthly bodies, still burning with a prodigious heat, and so instantly rarifying the rarifiable parts. Sometimes these bodies are somewhat bruised; which is chiefly by the beating of the air that is, with great violence, driven every way by the inflamed matter.

68. GRAVITY. If there be any thing, that makes us prone to seek for a farther cause of Gravity than Solidity, it is because Solidity is a quality so primary, that the very being of the thing depends on it. If we remove the idea of Solidity, there remains nothing at all; but we can conceive of something existing without thinking of gravitating at a distance. They are both of them essential and primary qualities: but there is this difference—the one is essential in order to the very existence, the other in order to the harmonious existence of body. Though Gravity itself, between the continuous parts, is necessary in order to the existence, the mind does not so intuitively see how. But Gravity is a quality more primary in these respects, and more essential than Mobility is, which none seek a reason for, or in the least question to be a primary property of matter.

69. DENSITY. PORES. A Body, which is very hard, may not have the thousandth part of the space contained within its bounds, filled with matter. though we should not suppose that the parts of the body had a particular disposition contrived for this end. We need merely suppose the primogenial atoms to be of all manner of figures, indifferently and accidentally cast together in a heap. If so, we may suppose fairly, that this heap will not be above half of it matter. Let these heaps constitute so many particles of all figures indifferently, and yet consistent and solid enough, for aught we know. Let these particles be cast together to constitute other particles, they also will leave half the space empty, even of them, so that half the space between these particles will be empty, and half within them, so that only a quarter will be full. If we suppose other particles to be made of these again, but an eighth part will he full. And by the time we have had ten such compositions we shall not have the thousandth part of the space filled.—[N. B. This has been thought of before.]

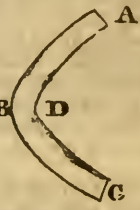
70. ELASTICITY may be explained after a yet different manner, than by the violent motion of the particles, and I forsee must be. And first I shall show, that it may be differently explained; and secondly, that although this intestine motion may be, and doubtless often is, a secondary cause of Elasticity, yet that it cannot be the first foundation of it, but that this motion itself must be explained from another Elasticity.

1. The Attraction of particles to other particles which they touch, or to which they are very near, may cause, and indeed cannot but cause, Elasticity. For if the touching particles tend exceeding strongly to each other, as is most certain they do; then, if they are in the least separated, unless so far as to be out of the strength of the attraction, they will very strongly tend to move to each other to touch again; so that, if by any force they are a little pulled asunder, if the force that holds them asunder be taken away, they will immediately with great violence rush together again, and that in most bodies, whose particles are strongly united together after such a separation, they will with great force recover themselves.

And here I would take notice of two things, that pretty much depend on each other. (1.) That the particles of a rare body, by this way of explaining their union, may be much more strongly united than a denser one; for the strength of the union consists in the opposite position of the surface of the particles to each other; but yet there may be a great many particles

in a little room, and yet the surfaces not lie opposite one to another. For matter, of the quantity of a foot cube, may be so rarified, as to be extended as big as the Universe, and yet there shall not be one hair's breadth, but what has some of that matter in it, and yet the body shall be perfectly hard, and no part of it moveable, by less than Infinite strength. For it may be drawn out, to such a fine wire, that shall be a continued, uninterrupted, absolute plenum, so folded, coiled and tangled, within itself, and running every way backwards and forwards, as that not a part of space, so big as a ray of light, shall be without some of it, and yet it shall be what we call an Atom, and the continuity or touching by planes shall be uninterrupted. (2.) That the Particles or Atoms of bodies may be condensed, or thrust one in amongst another, and yet the union of the Atoms shall not be much the stricter; because Atoms, being infinitely hard bodies, their protuberances infinitely hard, and their surfaces unalterable, they may be jammed in, one amongst another, and yet their surfaces not adhere much more strictly one to another. And further, this perfect hardness of the Atoms, may hinder their being thrust in one amongst another; but will not hinder their being pulled asunder.

Now let the body A B C D, whose particles have a firm union, be bent towards D. It is evident, either that the particles at B are pulled farther, one from another, than they were; or that the particles at D are more condensed together; or both. But, as we have said, the particles at D will not be so easily thrust nearer together, because of their stubborn nature, as the particles at B may be drawn asunder. It is also evident, that the particles at B, that are drawn asunder, by tending to come together again, will tend to pull the ends of the body back again to, and to recover it to, its former straitness: which tendency is Elasticity. And further, it is probable, by what we have said already, that if the particles at D, are thrust together, their tendency to each other will not be very much increased, so as to hold the body in its bent posture, as the particles at B tend to pull it strait. And however that is, there is no need to suppose that the particles at D are thrust nearer together; and it is probable, the constitution of firm bodies hinders it. And certainly the constitution may be such as to hinder it, much more than to hinder the pulling of bodies asunder; for it is certain that Atoms, being infinitely hard, if they touch only in their prominences, cannot be made to touch nearer, but may be drawn asunder. Wherefore it is certain, that Elasticity may be caused by this means.

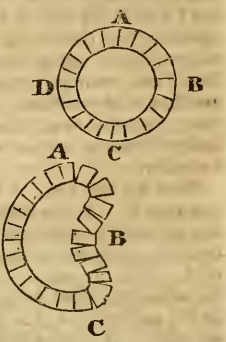


2. The second thing to be proved was, That a rapid motion cannot be the first original of Elasticity. For, if we suppose that those particles, which are shut up in a little room, are continually in a violent motion, and rebound from side to side, yet Elasticity is necessary, in order to the maintaining of the motion. Otherwise, at the first stroke against the walls of the room, it would lose all its motion. There is necessary, therefore, another Elasticity, in order to the maintaining of this motion; which, being maintained by this first original Elasticity, may, in the aforesaid manner cause Elasticity, as undoubtedly it does in the Atmosphere. Therefore, we see that its motion being increased, its elasticity is increased with it.

Here we would note, that we think no phenomena contradict what we have said of Elasticity, arising from the tendency of separate atoms, to reunion with their fellows—for instance, that of the hammer and anvil. The hammer does not thrust the atoms quite from their fellows; if they did so, a bruise would ensue; but the more it bruises, the less it rebounds. It does but just open and separate their surfaces, but not so great a distance.

but that they immediately close again, after the violence of the stroke is over. And so it is in the former instance. Though the particles of the body A B C D, at D, seem to be thrust together, yet they are not quite put out of their natural place, not so much but that their strong tendency to their fellows, immediately brings them to the same places again. If they are quite dispossessed of their places, the body will not recover itself again, as we see if the body be too much bent. So that, what alteration there is, among the particles at D, may help the Elasticity, as well as the attractions of the particles at B.

A body, whose particles are firmly united, cannot be smitten by another body, so as to make an impression upon it, but that the particles near the surface, where the impression is made, will have their surface drawn from each other. For instance, let A B C D, be the range of particles of a body, that before was round, but has an impression made by the stroke of another body at B. It is evident that the particles at B, will gape even inwards, as in the figure, and the particles at A, and C, will gape outwards; and that by their mutual attraction, they will recover themselves again, and thereby bring the body A B C D, to its former roundness; which will cast back the body that struck it, with the same celerity, as its surface at B recovers itself.

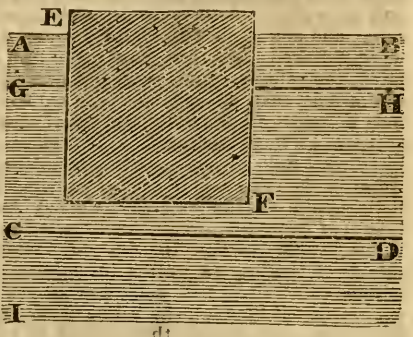


Now it is probable, that rays of light are particularly formed, by the curious hand that made them, for this Elasticity.

71. ABYSS. It is undoubted, that there is a vast Abyss of water under us, above which, the surface of the Earth is stretched forth, and on which it rests; and it must undoubtedly be heavier, than the matter of the upper shell. Undoubtedly, also, the springs and fountains are much caused, by the ascent of this water, in the chinks of the ground, streaming up by virtue of the central heat, and therefore, that there is a communication between the Abyss and the Sea. But if it be, by its own nature, heavier than the Earth, it is inconceivable how it should become lighter, when it has ascended to the surface, and is condensed in springs, and even as light as other water. And if it could be so, how should any of this water ever return to mix with the water of the Abyss again, by any communication that the sea has with it, or any of the sea water, in the room of it? For the great difference in the specific gravity, will forever hinder any mixtion or communication; and at this rate, the Abyss would in time be exhausted of its dense and heavy fluid, and filled with lighter in the room of it, or the world would be overflowed by a second Deluge.

There is no other way, therefore, than that this water, when it is in the Abyss, in consequence of pressure, is heavier than earth; but when it is upon the surface, and the pressure is removed, it becomes lighter, as other water. And when it returns there again, or the water of the sea in the room of it, it becomes as heavy as it was before: which can be no otherwise than by compression. And if water be a body, that is capable of any compression by any means, doubtless it is compressed by that prodigious force to which it is subjected, by the weight of a body, of water, of four or five hundred miles thickness, incumbent upon it. If we cannot compress water but very little, or not at all, it is certainly merely for want of strength; for all *compounded* bodies, that have not an absolute plenitude, are undoubtedly capable of compression; their particles can be squeezed

nearer together, and closer one among another, if there be but force sufficient. Especially is this true of water, which is so rare a body, so much rarer than many other bodies, which yet we know have not a plenitude, as gold and quicksilver. I doubt not, therefore, that so great a force will be enough, sufficiently to compress water. I suppose that no experiments, that have yet been tried, will prove, but that such a force is sufficient to make water five times as dense and specifically heavy, as the earth of this upper shell. And if it be so, it will be enough to support the weight of it; as we see the air here that is compressed, support many things that are a thousand times heavier than air would be, had it liberty to expand itself. And seeing this body of earth is a solid body, by this means, the surface of it may be kept above the surface of the sea, though lighter than itself; as if quicksilver and oil be put into the same vessel, and a stone thrown in, the quicksilver may keep the top of the stone, it being solid, above the surface of the oil Yea, it is possible, that although the earth is much denser than the water, in its natural state, yet, that the water by its own weight, may so compress itself, as to bear the top of a column of earth, above its surface. For instance, suppose A B C D to be a body of water, in which, is a column of earth, of equal height, E F. Let the water as far as G H, not half to the bottom, be lighter than earth, and below G H, as much heavier. It is manifest, that the column of earth, E F, will float, and the top of it be lifted above the water; because a column of the water of equal size taken together, from the top to the bottom, is heavier than the column of earth; and if the column is vastly deeper, so as to reach to I, it is all one.



But according to this hypothesis, it is manifest, that, if there be any passages or chinks in the incumbent earth, the water will ascend in them, till it is even with the surface of the sea, but no higher; so that the chinks of this upper earth, that have an outlet at the Abyss, are full of water, so far as to be even with the surface of the ocean: not with salt water; for there is no need that the water of the Abyss should be salt, because it has a communication with the sea, for the water of the sea, at a very great depth, is found not to be salt.

72. SALTNESS OF THE OCEAN. The Saltness of the Ocean will not seem a matter difficult to us, if we consider, 1. That the Earth has innumerable veins, beds, and parcels of fossil and mineral matter, that is capable of being dissolved by, and mixed with, water: 2. That, as the sea covers, and washes, and soaks so great a part of the world, it is impossible, but that a very great number of these veins and beds, should be soaked and washed by the water of the sea: 3. That some of these fossils will, of themselves, dissolve in water, and mix with it, and especially, Salt, more, perhaps, than any other: 4. That some of these particles, if they be separated, and mixed with water, will again precipitate, and the water will, in time, cleanse itself from them; but Salt will never precipitate itself, on the contrary, if it lies at the bottom of the water, it will of itself ascend, and diffuse itself all over the water, and will not afterwards

precipitate, for if it should precipitate, its nature must be changed. What else should cause that, which before ascended of itself, and diffused itself in water, now to precipitate, and separate itself from the water. And perhaps, no other particles, that are to be found in any considerable plenty in the earth, except Salt, are of such a nature, that they will, of themselves, diffuse themselves in water, and so continue, without either precipitating again, or gathering at the top, or some way separating. Other particles may do so, because they are united to particles of Salt, as the particles of Alum, and other things, that very much consist of salt particles. But yet, it is probable, that, in length of time, these foreign particles, being disengaged from the Salt, may precipitate, or ascend, and leave only pure Salt. 5. It must be considered, that Salt will, of itself, dissolve, and mix itself with water to such a degree, that the water is, as it were, satisfied; and then, how much Salt soever is thrown in, it precipitates, and refuses to mix with the water. 6. It follows, from these considerations, that, except the water of the sea be so full of Salt, that it can hold no more, all the Salt, that ever happens to mix with the water of the sea, will be there retained. 7. It follows, that, if the water be not saturated with Salt, or has not as many salt particles as it can retain, that the water of the sea could never yet come at Salt enough, to saturate it; and that, though all the Salt that the sea washes, and all the salt particles that ever were in any way carried into the sea, are now combined with the water of the sea, yet, there is not enough to saturate it, inasmuch as it retains all that it gets, until it be satisfied. 8. It may be considered, that, besides the Salt, which is diffused in the sea, from those beds which the sea washes, it holds all the saline particles, that are carried into it by all the rivers; and, though they should be but few in a little time, yet, because the sea discharges itself of them no more, but the water, when it returns, by exhalation or otherwise, leaves them behind, coming forth perfectly fresh, in whole ages, the rivers would carry in enough to make the sea salt. For there are a multitude of salt particles in the upper mould of the earth, as appears, in that plants have so much Salt in their constitution. And the rivers must needs bring a multitude of these: especially, in times that they overflow their banks, great quantities must be carried into the rivers by rains, and the melting of snows: so that, it is impossible, but that the Sea, in process of time, should be salt.

73. EXHALATIONS. Relating to No. 57. I do not know whether any other liquid is exhaled after this manner. Oil, we know, may be exhaled, though very difficultly and slowly; and whether it be by bubbles I cannot tell. I believe that nothing but what is liquid is exhaled, or caused by heat, or the sunbeams, to ascend in the Atmosphere after this manner, by being rarified so as to be buoyed up by the mere weight of the Atmosphere; because the properties of a liquid body seem necessary to such a rarefaction. For, in order to the being capable of such a rarefaction by the sunbeams, it is necessary that the body should easily receive the impression of rays, to diffuse it abroad or to expand its parts: and yet the parts must so cling one to another as totally to exclude the circumjacent air from filling the places that were left empty by that expansion. For, how much soever the parts are expanded, yet if air comes in between the scattered parts, there will not be less matter or weight within its bounds, than in a like quantity of the rest of the air, and so the rarified body would not ascend in the air.

And yet I am very far from thinking, that there are none but liquid exhalations, or that no bodies are caused to ascend into the air by the sunbeams, but liquids, or that liquids are the vehicles to all exhalations. I be-

lieve that particles of every kind are caused, by the sunbeams, to diffuse themselves all over the Atmosphere, after the same manner as odours are diffused, and those constituent parts of the Atmosphere, which we spake of when treating of the Atmosphere. (See No. 56.) And it is easy to conceive, that many of those particles, when a sufficient number of them happen to get together, should be capable of creating heat after the same manner as the particles of the Sun, and to any degree of intenseness, and with any degree of suddenness.

74. CLOUDS. I think I have not seen it explained, with respect to the clouds, why they are terminated by such even and distinct bounds; especially in those clouds that we call Thunder-clouds. The clouds are nothing else but vapours, that are drawn up from all parts of the sea and earth, and, one would think, should be scattered every where in the air indiscriminately, so as to thicken the whole upper region of the air. Or, if the air were thickened by them in one place more than in another, because a greater number of vapours are drawn up from some parts of the earth than others; yet, as they fly loose in the air, one would think they should be terminated very gradually, growing thinner and thinner by little and little, till at last it should be so thin that it could not be discovered. But, instead of that, we see the clouds terminated by very distinct surfaces and bounds. They are extended thus far, and then cease at once, and all beyond is clear air. Sometimes indeed, the air is thus universally thickened, as when Halos or Parhelions appear; but afterwards these vapours gather into distinct heaps and thick clouds.

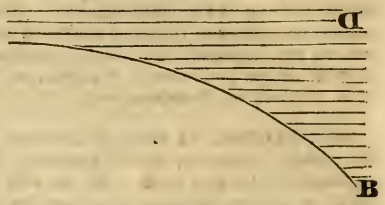
I do not know, that this can be explained any other way, than by the mutual attraction of the parts of the vapour, that they thus run together, and make such distinct heaps. The only difficulty is, How, according to the laws and just proportion of attraction, the attraction of such exceedingly small parcels of matter to each other, should be great enough to explain this. To this I answer, That the attraction need to be but exceedingly small, to make these parcels to draw nearer and nearer together, so fast as is needful to suppose they do, when they hang so free in the air, when the air is so thin, and they so high, and their mutual attraction is so little hindered by the attraction of other bodies. If we suppose that two bubbles, that are at the distance of an hundredth part of an inch, move so fast towards each other, as to get together in three, four, five or six hours, it will be enough.

When there is a very still and calm air, and the vapours are ascended very high, whence they are more at liberty, we see them collected into parcels nearly of an equal bigness, and at an equal distance; so that the heavens appear checquered with them. This is the very natural effect of this mutual attraction. After the same manner, when we breathe upon glass; though at first the vapour is every where equally spread over the glass; yet the particles, by their mutual attraction, presently run into such like parcels.

75. RAIN. The reason why the winds, that blow from the coasts, bring rain, is not merely because they are more impregnated with watery vapours; for such winds will thicken the air with clouds, in regions very remote from the sea, as soon as they begin to blow, before they can possibly bring any vapours so far. And besides, if that were the only reason, it would always rain in the midst of the ocean. But the reason seems to be this: When the wind blows from the sea, towards the mediterranean regions, the stream of the air is *up hill*, so as it is when the wind passes over

a mountain. The vapours are suddenly lifted so high by the wind, that the air is too thin to support them. You may see the reason of it plainly thus:

When the air is in equilibro on the continent, A B, the strata of air lie thus parallel, as C D. So that when the wind blows from B, the sea coast, towards A, the midland, the vapours are carried continually, from a lower and more dense medium, to a higher and thinner, and at length to one that is too thin to support them. But as the contrary, occurs when the wind blows from A to B, the vapours are not all hoisted, but carried into a thicker region, that is better able to support them, and then it is fair weather.



76. WINTER. The reason, why there are more frequent and violent winds in winter than in summer, is, because the air by reason of cold being more dense, hangs together, and does not give way but in a body.

Winters are very useful upon this account, that the frost loosens the soil every year, which otherwise would bake down very hard.

77. ICE. COLD. Those Nitrous particles, that are said to be thrust into the water, in the process of freezing, do not keep themselves immoveable after the manner of wedges, by filling up the spaces between, so that they shall not have room to play and move freely among themselves; for this hypothesis still leaves the matter inexplicable. For 1. It is inexplicable how these wedges should thrust themselves in so fast, into a heap of particles so exceedingly moveable, that they cannot be stirred at all: how these wedges should be of so happy a shape, and should so happily, each of them, find a vacuity among the vacuities of the water, exactly accommodated to their shape, as to completely fill them up, so that of all these little rolling slippery particles none can stir at all, insomuch that that, which was before a liquid body, shall not only be made something more solid like clay, but should be so hard, as not to give way without breaking. Let us suppose, for the easiness of conceiving, that the particles of water were as big as peas. Let the frigid particles be as big in proportion, but otherwise having all the same qualities. Let a multitude of freezing particles be hovering in the air, over this heap of globules. It is very probable that many of them would get in among the globules, so that perhaps they would not slip, and roll one over another, so easily for it. But it is inconceivable how these Nitrous particles, being hard, should so be accommodated to the angled vacuities, that all the vacuities should be so filled, that the heap of globules should be so hard as to bear a great weight, a hard shock, without any impression being made upon it. But it would be yet more strange if it was evident, that there was more vacuity, now, in the heap of globules, than before, and yet none of the globules should have room to stir; which yet is certainly the case in water, as all know, ice being lighter than water.

But this matter of freezing may be easily solved, from the certain principles foregoing, of the strong attraction of particles, one to another. Wherefore, to solve the matter, we shall first lay down the following axioms.

Ax. 1. Since particles of matter tend to each other, as we have shown, it is evident, that every part of the surface of one particle, tends to touch

the surface of another near it, and would touch it, if it were not hindered by protuberances, or otherwise.

Ax. 2. Therefore, if a particle that is near to another particle, be flexible, so that it can accommodate its figure and surface to the surface of the particle attracting it; it will, by so accommodating itself, and being thereby brought abundantly nearer, and approaching it in innumerable points, if it be denser, according to the foregoing principles, cleave exceeding fast to it, and will not be easily separated from it.

Ax. 3. If one of these flexible particles lies between two or more particles, it will, for the same reason, accommodate itself to all their surfaces; and, filling up the vacuity, if it be not too big, will cleave fast to them all, and they all will cleave fast to that. However easily separable they were before, yet now, they will all be held together by this. And if the vacuity be too big, what one particle can't do, two or more can.

Ax. 4. If many of these particles were dispersed in the vacuities of a mass of particles, otherwise moveable, they would hold the whole immoveable, one against another.

Ax. 5. And if these particles are not flexible, with such a flexibleness as that of leather, and other bodies that are elastic, and are easily capable of stretching, and compression, as well as impression; but with such a flexibleness as that of clay—a dead flexibility, without being capable of rarefaction, compression, or elasticity; the mass of particlest hat are congealed by it, will be hard, and not elastic.

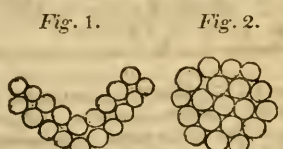
Ax. 6. These particles will be capable of entering the smallest pores; for the same quality that capacitates them to accommodate themselves to the surfaces of bodies, makes them capable of being accommodated to pores of any figure or dimensions.

Ax. 7. If many of these particles, being of such a flexible nature, are hovering over an heap of very smooth particles, they will be drawn into their vacuities, by the attraction of those particles, after the same manner as, and for the same reason as, water of itself ascends, and is drawn into very small glass tubes.

Ax. 8. However flexible these bodies may be, by their own attraction to their own centers, to one another, or to other particles; yet, they may be so dense, and their attraction so great, that a considerable mass of particles, congealed by them, shall be very hard, because the figure cannot be changed, or an impression made, without stirring the whole mass that is contiguous, and so contradicting the strong attraction of a multitude of these particles.

And after this manner, I suppose Ice is made; and the only thing that remains to be explained, is—How the freezing, which fills up so many of its pores, should yet make it lighter, or more rare? Which will not be difficult, from the same principles. For according to these principles, it is not at all probable, that the mass of water should be all congealed at once, in one instant, so that every pore will be filled up with them at once; but that, as these particles gradually work into the water, they will be laid hold of, and locked together by parcels, as thecongealing particles get in, till at length, the whole mass is made fast. The mass is stiffened by parcels; which parcels, being made hard and stubborn, will not accommodate themselves to the vacuities that shall be made by the invincible drawing of particles out of their seats, by these frigid atoms: whereby, a multitude of vacuities will unavoidably be made. Supposing a parcel of particles, consisting of nineteen, should be catched, and fastened as they lie in this form, Fig. 1. It is evi-

Fig. 1. *Fig.* 2.



dent, that, by the force of the attraction of the particles, that are between in their pores, these frigid particles being supposed to be flexible and pliable, they will be drawn into such a figure as this, Fig. 2; and this may be done, with invincible force.

And by this means, vacuities will be left in the places from whence these particles were drawn, except other particles of water come in their room. But perhaps the particles in the neighbourhood, are stiffening together at the same time; and, instead of coming to fill up the vacuities, made by the congealing of this parcel, they are drawn farther off themselves, and make the vacuity greater. Besides, the slides of the parcel, as it conforms itself to the figure, (Fig. 2.) will unavoidably thrust out the neighbouring particles, from their places, which, perhaps, are congealed together into stiff parcels. Wherefore, this thrusting must necessarily cause vacuities in another direction, by displacing of these new inflexible parcels of water, which cause the like displacing through the whole mass, as far as particles are contiguous.

Let us still represent the matter in a larger figure, for clearer illustration. Let us suppose the vessel A B C D, (Fig. 3.) full of particles of water, into which the particles of cold getting, glue them together, by parcels, of all manner of irregular figures, and magnitudes: but let us suppose for the present, that there are seven in a parcel, and that the parcels be those which we have marked out by the crooked lines, connecting them. It is all one, as to the room they take up, let them be taken in any other figure whatever. It is evident that they will be drawn into this form,

Fig. 3.

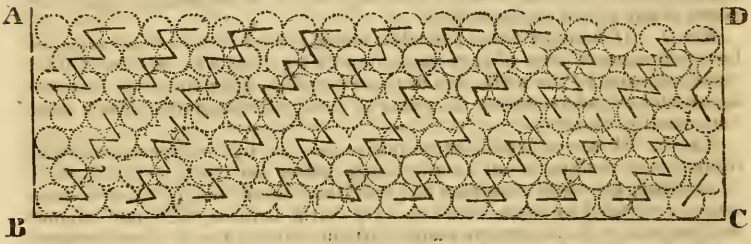
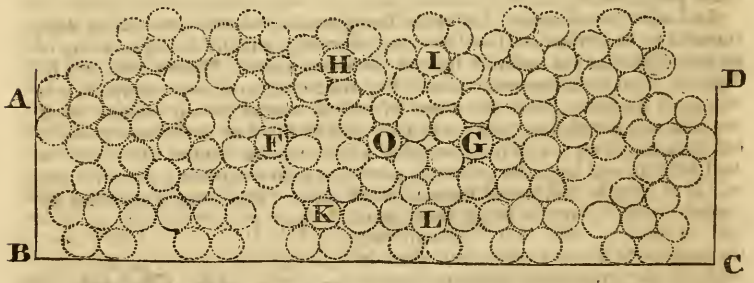


Fig. 4.



(Fig. 4.) and that they cannot lie in such a form, without far greater vacuities than before, and that, when they are brought in this form, the surface of the water must be considerably lifted above the brim of the vessel, A B C D, and the water will take up much more room than before, let

them lie as close as their figures will allow of. These vacuities will be greater or less, *ceteris paribus*, according as the parcels congealed, are greater or less.

Now it is very evident, from the foregoing principles, that many of these parcels may be drawn into one, and often will, as we see many bubbles upon the surface of water, run into one. For instance, the gluing particles that hold together the parcel O, (Fig 4.) may happen to catch hold of the parcel G, or F, and thereby they will be drawn into one. This will be, especially upon an increase of cold, or the incursion of a great plenty of these particles; for whereas there were then no more particles than enough to hold the distinct parcels together, a greater plenty, by filling up the vacuities, will so glue them together, as to make them run one into another.

Now it is certain, that, however hard ice is, and its parts immoveable, yet an increase of cold does make an alteration in the disposition of its parts; for it makes ice swell and rise up like boiling water, and the parts separate, and make innumerable air holes. And it is also certain, that this running of several congealed parts into one, according to these principles, would cause ice to swell, and take up more room. If the parcels F, G, and O, should run into one, and together form themselves into a globular figure, this could not be, without thrusting the parcels H, and I, higher. Nor would the matter be made up by the subsiding of other parts; for the whole is too stiff and stubborn, for some parts to come in the room of others that are moved.

It will also follow, naturally and necessarily, from the same principles, that a great increase of cold will cause cracks in the ice; for suppose the parcels H, I, K, L, and O, by an increase of frigorifick particles, are drawn into one parcel; It is evident this cannot be, without thrusting F, and G, and the parts on each side, farther asunder. And if there be the force of many such parcels united, near together, or in a range, we may suppose the strength will be sufficient to make a crack in the ice.

From the same principles, it is evident that, if the congealing matter get among particles that are so fixed, that they cannot be drawn out of the order that they lie in, it will condense them, and draw them within closer bounds; for drawing together, it is evident is the genuine effect of them, and that expanding and rarifying is accidental, and is caused only by changing the order and texture of the particles. By drawing together, therefore, where there is this drawing together without changing of order, there will be condensing without rarifying: so it is well known, that hard bodies shrink by cold.

And seeing the natural and genuine effect of this frigorifick matter is to draw particles together; and rarifying is only accidentally caused by change in position; it is evident, that if those particles find water already far more rarifying, and its particles more scattered, than such a position would require, as in clouds and vapours, it will condense them, or draw the particles together.

Cold's making hard bodies brittle is also easily explained, on the same principles. It is evidently done by taking away their elasticity. Before they would bend and not break, because the particles were not so immoveable among themselves, but what, when the body was bent, they could move somewhat out of their places to avoid a total separation of one part from another, so that there should be no crack. But these particles, getting in, lock them so fast together, that they are immoveable.

Though there seems to be a necessity of supposing some such frigorifick particles, in order to explain the freezing of Water; yet there appears no manner of need of it at all, in order to explain the consolidating

of Wax or Tallow; for their particles seem to be of such a figure, that they tend of themselves to stick together, and that it is only the active particles of heat, that keeps them from adhering one to another, as in metals, and in stones, sand, and ashes, which are all capable of liquefaction. But if the particles of water are as apt to cleave together, as those of wax, they will need as much heat to keep them asunder. But if not so much, why do they cleave so much more strongly, when they cleave at all. And yet, without doubt, these frigorifick particles cause wax and tallow to be more solid than they would be of themselves.

From the foregoing principles, I think it is easy to account for that painful sensation that is caused in us, which we call *cold*; for it is necessary that these particles should bind the fluids of the body, and interrupt the motions of the blood, and animal spirits; which will contract, strain, and pinch up the vessels, the veins and nerves, and most especially the capillary ones.

For this reason, Water is not so transparent when frozen, and Fat when consolidated with cold, because the particles are so drawn together as to have vacuities.

It is also easy and natural to suppose, that those exceedingly active particles, which cause Heat, should disengage those frigorific particles from others, to which they cleave, and thereby set them at liberty again.

78. ATMOSPHERE, ITS QUALITIES. That different quality of the air in some particular regions or towns, at particular times, that sometimes causes some mortal distemper to rage in such a place, that is not a contagious or catching distemper, when other places, not far off, are free, though the winds every day pass over them, that remove the whole air out of those towns, a great many times in a day, and scatter it to many other places; may arise from noxious, poisonous vapours and steams, that are breathed out at, or near, such places, from the subterraneous caverns of the Earth, through the various vents and breathing places, that are every where in the upper shell of the Earth, such as springs, and wells, and other unseen chasms. In the time of earthquakes they say they can smell sulphur; which must be by the steam of it coming up through these secret vents.

79. SUN. The Sun appears to me, to be a Liquid Body, at least at its surface, and to a great depth, for three reasons:

1. That disposition of parts seems to me to be abundantly the most commodious, for the generation and preservation of that most prodigious intestine motion of its parts, which is the cause of so great light and heat. If it be a hard, solid body, then most of its parts are fixed, and move not, and so partake of no intestine motion. We do not see fire generated spontaneously, and of itself, in such hard, solid bodies as iron and stones; but either in fine powders or liquids; whose parts lie loose and are easily put into a violent motion, and are preserved therein the same way that it was generated. If the Sun be a solid body, like stone or iron, and all these particles, in which is this violent intestine motion, in its pores; they would not have fair play.

2. I suppose that those alterations, which are observed in the surface of the Sun, by the aid of the Telescope, do not so well agree with a body, whose parts are solid and immoveable, as with a body that has all its parts lying loose.

3. Because we know of no substance, but what would immediately become liquid, with such a degree of heat. We see nothing, but what would melt with a thousand times less degree of heat, and with heat far less sub-

tile and penetrating. We see nothing, but what will dissolve, and its parts loose one from another, by little and little, with a slow fire. What strange sort of body therefore must that be, which will endure such a degree of heat, so many ages, and not be dissolved.

It may seem strange, that the light of the Sun, which we suppose to be nothing but the light of a great fire, should be so exceedingly different from the light of all fires upon Earth, that is so much brighter and whiter. This may be explained as follows:

1. As to its great brightness, it is nothing but what naturally results from the bigness of the Sun, and that in two ways: (1.) The fire being so big, will naturally and necessarily cause every part of this fire to be immensely hotter and brighter, than otherwise it would be. If a foot square of the Sun be very hot of itself, it will be immensely hotter when it is encompassed, on every side, with the same degree of heat, for many thousands of miles. It is certain, that all the circumjacent parts of the fire add heat to it inversely, according to the square of the distance; and so make it brighter, as well as hotter. It is evident that, if a space in the Sun, of a foot square, be filled with particles, that are very violently agitated in themselves, yet, if to this agitation, there be added the heat of many thousands of miles of a circumjacent fire, they will be more agitated, and therefore these particles, that are sent out, will leap forth so much the more briskly; that is, the light and heat will be so much the greater. (2.) What will naturally exceedingly promote the light and heat, is, the prodigious presence of the Sun's Atmosphere, which is incomparably greater than that of the Earth's Atmosphere. And however the Atmosphere next the Sun be very rare, by means of the prodigious heat, to rarify it; yet, the *Renixus* is never the less for that, if action and reaction are equal. We know that the *renixus* of the Air promotes light and heat: thus we see that fire is extinguished by the withdrawing of air.

2. As to the Whitness of the Sun's light, Sir Isaac Newton has demonstrated, that it consists in a proportionate mixture of rays of all colours. And from what has before been said, Redness and Yellowness are caused by the rays being of greater bulk. And we see that the light of culinary fires and of candles is reddish and yellowish, consisting mostly of the bigger sort of rays. And seeing the Sun's rays are white, it must be because there is a greater proportion of blue and green. And this also will be the natural effect of the prodigious bulk and greater heat of the Sun. The more violent the agitation and repercussion of the particles is, the more effectually will their parts be separated and their rays made fine. We know that this does whiten rays, from experience; for the more glowing and hot a fire is, the more white is its light. But there will ensue no manner of difficulty, if we suppose that the particles of the Sun were made at first fine, and the rays therefore whiter. We see brimstone burns blue, and coals red: and why may there not be a body, that has a mixture of both, to cause white.

The interior parts of the Sun are compressed with immense force, by the parts incumbent: incomparably more than the interior parts of the Earth, by the incumbent Earth; for the quantity of incumbent matter is supposed to be at least 600,000 times greater, and the incumbent weight has its full force upon the parts subjected, being kept loose and fluid, by the heat. The interior particles of the Sun being therefore pressed together, with such prodigious violence, we may suppose, will be ground all to pieces, into particles of the first kind, until the particles are so hard and solid, that so great a force can break them no more:—doubtless as fine

and as solid as the particles of fire and rays of light can be supposed to be:—and perhaps therefore, every way of the same sort, and fitted for the same motions, and to produce the same effects. By their being made so fine, and pressed together with such violence, they must needs, to the utmost, be exposed to each other's force, whether attracting or propelling: whence will arise a vehement conflict, and a fermenting and agitation, sufficiently violent, will ensue, to make that prodigious heat and light, and will be constantly preserved by the same pressure. And from the Rays being so exceedingly fine, it may arise that the light of the Sun is white. We many ways find, that even the interior parts of the Earth do diffuse a heat, though not sufficient in such wise to dissolve and inflame the whole globe; but it may be because the pressure is not sufficient, that the Planets are not globes of fire as well as the Fixed Stars.

30. LIGHT. The rays of Light, however small, may yet be so compounded, of lesser Atoms, as that they may be very elastic bodies; and yet be so contrived, as by that gravity, which is universal to them and all bodies, they may run together, with celerity sufficient to cause their Reflexion to be so rapid as is found.

39. COLOURS. We have already supposed that the different Refrangibility of rays arises from their different bulk. We have also supposed that they are very elastic bodies. From these suppositions the Colours of natural bodies may be accounted for: that is, Why some particles of matter reflect such a sort or such sorts of rays, and no other. The different density of particles, whence arises a different attraction, together with their different firmness, will account for all. Some bodies have so little of firmness, and so easily give way, that they are able to resist the stroke of no rays, but the least and weakest and most reflexible rays. All the other rays, that are bigger, and therefore their force not so easily resisted, overcome the resistance of the particles that stand in their way. Such bodies, therefore, appear blue, as the atmosphere, the sky, smoke, etc. Again, it is known that the most refrangible rays are most easily attracted, that is are most easily stopped and diverted by attraction. For, as has been already shown, Refraction and Reflection from concave surfaces is by attraction. Because, therefore, the most refrangibile rays are most diverted by Refraction, and easiest reflected inward from a concave surface, and most diverted by passing by the edges of bodies, it follows that attraction has most influence on the most refrangible rays.

It is also evident that the particles of bodies, that are the most dense, have the strongest attraction. The particles of any body, therefore, may be so dense, and attract so strongly, as to hold fast all the lesser and more refrangible rays, so that they shall none of them be reflected, but only the greater rays, on which the attraction of these particles can have less influence. Hereby the body will become Red.

And as for the intermediate colours, the particles of a body may be so dense, as to hold all the most refrangible rays, and may not be firm enough to resist the stroke of the least refrangible. Hereby the body may become yellow, or green, or of any other intermediate colour.

Or a body may be coloured by the reflection of a mixture of rays. The particles of the body may be able to reflect three or four sorts of rays, and have too strong an attraction to reflect those rays that are less, and too weak a resistance to reflect the bigger rays. Or the colour of a body may be compounded of reflected rays, of very different degrees of refrangibility, and not reflect any of the intermediate colours, by reason of its being compounded of very heterogeneous particles, which have very different de-

grees of density and firmness.—Or the particles of a body may be firm enough to reflect all sorts of rays, and yet have so little attraction to hold them that the body will be white. Or a body may be compounded of particles having so little resistance as to reflect no rays, or of so great density as to hold all, or so full of pores as to drink in all. Then the body is black. Or the particles of bodies may have pores and hollows, that may be big enough to let in the least rays, but not the rest; so that the pores of particles may have much to do in the causing of colours.

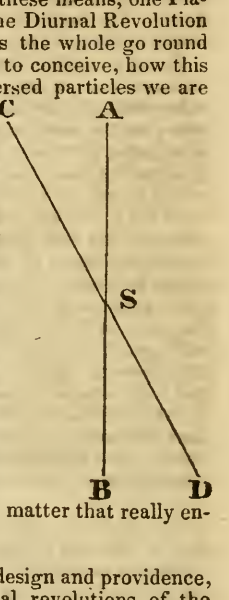
The Blue of Mountains, at a distance, is not made by any rays reflected from the mountains, but from the air and vapours that are between us and them. The mountain occasions the blueness, *by intercepting all rays*, that would come from beyond to disturb that colour by their mixture.

It may therefore seem a difficulty, why the Atmosphere all round by the horizon, does not appear very blue; seeing it is evident that the Atmosphere reflects chiefly the blue rays, as appears in the higher parts of the Atmosphere by the blueness of the sky, and near the Earth by the blueness of mountains, and the redness or yellowness of the rising and setting Sun. It should therefore seem that the Atmosphere should appear most blue, where no rays are intercepted by mountains; because the Atmosphere beyond the mountain reflects the rays as well as on this side. Therefore it seems at first that there would be more blue rays come to eyes, where none were intercepted by mountains, and consequently that the most lively blue would be there. And so it would be, if blue rays came to our eyes in the same proportion that they are reflected. But most of those blue rays, that are reflected by those parts of the Atmosphere, that are at a very great distance, are intercepted by the intermediate air, before they come to our eyes; (for the air by supposition intercepts them easiest;) and only those few yellow rays and less reflexible rays, that are reflected by the air, come to our eyes; whence it comes to pass that the Atmosphere near the horizon, does not appear blue, but of a whitish yellow; and sometimes, when it is filled with more dense exhalations, that can reflect less reflexible rays, still, it appears a little reddish.

82. HALO. The reason why there commonly is a Circle, about the Sun or Moon, a little before falling weather, and not at other times, is, because the cavities of the bubbles, when preparing for rain, are lessened, the internal air losing its agitation and heat, and thereby, the skin is necessarily made thicker; from whence it necessarily follows, that a greater proportion of rays will be refracted. When the skin is very thin, there are but very few rays, but what go twice through the skin; but we have shown that only those, that do not go through it at all, are the rays that constitute the circle.

83. LENS ABOUT THE SUN. That vast Lenticular Haze, or Mist, which appears about the body of the Sun, seems to me probable to arise thus. The Effluvia, that are carried off from the opaque bodies of the Solar System, and especially the Comets, by their being carried beyond the attractions of the globes they proceed from, come at length under the government of the Sun's attraction; and so these particles, by virtue of the force impressed upon them, while they adhered to the globes they came from, conjunctly with that that carried them off, proceed to revolve about the Sun. And their motion being gradually lessened, by the resistance of the Ether, their orbits are gradually contracted, and they gather up about the Sun, though their motion is retarded so gradually, that it is a long time before they come quite down to the Sun's body. And the reason, why the planes of most of their orbits are in, or near, the plane

of the Zodiac, is this: for although the planes of the orbits of the Comets, cut the plane of the Zodiac, at all angles, indifferently, so that we suppose, that the planes of the orbits of these Effluvia, are at first inclined to the plane of the Zodiac, at all angles, indifferently; yet, they become less and less inclined to it, by means of the motion of the Ether, which gradually destroys that inclination. For the Planets, by their continual revolutions, drive and draw the etherial matter round, with a motion parallel to theirs. For one Planet, by means of its attractions, and by means of the repelling nature of the particles of Ether, whereby like the air, they repel, and keep at a distance from, one another; I say, by these means, one Planet moves a vast mass of the Etherial matter, and the Diurnal Revolution of the Sun, also conspiring with the Planets, makes the whole go round in a vortex, parallel to the Zodiac. And it is easy to conceive, how this should gradually bring the revolutions of the dispersed particles we are speaking of, nearer and nearer to the plane of the Zodiac. Let A B be the plane of the Ecliptic. Let C D be the plane that one of these particles first begins to revolve in, about S the Sun. It is plain, that the Etherial matter, turning round every where parallel to A B, when the particle is in the part of its orbit towards D, will hinder its going as far off from A B, that is, from the plane of the Zodiac, as it did before, and will a little impel it towards B; and so, when it comes to that part of its orbit about C, it will impel it a little nearer to A; and so will continually make its revolution to be nearer the Zodiac.



These things I suppose are certain, about this Misty Lens: 1st. That it is not any reflexion or refraction of the Atmosphere; because, when it appears, before the Sun rises, or after it sets, it does not always appear perpendicular to the horizon, but always according to the Zodiac; therefore, 2d. That it must be a reflection of the Sun's light, from some matter that really encompasses the body of the Sun.

84. MOON. There is a very evident token of design and providence, in the exact adjusting of the diurnal and periodical revolutions of the Moon. For, although the figure of the Moon is somewhat oval, so that that diameter of the Moon, which, if prolonged, passes through the Earth's centre, is a little longer than the other diameter, that is perpendicular to it, by about 187 feet; so that the attraction of the Earth, by this means, would preserve this exact equality, notwithstanding very small disturbances; yet except the forces, that first gave the Moon these revolutions, had been very exactly equable, this small inequality of the diameters would in no wise have kept the same face of the Moon turned towards us; nor would it ever have reduced the revolutions nearer to an equality, than they were at first. For, except the disproportion had been infinitely small, it would have been sufficient to turn the Moon, so that every side should be turned towards us: and the diurnal revolution would have been accelerated, every time the longer axis of the Spheroid began to be turned towards the Earth, so as to point to it, and retarded when it turned from it. Though this exact equality of these two motions, be of no great use to us, as we know of; yet, probably, it is of great use to them; for if, in its revolutions, all sides of the Moon were turned to the Earth, the seas, if there be any, would be raised 97 feet high; which Tide would probably be very destructive to the surface of that planet.

The Moon's Atmosphere is so very thin, that, in their long days, they might not be too hot: so thin a fluid not supplying matter adapted to those agitations and vehement motions, which is heat.

85. YEAR. The wisdom of God appears, in making the Year of such a length; because, if the year were much shorter, there would be very little of a regular distinction of seasons, by cold and heat. Before the air and earth would have lost the heat of the summer Sun, the Sun would be in the Tropic of Capricorn; and before we should have got over the cold of the Sun's absence in winter, the Sun would be again over our heads, and the seasons would be confounded.

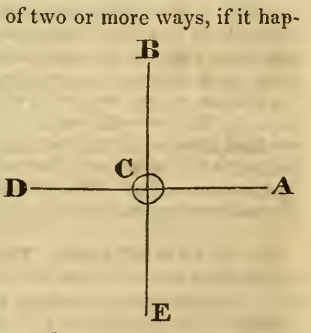
86. COMETS. The use of Comets seems to be, by their effluvia, which go off in their tails continually, but especially in their perihelion, to feed the Sun with matter, suitable to be converted into rays of light, to repair the waste of such particles, by the vast diffusion of light which it daily emits. They are sent out of the atmosphere of the Comet, not as rising by the weight of their circumambient Ether; for it has been demonstrated to be so small, and so near to nothing, that it is not supposable, that it can be by any such means; but by the force or attraction of the emitted rays of the Sun, which, passing through the atmosphere of the comets, by their attraction, draw after them, continually, those particles, of which the tail is made up. The rays, that pass by very near them, act upon them by their attraction, and set them into a motion from the Sun, and parallel to the motion of the emitted rays of the Sun. There is no matter, by this means, sent out of the atmosphere into the tail, but that which is most suitable to be the aliment of the Sun, and to be converted into rays of light; for the rays of light attract that matter, that is of their own nature, and suitable to be turned into particles of light, or fire, immensely more strongly than others, as appears, by the action of particles of light, or fire, upon natural bodies, in setting them on fire. Their action is, at first, on those particles in the natural body, that are of the same kind, or fit to become particles of fire, and, by this attraction of extrinsic rays, those within are set in motion, whereby the body is set on fire. And thus, by the powerful action of those particles, one on another, there arises that most rapid and vehement motion of them in fire, and causes them to leap forth, with such immense celerity, as to come from the Sun hither in a few minutes. This strong action of these particles, one on another, probably arises from their being immensely denser than other particles.

87. FIXED STARS. The motion of the Fixed Stars backwards in the Ecliptick, if it be not real, but be caused by any motion in the Earth, must necessarily be caused by a motion of the poles of the Earth round the poles of the Ecliptick, in a circle equal to the Polar Circles. For it is most certain, if this motion is in all the Fixed Stars, in circles parallel to the Ecliptick, that then the Polar Star itself moves round the Pole of the Ecliptick in a circle equal to the Polar. But seeing the Pole Star itself stirs not, the apparent motion of it, from the Pole of the Earth, must be by the motion of the Pole. For either the Pole moves, or the Star moves, it is certain. Besides, it is certain, if the plane of the Equator moves, the Poles move. But if the points of intersection that this plane makes with the plane of the Ecliptick, move, the plane itself moves, if the Ecliptick itself move not. And the motion must be such as to cause the Poles to move round the Pole of the Ecliptick. In such a manner and sense, in the Ecliptick, the Fixed Stars move a degree in 70 years. It follows that the Pole of the Earth will move quite round this circle in 25,200 years.

From hence it is certain, if the Fixed Stars move not, that the Earth has two rotations upon two different Axes:—one a Diurnal, upon the Axis that runs from the North to the South Pole; another, that is performed in 25,200 years, upon the Axis that runs from one Pole of the Ecliptick to the other, the last being about a mile in a year, under the Ecliptick, being perhaps about as fast as a snail would crawl, and might possibly be caused by some Comet passing by the Earth in the plane of the Ecliptick. Now there would be exactly such a rotation upon the Axis of the Ecliptick, by a Comet's coming near the Earth, if in the plane of the Ecliptick, in its descent towards the Sun; for the Earth would be stretched somewhat into an Oblong Spheroid, in such a case; and as the comet went along, it is evident, that that end of the Spheroid that was next to it, would, in some measure, follow it or be drawn after it, which would beget just such a motion.

88. ATOMS. It is certain that, when God first created Matter, or the various Chaoses of Atoms, besides creating the Atoms and giving the whole Chaos its motion, he designed the figure and shape of every Atom, and likewise their places; which doubtless was done with infinite wisdom, and with an eye to what should follow from the particular bulk, figure and place of every Atom; and this be so ordered that, without doing any thing more, the Chaoses of themselves, according to the established Laws of Matter, were brought into these various and excellent forms, adapted to every of God's ends, excepting the more excellent works of plants and animals, which it was proper and fit God should have an immediate hand in. So the Atoms of one Chaos were created in such places, of such magnitudes and figures, that the Laws of Nature brought them into this form, fit, in every regard, for them who were to be the inhabitants.

AXIOMS. 1. If a thing is to come one of two or more ways, if it happen in one of those ways, and not in another, it will be because there is some reason why it should happen this way, and not another. And in things that have happened, there is some reason, why they have happened this way more than another. For instance, I say it is evident, that if the body C be at rest, but is to move either towards A, or B, or D, or E, if it move towards E, it will be because there is some reason why it should move towards E, more than why it should move towards A, B, or D.



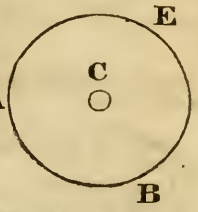
2. Which necessarily follows from the former; when there is an equal reason, why the thing should be, or happen each of the supposed ways, and it cannot be all, it will be neither. If it can be proved that there is equal reason why the body C should move towards either A, B, D, or E, it will move towards neither of them.

3. The same force will equally separate all bodies, or parts of bodies, conjoined with equal strictness, *ceteris paribus*,—This to prove that it holds in all Atoms.

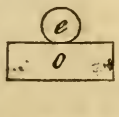
4. Nothing produces Any thing where it is not. There is no need of inserting the word *immediately* here; for in the sense of this Axiom, that only, which *immediately* does a thing, properly does it. For instance, when one body is thrown against another, and causes that other body to move; in the sense of this Axiom, it was the body that was thrown, that

moved the other, and not the man that threw it. The Axiom is evident, because it is a contradiction to suppose that the body acts where it is not, or to say that it exerts itself, where itself is not. It is evident that, if a body be not in such a space, that it is all one with respect to that space, as if it had no existence at all.

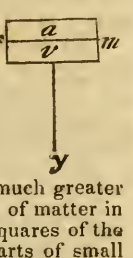
5 Wherefore, if a body is placed alone in a space, as for instance, the body C, in the midst of the space A B E, there being no other corporeal being in that space; if this body be at rest, and afterwards it begins to move, it is manifest that it is not moved by any corporeal being, but by a being not corporeal. Or if the body C be held at rest, so that it cannot be moved, it is evident it is held there by an incorporeal being.



6. For the same reason, if the two bodies *e*, and *o*, touching each other, be touched by no other body, if the body *e*, be held to the body *o*, so that it cannot be moved away from it, it is evident that it is held there by an incorporeal being; for the body *o*, cannot possibly act upon the body *e*, so as to hinder it from moving away; for by Axiom 4, the body *o* does not act where it is not; but the body *o*, *is*, no further than its surface is.



And the case will be the same, let the bodies touch in one point, or in more, or by lines or surfaces; as the bodies *a*, and *v*. If *v* cannot be moved towards *y*, it must be an incorporeal being that keeps it immoveable; for *a* is present no farther than the plane *f m*, and therefore cannot possibly act on *v*, which is beyond it, to hinder its being moved towards *y*.



POSTULATUM. The attraction of small bodies, is so much greater than the attraction of great bodies, according to the quantity of matter in them, at the same distance from the surface of each, as the squares of the distances of the parts of the small body are less. For the parts of small bodies attract bodies nigh to them immensely more than corresponding parts of great bodies, because the parts of a small body may lie so much nearer to the body attracted. Therefore, small bodies attract bodies near their surface, with immensely greater strength, according to the quantity of matter that is in them, than great bodies, supposing they be equally dense.—But the minute particles of bodies have commonly vastly more matter in proportion to their dimensions, than great bodies; and therefore will attract abundantly more, for that reason.

RAINBOW. The separation of heterogeneous rays, in the Rainbow, is not at the reflexion of the concave surface, but at the two refractions going in, and coming out. There is not a distinct Reflexibility, but only Refrangibility.

K.

(See p. 581.)

FAMILY AND DESCENDENTS OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS.

First.—FAMILY.

The following is a copy of the Family Record, in his own hand, in the Family Bible.

"Jonathan Edwards, son of Timothy and Esther Edwards of Windsor in Connecticut.

"I was born Oct. 5, 1703.

"I was ordained at Northampton, Feb. 15, 1727.

"I was married to Miss Sarah Pierrepont, July 28, 1727.

"My wife was born Jan. 9, 1710.

1 "My daughter Sarah was born on a Sabbath day, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Aug. 25, 1728.

2 "My daughter Jerusha was born on a Sabbath day, towards the conclusion of the afternoon exercise, April 26, 1730.

3 "My daughter Esther was born on a Sabbath day, between 9 and 10 o'clock in the forenoon, Feb. 13, 1732.

4 "My daughter Mary was born April 7th, 1734, being Sabbath day, the sun being about an hour and a half high, in the morning.

5 "My daughter Lucy was born on Tuesday, the last day of Aug. 1736, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning.

6 "My son Timothy was born on Tuesday, July 25, 1738, between 6 and 7 o'clock in the morning.

7 "My daughter Susannah was born on Friday, June 20, 1740, at about 3 in the morning.

"All the family, above named, had the measles, at the latter end of the year 1740.

8 "My daughter Eunice was born on Monday morning, May 9, 1743, about half an hour after midnight, and was baptized the sabbath following.

9 "My son Jonathan was born on a sabbath-day-night, May 26, 1745, between 9 and 10 o'clock, and was baptized the sabbath following.

10 "My daughter Jerusha died on a sabbath day, Feb. 14, 1747, about 5 o'clock in the morning, aged 17.

11 "My daughter Elizabeth was born on Wednesday, May 6, 1747, between 10 and 11 o'clock at night, and was baptized the sabbath following.

12 "My son Pierrepont was born on a sabbath-day-night, April 8, 1750, between 8 and 9 o'clock; and was baptized the sabbath following.

"I was dismissed from my pastoral relation to the first Church in Northampton, June 22d, 1750.

"My daughter Sarah was married to Mr. Elihu Parsons, June 11, 1750.

"My daughter Mary was married to Timothy Dwight, Esq. of Northampton, Nov. 8, 1750.

"My daughter Esther was married to the Rev. Aaron Burr of Newark, June 29, 1752.

"Mr. Burr aforesaid, President of the New Jersey College, died at Princeton, Sept. 24, 1757, of the Nervous Fever. Mr. Burr was born Jan. 4, 1715.

"I was properly initiated President of New Jersey College, by taking the previous oaths, Feb. 16, 1758."

Rev. Jonathan Edwards, President of Nassau Hall, died of the small pox, March 22, 1748, and was buried March 24th.

Esther Burr, wife of Rev. Aaron Burr, died at Princeton, April 7, 1758, of a short illness, aged 26.

Sarah Edwards, wife of Jonathan Edwards, died Oct. 2, 1758, about 12 o'clock, and was buried at Princeton the day following.

Elizabeth Edwards, daughter of Jonathan and Sarah, died at Northampton, Jan. 1, 1762, aged 14.

Lucy Woodbridge died at Stockbridge in Oct. 1786, aged 50.

Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D. D. died at Schenectady, Aug. 1, 1801, aged 56.

Susannah Porter died at Hadley, in the spring of 1802, aged 61.

Sarah Parsons died at Goshen, Mass. May 15, 1805, aged 76.

Mary Dwight died at Northampton, Feb. 1807, aged 72.

Timothy Edwards died at Stockbridge in the autumn of 1813, aged 75.

Eunice Hunt died at Newbern, N. C. in the autumn of 1822, aged 79.

Pierrepont Edwards died at Bridgeport, April 14, 1826, aged 76.

Second.—MORE REMOTE DESCENDENTS.

I. { Elihu Parsons, Esq. } married June 11, 1750. They lived at Stock-
{ Sarah Edwards, } bridge and afterwards at Goshen.

Children.

1. Ebenezer. Died in infancy.
2. Esther, born May 17, 1752, died at Stockbridge, Nov. 17, 1774.
3. Elihu, born Dec. 9, 1753, married Rhoda Hinsdale of Lenox. He died at Goshen in Aug. 1804. They had 6 children.
4. Eliphalet, born Jan. 1756; married Martha Young of Long Island. He died at Chenango, N. Y. in Jan. 1813. They had 5 children.
5. Lydia, born Jan. 15, 1757; married Aaron Ingersoll of Lee. They had 4 children.
6. Lucretia, born Aug. 3, 1759; married Rev. Justin Parsons of Pittsfield, Vt. She died at Goshen in Dec. 1786. They had 1 child.
7. Sarah, born Sept. 8, 1760; married David Ingersoll of Lee, Dec. 13, 1781. They had 13 children.
8. Lucy, born Oct. 14, 1762; married Joshua Ketchum. They had 3 children.
9. Jonathan. Died an infant.
10. Jerusha. Died an infant.
11. Jerusha, born May, 1766; married Ira Seymour of Victor, N. Y. They have had 5 children.

II. Jerusha, died unmarried, at the age of 17.

III. { Rev. Aaron Burr, } married June 29, 1752. They lived at Newark,
{ Esther Edwards, } and Princeton.

Children.

1. Sarah, born May 3, 1754; married Hon. Tapping Reeve of Litchfield, Conn. They had 1 child, Aaron Burr Reeve.
2. Hon. Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States, born Feb. 6, 1756; married Mrs. Theodosia Prevost. They had one daughter.

IV. { Timothy Dwight, Esq. } married Nov. 8, 1750. They lived at
{ Mary Edwards, } Northampton. He died at Natchez, in 1776; and she, in Feb. 1807, at Northampton.

Children 13.

1. Rev. Timothy Dwight, DD., LL. D., President of Yale College, born May 14, 1752; married Mary, the daughter of Benjamin Wool-

sey, Esq. of Dorsous, L. I. They had 7 children. He died at New-Haven, Jan. 11, 1817.

2. Sereno Edwards Dwight, M. D., born 1753; married Miss Lyman. They had 2 children. He was lost at sea, on the coast of Nova Scotia, in 1779.
3. Jonathan Dwight, born 1755; married Miss Wright. They had 2 children. He died in 180–.
4. Erastus Dwight, born 1756; died, unmarried, in 1825.
5. Maurice William Dwight, M. D., born in 1758; married Margaret Dewitt. They had 2 children.
6. Sarah, born May 29, 1760; married Seth Storrs of Northampton. She died at Northampton, in 1805.
7. Hon. Theodore Dwight, born in 1762; married Abbey Alsop. They have 3 children.
8. Mary, born in 1764; married Lewis R. Morris. They had 1 child.
9. Delia, born in 1766; married Jonathan Edwards Porter, Esq. They had 3 children.
10. Nathaniel Dwight, M. D., born in 1769; married Miss Robbins. They have 4 children.
11. Elizabeth, born in 1771; married William W. Woolsey, Esq. They had 8 children. She died at New-Haven in the autumn of 1812.
12. Cecil Dwight, born June 10, 1774; married Mary Clap. They have had 11 children.
13. Henry Edwin Dwight, born in 1776; married Electa Keyes. They had 6 children.

V. { Jahleel Woodbridge, Esq. } married June 1764. They lived at Stock-
{ Lucy Edwards, } bridge.

Children, 7.

1. Jonathan Woodbridge, Esq., born 1766; married Sarah Meach. They had 8 children.
2. Stephen, born 1778, and had several children.
3. Joseph Woodbridge, Esq., born in 1770; married Louisa Hopkins. They had 4 children.
4. Lucy, born in 1772; married Henry Brown. They had 9 or 10 children.
5. John Woodbridge, Esq.
6. Sarah, married a Mr. Leicester of Griswold, Conn. They had 5 children.
7. Rev Timothy Woodbridge, of Green River, N. Y.

VI. { Hon. Timothy Edwards, } married Sept. 25, 1760. They lived at
{ Rhoda Ogden, } Stockbridge.

Children 15. Two died young.

1. Sarah. 2. Edward. 3. Jonathan. 4. Richard. 5. Phebe. 6. William. 7. Robert Ogden. 8. Timothy. 9. Mary Ogden. 10. Rhoda. 11. Mary. 12. Anna. 13. Robert.

VII. { Eleazar Porter, Esq. } married Sept. 1761. They lived at Had-
{ Susannah Edwards, } ley.

Children 5.

1. Eleazar. 2. William. 3. Jonathan Edwards. 4. Moses. 5. Pierrepont.

VIII. { Thomas Pollock, Esq. } married Jan. 1764. They lived at Eliz-
{ Eunice Edwards, } abethtown, N. J.

Children 5.

1. Elizabeth, married ——— Williams Esq.
2. Hester, died unmarried.
3. Thomas Pollock, Esq.
4. Frances, married John Deveraux, Esq. They have 3 children.

5. George Pollock, Esq.

IX. { Rev. Jonathan Edwards, DD. / President of Union College, / Sarah Porter, } married in 1770. They lived at New-Haven, and Schenectady.

Children 4. One died young.

1. Mary, married Mr. Hoit, of Schenectady.
2. Jonathan Walter Edwards, Esq. Married Elizabeth Tryon.
3. Jerusha, married Rev. Calvin Chapin D. D. of Stepney.

X. Elizabeth. Died unmarried, at the age of 14.

XI. { Hon. Pierrepont Edwards, / Frances Ogden, } married May, 1769. They lived at New-Haven.

Children 10. Of whom 4 died in infancy.

1. Susan, married Samuel W. Johnson, Esq. They have had 6 children.
2. Hon. John Starkes Edwards, married Louisa Morris. They had 3 children.
3. Hon. Henry Waggerman Edwards, married Lydia Miller. They have had 8 children.
4. Hon. Ogden Edwards, married Harriet Penfield. They had 10 children.
5. Alfred Edwards, married Deborah Glover.
6. Henrietta Frances, married Eli Whitney, Esq. They had 4 children.

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